NUMISMATICA CENTROEUROPAEA VIII

NC VIII
LEGNICA

DOMINI
NATURALES

Book of abstracts
Księga streszczeń

Legnica, 16-19.9.2025

MUZEUM MIEDZI W LEGNICY

International Academic Conference
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NUMISMATICA CENTROEUROPAEA VIII
DOMINI NATURALES

On the 350th anniversary of the end of the Piast dynasty
W 350-lecie wygaśnięcia dynastii Piastów

Book of abstracts
Księga streszczeń

Editor
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Borys Paszkiewicz

LEGNICA 2025

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Akademia Rycerska / The Knight Academy
59-220 Legnica, ul. Chojnowska 2

PROGRAMME / PROGRAM

THE FIRST DAY / DZIEŃ 1: 16.9.2025

8:00-14:00 Registration of participants / Rejestracja uczestników

10:00 Opening addresses / Otwarcie konferencji i przywitanie uczestników

Maciej Kupaj, prezydent miasta Legnicy – *Welcoming address of the Mayor of the City of Legnica / przywitanie uczestników konferencji*

Dr **Marcin Makuch**, dyrektor Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy – *Welcoming address of the Director of the Museum of Copper / przywitanie uczestników konferencji*

Dr **Marcin Bohr** (Uniwersytet Wrocławski) – *Welcoming address of the Director of the Institute of Archaeology / przywitanie uczestników konferencji*

Prof. dr hab. **Borys Paszkiewicz** (Uniwersytet Wrocławski) – *Keynote lecture: Dynasties and their coins / Referat wprowadzający: Dynastie i ich monety*

11:00 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

SESSION I / SESJA I

Chair / prowadzi: Aleksander Bursche

11:30 **Tetiana Izbash-Hotskan**, I.I. Mechnykov National University, Odessa (Ukraine)
Coinage of tyrants' dynasty in Pontica in the fourth–third centuries BC

11:50 **Evgeni Paunov**, Ph.D., independent researcher, Vienna (Austria)
The coinage of the Odrysian dynasty in the kingdom of Thrace, the 5th–4th century BC

12:10 **Wioletta Pazowska,** Ústav archeologie a muzeologie, Masarykova univerzita, Brno (Czech Republic), **Jiří Militký**, Ph.D., Národní muzeum, Praha (Czech Republic) and Dr. **Maciej Karwowski** (speaker), independent researcher, Vienna (Austria)
Late Boii coinage on the cultural frontiers: An archaeological approach

12:30 Doc. **Jiří Militký**, Ph.D., DSc., Národní museum, Praha (Czech Republic)
Keltische Münzen aus der neuen Zentralsiedlung in Westböhmen

12:50 **Tomáš Smělý**, Abalon s.r.o., Praha (Czech Republic)
Two staters of the Nike type found near Chlumec nad Cidlinou (Central Bohemia)

13:10 Discussion

13:30 Lunch break / Przerwa obiadowa

SESSION II /SESJA II

Chair / prowadzi: Jiří Militký

14:50 Dr. **Ferenc Barna**, Ungarisches Nationalmuseum (Hungary)
Münzen der kappadokischen Könige in der Sammlung des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums

15:10 Dr **Adam Degler**, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław (Poland)
Gilded coins from the Barbaricum in the collection of the Ossolineum / Barbarzyńskie monety pozłacane w zbiorach Ossolineum

15:30 Dr hab. **Arkadiusz Dymowski**, independent researcher, Gdynia (Poland)
Some remarks on two hoards of ancient coins from Mrzezino, Pomerania

15:50 **Lenka Vacinová**, Ph.D., Národní muzeum, Praha (Czech Republic)
The beginnings and forms of dynastic propaganda on Roman coins

16:10 Prof. dr hab. **Aleksander Bursche** and Dr hab. **Kirylo Myzgin**, Wydział Archeologii, Uniwersytet Warszawski (Poland)
Greek and Latin legends on imitations of Roman coins

16:30 **Maryna Filatova**, University of Warsaw (Poland)
Unde sunt nummi? Third-century AD Roman coin finds from the left bank of the Dnieper River (Ukraine)

16:50 Discussion

17:20 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

18:00 Opening of the exhibition *Piast Money* / Wernisaż wystawy *Pieniądze Piastów*

19:00 Guided tour of the Legnica Copper Museum / Zwiedzanie Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy z oprowadzaniem

20:00 Joint dinner / Wspólna kolacja

THE SECOND DAY / DZIEŃ 2: 17.9.2025

SESSION I / SESJA I

Chair / prowadzi: Arkadiusz Dymowski

9:00 **Dagmar Kašparová**, Ph.D., Moravské zemské museum, Brno (Czech Republic)
Flavian Dynasty coins in the Moravian Museum and Moravian coin finds

9:20 Dr. **István Vida**, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest (Hungary)
Dynastic features? Peculiar portraits on Roman imperial coins

9:40 Dr **Szymon Jellonek**, Wydział Archeologii, Uniwersytet Warszawski (Poland)
Imitations of Byzantine coins of the Heraclian dynasty in Egypt

10:00 **Lajos Juhász**, PhD, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (Hungary)
Ferryman on the puszta? Charon vs. the coins in Sarmatian graves

10:20 Dr **Anna Zapolska**, University of Warsaw, Faculty of Archaeology (Poland)
How generations remember: 'Obsolete money' as silent evidence of collective memory and identity among Gothic elites

10:40 Discussion

11:00 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

SESSION II / SESJA II

Chair / prowadzi: Lukáš Richtera

11:30 **Luboš Polanský**, Ph.D., Národní muzeum, Praha (Czech Republic)
Contribution to early medieval Polish finds. Deniers from Polish finds in the collection of the Národní muzeum – content additions, clarifications of attributions and dating

11:50 Dr. **Roman Zaoral**, Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology, Praha (Czech Republic)
Images on 12th-century Bohemian denars and their transfer in Central Europe

12:10 **Krystian Książek**, Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne, Głogów (Poland)
The legacy of Peter Włostowic on pennies from the Głogów hoard

12:30 **Dagmar Grossmannová**, Ph.D., Moravské zemské muzeum, Brno (Czech Republic)
Find of coins and unminted silver near Boskovštejn in South Moravia

12:50 **Petr Schneider**, Národní muzeum, Historické muzeum, numismatické oddělení (Czech Republic)
Der Brakteatenfund von Inzell (Oberösterreich)

13:10 Discussion

13:40 Lunch break / Przerwa obiadowa

SESSION III / SESJA III

Chair / prowadzi: Roman Zaoral

15:10 **Ilya Shtalenkov,** independent researcher (Belarus)
To the issue of dating the hoard of silver payment ingots of 2005 from Bużyska near Drohiczyn, Podlaskie Voivodeship

15:30 **Emilie Hager**, Universität Wien, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte (Austria)
Die Hälblinge des Wiener Pfennigs

15:50 **Dawid Maciejczuk**, University of Wrocław, Institute of Archaeology (Poland)
Chronology of Silesian kwartniks: breaking news

16:10 **Petr Běhoun**, Museum of the Jindřichův Hradec Region / Muzeum Jindřichohradecka, Jindřichův Hradec (Czech Republic)
Money circulation and its historical development in the Pelhřimov district during the Middle Ages

16:30 Dr **Noé Conejo**, Postdoctoral Researcher "César Nombela", Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Facultad de Humanidades (Spain)
The coinage of Ferdinand IV of Castile (Spain): use of iconography for the legitimization of royal power

16:50 Discussion

17:20 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

17:45 Visit to the Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts, Piast Castle and St Mary's Church / Zwiedzanie Mauzoleum Piastów Śląskich, Zamku Piastowskiego i kościoła Marii Panny

20:00 Gala dinner for conference participants / Uroczysta kolacja dla uczestników konferencji

THE THIRD DAY / DZIEŃ 3: 18.9.2025

SESSION I / SESJA I

Chair / prowadzi: Tomasz Stolarczyk

8:30 **Dzmitry Huletski,** independent researcher (Belarus)
Emblematics of the Lithuanian coins of Kęstutis: Borrowing from the Princes of Grodno?

8:50 MUDr. **Jan Cihlář**, Czech Numismatic Society, and doc. RNDr. **Lukáš Richtera**, Ph.D., Numismatické oddělení, Moravské zemské muzeum (Czech Republic)
A find of contemporary forgeries of Brno pennies with an eagle bearing a breast shield from Rosice near Brno

9:10 **Enikő Kovács**, Hungarian National Museum (Hungary)
Game of Hoards: The coin hoard of the interregnum (the early fourteenth century) from Gellért Hill

9:30 **Orsolya Gálvölgyi**, Budapest History Museum (Hungary)
Medieval coinage in Buda

9:50 Discussion

10:10 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

SESSION II / SESJA II

Chair / prowadzi: Marcin Makuch

10:40 Doc. RNDr. **Lukáš Richtera**, Ph.D., Numismatické oddělení, Moravské zemské muzeum, and MUDr. **Jan Cihlář**, Czech Numismatic Society (Czech Republic)
A numismatic analysis of the two hoards of Prague groschen of Wenceslas II from Čertův hrádek near Blansko

11:00 Dr **Michał Zawadzki**, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum (Poland)
Trzeciaks (kwartniks) of Siemowit IV – the last coins of the Mazovian Piasts

11:20 Discussion

11:40 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

SESSION III: Poster session / SESJA III posterowa

12:00 Presentations by posters' authors / Prezentacje autorów posterów

1. **Marek Budaj**, Ph.D., Múzeum mincí a medailí, Kremnica (Slovakia)
   Celtic coins from archaeological research at the Pod Hradiskom location in Jánovce-Machalovce (Poprad District)

2. Dr **Marcin Boh**r, University of Wrocław, Institute of Archaeology (Poland)
   Lost in the middle of nowhere? Roman coins from Buków against the backdrop of Roman period coin finds in the Sudetes

3. **Jan Videman**, independent researcher, Kroměříž (Czech Republic)
   Datace ovládnutí Moravy Přemyslovci pohledem mincí / Dating the transfer of Moravia to the Přemyslids in the 11th century through the lens of coins

4. **Robert Pieńkowski**, Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne, Wrocław (Poland)
   Monety złote Piastów legnicko-brzeskich

5. **Maciej H. Dąbrowski**, MA, STL, Polish Philological Association, Wrocław, and Stowarzyszenie "Pamięć i Dialog", Legnica (Poland)
   Latin as a means of perpetuating the memory of the last Legnica Piasts — coins and inscriptions

6. **Zbigniew Bartkowiak**, Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań (Poland)
   Korony Habsburgów. Czy znane nakłady monet jednokoronowych są wiarygodne?

7. **Ádám Mézes**, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest (Hungary)
   Emergency money from Silesia. The collection of the Hungarian National Museum

8. **Stanislav Valášek**, independent researcher, Olomouc (Czech Republic)
   In unity is strength – Kinship relations in the light of monetary policy

Presentation of recent literature and promotion of numismatic publications / Prezentacja najnowszej literatury i promocja wydawnictw numizmatycznych

13:00 Lunch break / przerwa obiadowa

EXCURSION / WYCIECZKA

14:30-20:00 Excursion to Lubiąż and Legnickie Pole / Wycieczka do Lubiąża i Legnickiego Pola

21:00 Joint dinner / Wspólna kolacja

THE FOURTH DAY / DZIEŃ 4: 19.9.2025

SESSION I / SESJA I

Chair / prowadzi: Elina Screen

9:00 Dr hab. **Bartosz Awianowicz**, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń (Poland)
Ancient inspirations for Louis XIV's dynastic medals

9:20 **Markus Greif**, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Universität Wien, Department of Numismatics and Monetary History, University of Vienna (Austria)
Denars and other coins of Hungary in Austrian coin edicts in the time of Ferdinand I (16th century)

9:40 Prof. PhDr. **Petr Vorel**, CSc., Univerzita Pardubice, Pardubice (Czech Republic)
Dissolution of the monetary union of the Habsburg monarchy at the height of the credit crisis 1615-1618

10:00 PhDr. **Ladislav Nekvapil**, Ph.D., Východočeské muzeum v Pardubicích / East Bohemia Museum, Pardubice (Czech Republic)
Unknown three-kreuzer coins of the Duchy of Legnica-Brzeg from 1621 and 1622 (Neznámé tříkrejcary knížectví Lehnice-Břeh z let 1621 až 1622)

10:20 Discussion

10:40 Coffee break / Przerwa kawowa

SESSION II /SESJA II

Chair / prowadzi: Bartosz Awianowicz

11:10 **Marzena Grochowska-Jasnos**, Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne, Głogów (Poland)
Graffiti on postmediaeval coins: Practical, symbolic and alchemical messages

11:30 **Paweł Milejski**, PhD, Ossoliński National Institute, Wrocław, and **Arkadiusz Koperkiewicz**, PhD, Institute of Archaeology, University of Gdańsk (Poland)
A 17th century coin hoard from the church of St Andrew the Apostle in Barczewo, Warmia

11:50 Dr. **Lilia Dergaciova**, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Universität Wien (Österreich), und **Dmitri Starowjerow**, unabhängiger Forscher, Brest (Belarus)
Wie viele Walzwerke braucht man, um die Münzen eines Landes zu prägen? Fallstudie moldauischer Münzen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert

12:10 **Marta Pallag**, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest (Hungary)
Between coins and medals. Commemorative coins of the noble family Gienger in the 16th century

12:30 Discussion

13:00 Lunch break / przerwa obiadowa

SESSION III / SESJA III

Chair / prowadzi: Petr Vorel

14:30 **Emanoil Pripon**, Dr. (Ph.D), County Museum of History and Art Zalău (Romania)
An unusual counterfeit coin workshop (early 18th century) identified in the former Turda County of Transylvania (Romania)

14:50 **Ioan Petean**, Dr. (Ph.D), Faculty of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering, Babes-Bolyai University (Romania)
Microstructural aspects regarding the forging technique used in a 18th-century counterfeiter workshop in Cluj County, Transylvania, Romania

15:10 **Tomasz Stolarczyk**, PhD, Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, Muzeum Regionalne w Jaworze, Fundacja Archeologiczna Archeo (Poland)
The copper miners and the coins, from the Byzantine Empire to the German Empire

15:30 Discussion

16:00 Conference closing / Zakończenie konferencji

Prof. **Borys Paszkiewicz** — *Highlights of the conference and a presentation of the venue for the next NC conference / Podsumowanie konferencji i prezentacja miejsca kolejnej konferencji NC*

Dr **Marcin Makuch**, dyrektor Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy — *Farewell to participants / Pożegnanie uczestników*

ABSTRACTS
STRESZCZENIA

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Dynasties and their coins (a keynote lecture)

It is widely known that coinage disseminates the glory of the ruler from the time when Hellenistic kings began to replace patron deities on coins. It is less known, however, when and how the message of the coinage extended to a group of successors to power, linked by real or fictitious kinship—a dynasty. Perhaps this is precisely the meaning of the essentially anonymous depictions of the Achaemenid king on gold darics and silver sigloi. While this idea was not explicitly adopted by Hellenistic dynasties, pictorial representations of their founders repeated by descendants, particularly visible among the Ptolemies of Egypt, are not far removed from it. It is noticeable that later generations of the Egyptian dynasty also invoked women on their coins. And not just mothers, as the widely revered Arsinoe II was not the ancestor of any Egyptian ruler. This—one might say—iconographic strategy is particularly evident when compared to the coinage of the contemporary, rival Seleucid dynasty. There, the coin types clearly individualised subsequent rulers, among whom there was only one woman, and therefore did not mark dynastic continuity with portraits and general symbols of family ties. On the other hand, a similar goal was achieved by using other tools, primarily specific dynastic symbols and exposing Apollo as the progenitor of the Seleucids.

The Ptolemies can probably be credited with creating the model of dynastic representation in coinage, later observed among lesser rulers of the Greek East, such as the kings of Commagene. The coinage of Pergamon followed a somewhat different path, where most of coins until the end of the kingdom invoked its founder, Philetaerus, who was not an ancestor, but merely the paternal uncle of subsequent kings. Similarly, in Parthia, the Arsacid kings consistently featured the figure and name of the dynasty's founder, Arsaces I, on the reverse.

The first emperors of Rome, a monarchy disguised as a republic, had such models at their disposal. For them, monetary representations and legends quickly became a tool for expanding and consolidating the power of subsequent dynasties, even creating fictive affiliations among them. It is true that lineage propaganda was already being practiced during the Republic by the *tresviri monetales* who managed the mint. However, while their coins glorified the ancient past of their families, imperial coins, in addition to highlighting contemporary achievements, were directed toward the future, advertising the abilities of the *principes iuventutis* or praising the representatives of the next generation already admitted to power—and their mothers. A particular development of entire monetary genealogies is visible in the 4th-century Constantine dynasty. The coins of the Heraclian dynasty of the 7th century depict the dynastic succession containing the ruler, his wife, and children on both sides of the coin. The Syrian dynasty (the 8th century) also added deceased predecessors.

Although hereditary monarchy was the most common form of rule in the Middle Ages, at most augmented by a ritual election of a successor from a narrow, yet still dynastic circle, coins for a long time did not work towards the creation of a circle of natural lords. References to Byzantine dynastic ideas may perhaps be traced in 12th-century coinage, primarily in Bohemia, Poland, and perhaps also in England during the Anarchy. This coincides with the growing social importance of women: women as dynasty mothers appear on coins of other European countries as well, serving to legitimise the ruler himself and his descendants.

The immobilization of Henrician and Edwardian coin types in England in the 12th-13th century can also be considered from this perspective. This, certainly, had a practical purpose due to the recoinage system. Yet not only the type but also the name of Henry remained unchanged when the next king was named Richard or John. Nor was the succession of subsequent Edwards marked. This practice created a dynastic tradition in English coinage, endowing the coins of the current king with the desirable characteristics of an 'eternal coin.' This is also evident in the much later Spanish *excelente*: the dynastic pair symbolises the creation of a union state, merged by the union of two dynasties. Later imitations of these coins allude to both the standard (NB., being abandoned in Spain in the meanwhile) and the dynasty's glory.

A use of dynasties' names in coin names could have been fostered by the diversity and complexity of monetary systems, especially for newly created coins. Apparently, the oldest known example of this type are the *Comnenati* of Trebizond. Here, however, the name given by users refers not so much to the dynasty as to the state it ruled: the empire of the Grand Comneni in Trebizond, to distinguish their coins from the aspers of other states, circulating over the Black Sea shores. In fact, throughout the Middle Ages, we encounter an identification of a dynasty and its state: the Piasts in the Middle Ages were *duces Poloniae*, and the family name was likely invented here, in Legnica or Brzeg, only by modern historians. Of the great European dynasties, perhaps only the Staufer-Waiblingens and the Welfs had widely used surnames in their era, yet even they did not provide names for coins. Even a kingdom as strongly centred around its dynasty as France did not have a 'Valois' or 'Bourbon' coin. *Bourbons* are known, but these are coins of Bishop Louis de Bourbon of Liège (1456-82). In France, however, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the main gold coin was the *Louis d'or*, without reference to any individual Louis (XIII-XVI). For the inhabitants of both France and the lands to which this coin reached, the French dynasty was more the House of Louis than the Bourbons. It is therefore indeed a dynastic name of a coin—but a late one, dating only from the 17th century. Previously, family names were applied to coins primarily in places where there was no dynasty and power was held by representatives of different families. This was the case in ecclesiastical dominions, especially in the Netherlands, or in elective monarchies like Venice. Therefore, these names referred to individuals rather than families.

In the High and Late Middle Ages, the coat of arms displayed on coins became a new means of expressing dynastic identity. Certain coin names also referred to the heraldic bearings as universally understood symbols. Because these symbols were the primary distinguishing features of coins of specific standards in the multi-currency market, such names are often met with like *Bourgoenssche leeuwe*, Scottish *unicorns*, English *leopards*, Burgundian *griffons* or Neapolitan *gigliati*. Hence these are not only heraldic charges but also supporters displayed in coin types that lent their names to coins. Sometimes, these are dynastic emblems more loosely connected to heraldry, such as the *vuurijzer* ('flint striker'), struck from 1474 by Charles the Bold. Some of these names are official creations. Others, forged spontaneously, may emphasize the users' distance from the designs and capture the grotesqueness of the latter, e.g. *kromstaart* ('crooked tail') in reference to the Brabantine and Flemish lions, or the Polish *dudek* ('hoopoe') in reference to the unusual stylisation of the Jagiellonian eagle on Sigismund the Old's trojaks. In these cases, it's difficult to speak of the dynasty's glory.

Coins, as the primary medium of communication from the government to its subjects, were therefore readily used, albeit in various ways, to reinforce its hereditary character. The results of these efforts did not always meet the rulers' expectations.

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Dynastie i ich monety (referat wprowadzający)

O tym, że moneta służy chwale władcy, wiemy od czasów, gdy hellenistyczni królowie zaczęli na monetach zastępować bóstwa opiekuńcze. Kiedy jednak — i jak — przesłanie stempla monetarnego rozszerzyło się na grono sukcesorów władzy, połączone rzeczywistym lub fikcyjnym pokrewieństwem — dynastię? Być może taki właśnie sens mają anonimowe w istocie przedstawienia króla-Achemenidy na złotych darejkach i srebrnych syklach. Ta idea nie została wprawdzie wprost podjęta przez dynastie hellenistyczne, jednak niezbyt daleko od niej lokują się obrazowe przedstawienia założycieli dynastii powtarzane przez potomków, widoczne zwłaszcza u egipskich Ptolemeuszy. Zauważyć można, że późniejsze pokolenia dynastii egipskiej odwoływały się na monetach również do kobiet. Nie tylko matek: szeroko czczona Arsinoe II nie była wszak przodkinią żadnego władcy Egiptu. Ta — można powiedzieć — strategia ikonograficzna jest szczególnie widoczna w zestawieniu z mennictwem współczesnej, rywalizującej dynastii Seleucydów. Tam monety wyraźnie indywidualizowały poszczególnych władców, wśród których znalazło się miejsce dla jednej tylko kobiety, nie zaznaczały więc ciągłości dynastycznej za pomocą portretów i ogólnych symboli więzi rodzinnych. Podobny cel osiągnięto natomiast, stosując inne narzędzia, przede wszystkim konkretne symbole dynastyczne, i eksponując Apollina jako protoplastę Seleucydów.

Ptolemeuszom można chyba przypisać stworzenie modelu reprezentacji dynastycznej w mennictwie, obserwowanego potem u pomniejszych władców greckiego Wschodu, jak np. królowie Kommageny. Nieco inną drogą podążyło mennictwo Pergamonu, gdzie prawie wszystkie monety do końca istnienia królestwa przywoływały jego założyciela, Filetajrosa, który nie był przodkiem, a tylko stryjem następnych królów. Podobnie w Partii dynastia Arsacydów stale kładła na rewersie figurę i imię założyciela dynastii, Arsakesa I.

Takimi wzorcami dysponowali pierwsi cesarze Rzymu, monarchii w kostiumie republiki, dla których przedstawienia i legendy monetarne bardzo szybko stały się instrumentem powiększania i utrwalania potęgi kolejnych dynastii, a nawet tworzenia fikcyjnych filiacji między nimi. Można wprawdzie zauważyć, że propagandę rodową uprawiali już w okresie Republiki zarządzający mennicą triumwirowie monetarni. O ile jednak ich monety wysławiały zamierzchłą przeszłość ich rodów, o tyle monety cesarskie, oprócz odpowiedniego eksponowania dokonań współczesności, skierowane były w przyszłość, chwaląc *principes iuventutis* lub już dopuszczonych do władzy przedstawicieli następnego pokolenia — i ich matki. Szczególny rozwój całych genealogii monetarnych widać w dynastii Konstantyna w IV w. Na monetach dynastii Herakliuszy w VII w. prezentowana jest sukcesja dynastyczna w postaci władcy, jego żony i dzieci na obu stronach monety. Dynastia syryjska (VIII w.) dodała jeszcze zmarłych poprzedników.

Mimo że w średniowieczu dziedziczna monarchia była najczęściej spotykaną formą władzy, co najwyżej wzbogaconą o rytualną elekcję następcy spośród wąskiego, dynastycznego wciąż grona, monety długo nie uczestniczyły w kreowaniu kręgu panów przyrodzonych. Nawiązanie do dynastycznych idei bizantyńskich widać chyba dopiero w mennictwie XII-wiecznym, przede wszystkim w Czechach, w Polsce, może też w Anglii w czasach Anarchii. Zbiega się to z czasem wzrostu roli kobiet w społeczeństwie: kobiety jako matki dynastii pojawiają się na monetach również innych krajów europejskich, służąc legitymacji samego władcy i jego potomków.

Pod tym kątem można też rozpatrywać immobilizację typów monetarnych Henryka i Edwarda w Anglii w XII–XIII w. Miała ona oczywiście znaczenie praktyczne ze względu na renowację monety. Pozostawiano jednak również niezmienione imię Henryka, gdy kolejny król miał na imię Ryszard lub Jan. Podobnie nie zaznaczano sukcesji kolejnych Edwardów. Praktyka taka tworzyła tradycję dynastyczną monet angielskich, nadając monetom aktualnego króla pożądane cechy „monety wiecznej". Widać to również w dużo późniejszych hiszpańskich *excelente*: para dynastyczna symbolizuje tam zarazem powstanie unijnego państwa, zjednoczonego przez złączenie dwu dynastii. Późniejsze naśladownictwa tych monet nawiązują zarazem do standardu (*nb.*, w Hiszpanii tymczasem porzuconego) i chwały dynastii.

Rozmaitość i złożoność systemów monetarnych powinna była zachęcać do używania nazw dynastii do tworzenia nazw monet, zwłaszcza nowo kreowanych. Zdawałoby się, że najstarszym znanym przypadkiem tego rodzaju są *comnenati* z Trapezuntu. Tu jednak nadana przez użytkowników nazwa odnosi się nie tyle do dynastii, ile do rządzonego przez nią państwa: cesarstwa Wielkich Komnenów w Trapezuncie, dla odróżnienia od asprów innych państw, kursujących nad Morzem Czarnym. W istocie bowiem przez całe średniowiecze mamy do czynienia z utożsamieniem dynastii i państwa: Piastowie w średniowieczu to *duces Poloniae*, a nazwę rodową wymyślili prawdopodobnie właśnie tutaj, w Legnicy lub Brzegu, dopiero nowożytni historycy. Z wielkich dynastii europejskich chyba tylko Staufowie-Gibelini i Welfowie mieli swoje szeroko używane nazwiska w swej epoce, ale i one nie dały nazw monetom. Nawet tak silnie skupione wokół dynastii królestwo, jak Francja, nie miało monety „walezjusz" czy „burbon". Znane są, owszem, burbony, ale są to monety Ludwika z Bourbon, biskupa Leodium (1456-82). We Francji natomiast w XVII–XVIII w. główną monetą złotą był *Louis d'or*, bez odniesienia, który mianowicie Ludwik (XIII–XVI). Dla mieszkańców i Francji, i ziem, do których docierała ta moneta, dynastia francuska była bowiem raczej dynastią Ludwików niż Burbonów. Jest to więc istotnie nazwa dynastyczna — ale późna, dopiero z XVII w. Wcześniej nazwy rodów były odnoszone do monet głównie tam, gdzie dynastii nie było, a władzę obejmowali przedstawiciele różnych rodzin. Było tak we władztwach kościelnych, zwłaszcza w Niderlandach, albo w monarchiach elekcyjnych, jak Wenecja. Nazwy te zatem odnosiły się w istocie do jednostek, a nie do rodów.

Nowym środkiem wyrażania tożsamości dynastycznej stał się w pełnym i późnym średniowieczu kładziony na monecie herb. Do herbu też, jako powszechnie zrozumiałego znaku, odnosiły się niektóre nazwy monet. Ponieważ ów znak był podstawową cechą odróżniającą na wielowalutowym rynku monety o konkretnym standardzie, powszechnie pojawiają się nazwy tego rodzaju: *Bourgoenssche leeuwe*, szkockie jednorożce, angielskie leopardy, burgundzkie gryfy czy neapolitańskie *gigliati*. Nie tylko więc godła herbowe, ale także trzymacze eksponowane na stemplach użyczały swoich nazw monetom. Czasem były to emblematy dynastyczne luźniej związane z heraldyką, jak *vuurijzer* („krzesiwo"), bity od 1474 r. przez Karola Zuchwałego. Część z tych nazw to urzędowe kreacje. Inne, tworzone spontanicznie, mogą akcentować dystans użytkowników do pokazywanych przedstawień i wychwytywać karykaturalne cechy tych drugich: *kromstaart* („krzywy ogon") w odniesieniu do brabanckiego lub flamandzkiego lwa, czy polski *dudek* w odniesieniu do niezwykłej stylizacji jagiellońskiego orła na trojakach Zygmunta Starego. W tych przypadkach trudno mówić o chwale dynastii.

Monety jako podstawowe medium skierowane od władzy do poddanych były więc chętnie, choć na różne sposoby wykorzystywane do wzmacniania jej dziedzicznego charakteru. Wyniki tych starań nie zawsze spełniały oczekiwania władców.

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Ancient inspirations for Louis XIV's dynastic medals

Medals and medallions were used to promote rulers and their families as early as ancient Rome. As a form of commemorating powerful people of the early Renaissance, they returned in the works of 15th-century artists: Antonio di Puccio Pisano, known as Pisanello (*c.* 1380/95 - *c.* 1450/55), Matteo de' Pasti (1420-67/68), and others. Medals as a means of identification for wives (and sometimes mistresses) and children of rulers were already known in Italy in the 15th century. In the 16th century, medals commemorating members of the ruling family were commissioned by most dynasties. In Poland, for example, Giovanni Maria Mosca (Padovano, *c.* 1493-1574) made medals for Sigismund I the Old, his wife Bona Sforza, and their then twelve-year-old son Sigismund Augustus.

In the 17th century, dynastic medal-making continued to develop in various European countries; however, by the second half of the century, France under Louis XIV had clearly become the model for others. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83), Louis XIV's First Minister of State from 1661 until he died in 1683, established the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Medals (Académie royale des inscriptions et médailles) in 1663, also known as the 'Little Academy' (Petite Académie), and from 1716 as the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature (L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres). As its original name suggests, the main purpose of the first academicians was to devise inscriptions, including often legends for coins and medals, and their iconography. The preserved *Registres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Médailles* from the 1690s and early 1700s allow us to reconstruct the process of designing royal medals: first, the type, or iconography, of the medal was chosen, then the Latin legend and motto around and below the image on the reverse (the obverse featured a bust of the king with an appropriate legend), and finally a description in French to accompany the copperplate engraving of the medal in the work *L'Histoire du Roy par Médailles* from 1700.[1]

This paper aims to analyse these medals designed by academics for Louis XIV, which are clearly dynastic, in the context of ancient dynastic coins, especially Roman ones, as well as emblems common in the 17th century. Most of the reverses of the medals presented in *L'Histoire du Roy par Médailles* commemorate military victories or political successes of the king. However, there are also dynastic reverses, evoking slogans of the eternal rule of the French royal house (AETERNITAS IMPER GALL) or its happiness (FELICITAS DOMUS AUGUSTAE) resulting from the ruler having young heirs to the throne. These ideas are well known from Roman coins and medallions, especially from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The dynastic medals modelled on Roman imperial coins also include a medal from 1683 commemorating the death of the king's

1 See François Fossier, 'Un lustre d'activité : les travaux de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres jusqu'au règlement de 1701,' *Dix-huitième Siècle* 2015/1 (47), pp. 556-57.

wife, Maria Theresa, whose reverse shows two personifications that often appear on reverses celebrating the virtues of Roman empresses: Pietas (Piety) and Pudicitia (Chastity). A significant number of medals designed and minted for Louis XIV and his family were inspired not directly by ancient coinage, but by modern emblematics. The medals commemorating the marriage of Louis XIV to Maria Theresa of Spain in 1660, for example, have an emblematic composition, featuring the sun and the motto FOECVNDIS IGNIBUS ARDET ('it burns with fertile flames'), which refers both to the good weather on the day of the ceremony and, above all, to the queen's expected fertility.[2]

This combination of ancient coin iconography and modern emblems is evident in Charles Patin's (1633-1693) *Emblemes et devises de la Maison Royale*, published for the first time in 1660. For Patin was sentenced to the galleys in 1667 for illegally trading books from the Netherlands, he never became a member of the 'Petite Académie.' Still, his emblem-based medal designs are an important context for the official medals developed by academics, as they are entirely dynastic (apart from the king and queen, Louis XIV's younger brother Philip I of Orléans and their cousins Louis and Armand de Bourbon, Princes of Conti, are also commemorated), and their author, after going into exile, remained one of the most important French numismatists, specialising in ancient (especially Roman) coins.[3]

Patin's work also sets the chronological framework for this paper, which focuses on medals designed for Louis XIV and his family between 1660 and 1701, when the Academy became a state institution under the ordinance of 16 July. This was also the period when the canonical corpus of Louis XIV's medals was formed, which had already been largely presented in 1689 in *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les medailles, emblêmes, devuses, jettons, inscriptions, armoires, et autres monumens publics* by Claude-François Ménestrier (1631-1705).

2 See the description of this medal in: Claude-François Ménestrier, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les medailles, emblêmes, devuses, jettons, inscriptions, armoires, et autres monumens publics*, Paris: I.B. Nolin, 1689, p. 7.

3 The *Emblemes et devises* were included in subsequent editions of a popular handbook on numismatics (mainly ancient) by Patin. See e.g. Charles Patin, *Histoire des Medailles ou Introduction à la connoissance de cette science*, Paris: Veuve Maere Cremosi, 1695, pp. 242-261.

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Antyczne inspiracje medali dynastycznych Ludwika XIV

Medale i medaliony były używane do promowania władców i ich rodzin już w starożytnym Rzymie. Jako forma upamiętnienia ludzi władzy wczesnego renesansu powróciły one w dziełach artystów XV wieku: Antonia di Puccio Pisano, zwanego Pisanello (ok. 1380/95 – ok. 1450/55), Mattea de' Pasti (1420-1467/68) i innych. Medale jako środek identyfikacji żon (a czasem kochanek) i dzieci władców były znane we Włoszech już w XV wieku. W XVI wieku medale upamiętniające członków rodziny panującej były zamawiane przez większość dynastii. Na przykład w Polsce Giovanni Maria Mosca (Padovano, ok. 1493-1574) wykonał medale dla Zygmunta I Starego, jego żony Bony Sforzy i ich wówczas dwunastoletniego syna Zygmunta Augusta.

W XVII wieku dynastyczne medalierstwo nadal rozwijało się w różnych krajach Europy, jednak w drugiej połowie wieku Francja za panowania Ludwika XIV wyraźnie stała się wzorem dla innych. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83), pierwszy minister stanu Ludwika XIV od 1661 r. do śmierci w 1683 r., założył w 1663 r. Królewską Akademię Inskrypcji i Medali (Académie royale des inscriptions et médailles), znaną również jako „Mała Akademia" (Petite Académie), a od 1716 r. jako Akademia Inskrypcji i Literatury (L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres). Jak sugeruje pierwotna nazwa, głównym zadaniem pierwszych akademików było tworzenie inskrypcji, w tym często legend monet i medali, oraz ich ikonografii. Zachowane *Registres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Médailles* z lat dziewięćdziesiątych XVII wieku i początku XVIII wieku pozwalają nam odtworzyć proces projektowania medali królewskich: najpierw wybierano typ lub ikonografię medalu, następnie łaciński napis i motto wokół i poniżej wizerunku na rewersie (na awersie znajdowało się popiersie króla z odpowiednim napisem), a na końcu opis w języku francuskim, który towarzyszył miedziorytowi medalu w dziele *L'Histoire du Roy par Médailles* z 1700 roku[1].

Niniejszy referat ma na celu analizę tych medali zaprojektowanych przez akademików dla Ludwika XIV, które mają wyraźnie dynastyczny charakter, w kontekście starożytnych monet dynastycznych, zwłaszcza rzymskich, a także emblematów wszechobecnych w XVII wieku. Większość rewersów medali przedstawionych w *L'Histoire du Roy par Médailles* upamiętnia zwycięstwa militarne lub sukcesy polityczne króla. Istnieją jednak także rewersy dynastyczne, przywołujące hasła wiecznotrwałej władzy francuskiej rodziny królewskiej (AETERNITAS IMPER GALL) lub jej szczęścia (FELICTAS DOMUS AUGUSTAE) wynikającego z posiadania przez władcę młodych następców tronu. Idee te są dobrze znane z rzymskich monet i medalionów, zwłaszcza z II i III wieku n.e. Medale dynastyczne wzorowane na rzymskich monetach cesarskich obejmują również medal z 1683 r. upamiętniający śmierć żony króla, Marii Teresy, którego

1 Zob. François Fossier, *Un lustre d'activité : les travaux de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres jusqu'au règlement de 1701*, Dix-huitième Siècle, 2015/1 (47), s. 556-57.

rewers przedstawia dwie personifikacje często pojawiające się na rewersach sławiących cnoty rzymskich cesarzowych: Pietas (Pobożność) i Pudicitia (Czystość). Znaczna część medali zaprojektowanych i wybitych dla Ludwika XIV i jego rodziny nie była inspirowana bezpośrednio starożytnymi monetami, ale współczesną emblematyką. Na przykład medale upamiętniające ślub Ludwika XIV z Marią Teresą Hiszpańską w 1660 roku mają emblematyczną kompozycję, przedstawiającą słońce i motto FOECVNDIS IGNIBUS ARDET (płonie żyznymi płomieniami), które odnosi się zarówno do dobrej pogody w dniu ceremonii, jak i przede wszystkim do oczekiwanej płodności królowej[2].

Połączenie starożytnej ikonografii monetarnej i współczesnych emblematów jest widoczne w niewielkim dziele Charlesa Patina (1633-1693), *Emblemes et devises de la Maison Royale*, opublikowanym po raz pierwszy w 1660 roku. Patin został skazany na galery w 1667 roku za nielegalny handel książkami z Niderlandów, nigdy więc nie został członkiem „Petite Académie". Niemniej jednak jego projekty medali oparte na emblematach stanowią ważny kontekst dla oficjalnych medali opracowanych przez członków Akademii, ponieważ są one w całości dynastyczne (oprócz króla i królowej, upamiętniono również młodszego brata Ludwika XIV, Filipa I Orleańskiego, oraz ich kuzynów Ludwika i Armanda de Bourbon, książąt de Conti), a ich autor, również po udaniu się na wygnanie, pozostał jednym z najważniejszych francuskich numizmatyków, specjalizującym się w monetach starożytnych (zwłaszcza rzymskich)[3].

Praca Patina wyznacza również ramy chronologiczne niniejszego referatu, który koncentruje się na medalach zaprojektowanych dla Ludwika XIV i jego rodziny od 1660 do 1701 roku, kiedy to Akademia stała się instytucją państwową na mocy ordynacji z 16 lipca. Był to również okres, w którym powstał kanoniczny zbiór medali Ludwika XIV, w dużej mierze zawarty już w 1689 r. w pracy: *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les medailles, emblêmes, devuses, jettons, inscriptions, armoires, et autres monumens publics*, autorstwa Claude'a-François Ménestriera (1631-1705).

2 Zob. opis tego medalu w: Claude-François Ménestrier, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les medailles, emblêmes, devuses, jettons, inscriptions, armoires, et autres monumens publics*, Paris: I.B. Nolin, 1689, s. 7.

3 *Emblemes et devises* były włączane do kolejnych wydań popularnego podręcznika numizmatyki (głównie starożytnej), napisanego przez Patina. Zob. np. Charles Patin, *Histoire des Medailles ou Introduction* à *la connoissance de cette science*, Paris: Veuve Maere Cremosi, 1695, s. 242-261.

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Coins of the Kings of Cappadocia in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum

The Coin Cabinet of the Hungarian National Museum contains nearly 10,000 ancient Greek coins. This collection includes coins from the entire ancient Mediterranean region and even beyond: it extends from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia and the coins of the Indo-Greek kingdoms of Northwest India. The coins of the Balkans and Asia Minor play a prominent role in the collection. Among the coins of Asia Minor are 36 silver coins of the kings of Cappadocia – I would like to present this group of Hellenistic coins at the conference.

Cappadocia is a province located in the south-eastern part of Asia Minor, which was an independent kingdom at one stage of the Hellenistic era. The family of the last Persian satrap of the area, Ariarathes established its power here: first as vassals of the Seleucids, and later as independent rulers. In the 2nd century BC, however, they came increasingly under the influence of Rome. The Ariarathid dynasty died out in the early 1st century BC. At this time, at first King Mithridates VI of Pontus attempted to secure the throne of Cappadocia for his son Ariarathes IX, and then a local dynasty, the family of Ariobarzanes I, came to power. Until the middle of the 1st century BC, the Ariobarzanids ruled the state. Cappadocia was by then a client kingdom, completely under Roman influence. The last king of Cappadocia was Archelaus. He came from a third aristocratic family and reigned between 36 BC and 17 AD. After his death, the area became a Roman province.

The Ariarathids gained the royal title (*basileus*) in the second half of the 3rd century BC, during the reign of Ariarathes III, and this was followed by the development of royal coinage. In the following centuries, the Cappadocian kings minted silver drachms and tetradrachms, as well as bronze coins. The appearance of their silver coins is extremely uniform. On the obverse we see a portrait of the ruler, and on the reverse almost always a depiction of Athena Nikephoros appears: Pallas stands to the left, her helmet is clearly recognizable. She has a spear and shield in her left hand, and in her outstretched right hand she holds a small figure of Nike. The legends on the reverse name the ruler, and various monograms and additional letters also appear. These Greek letters can perhaps be interpreted as numbers, and may refer to the years of the rulers' reign. The minting of the coins can probably be linked to the capital city of the kingdom: Mazaca-Eusebeia (later Caesarea).

The Hungarian National Museum has 36 silver coins of the kings of Cappadocia in its collection. All of them are drachms. The earliest examples can be linked to Ariarathes IV, and the latest were minted during the reign of Archelaus. However, in the case of some coins, based on the rough workmanship and the errors in the legends, it is also possible that they were unofficial productions or ancient imitations.

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the circumstances in which the coins were found. Of the 36 coins, 12 have inventory numbers given during a former revision in the 1960s: these were given to those specimens that could not be identified based on the inventory books – therefore we have no further information about these specimens. One coin was given to the Coin Cabinet by the Museum's History Department, and one other piece came from the Hungarian Ministry of Finance in the 1950s. All the other coins can be linked to art collectors and the art trade. Three specimens were added to the collection in the mid-19th century, from the collection of numismatist Ferenc Kiss, and one other coin comes from the estate of graphic artist and art collector István Delhaes. One other was exchanged for the museum, and two were seized from the illegal art trade at the Hungarian border. The remaining 15 pieces were purchased: the museum bought, for example, from the Brüder Egger coin dealer company in Vienna, András Kovács, who collected coins in Asia Minor, and Count Miklós Dessewffy, a renowned Hungarian coin collector of the early 20th century.

Barna Ferenc

Kappadokia királyainak pénzei a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményében

A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Éremtárának Antik Gyűjteményében közel 10000 görög pénz van. Ez az anyag az ókori Mediterraneum egészét felöleli, sőt, túl is nyúlik rajta: az Ibériai-félszigettől egészen Közép-Ázsiáig és Északnyugat-India indo-görög királyságainak pénzeiig terjed. A gyűjteményben kiemelt szerepet kapnak a Balkán és Kis-Ázsia pénzei. Utóbbiak sorában találjuk Kappadókia királyainak 36 ezüstpénzét a hellénisztikus korszakból – előadásomban ezt az anyagcsoportot mutatom be.

Kappadókia Kis-Ázsia délkeleti részén, a szárazföld belsejében elhelyezkedő tartomány, amely a hellénisztikus kor egy szakaszában önálló királyság volt. A területen az utolsó perzsa satrapa, I. Ariarathés családja építette ki hatalmát: először a Seleukidák vazallusaként, később önálló uralkodóként tevékenykedtek. A Kr. e. 2. században viszont már egyre inkább Róma befolyása érvényesült. A Kr. e. 1. század elején kihalt az Ariarathidák családja – Kappadokia trónját előbb VI. Mithridatés pontosi király próbálta megszerezni fiának, IX. Ariarathésnek, majd egy másik helyi dinasztia, I. Ariobarzanés családja kerül hatalomra. A Kr. e. 1. század közepéig az Ariobarzanidák ültek az eddigre teljesen római befolyás alá kerülő klienskirályság trónján. Kappadókia utolsó királya, a Kr. e. 36 és Kr. u. 17 közt uralkodó Archelaos azonban már egy harmadik arisztokrata családból került ki. Halála után római provinciává alakították a területet.

Az Ariarathidák a Kr. e. 3. század második felében, III. Ariarathés idején nyerték el a királyi címet (*basileus*), s ezt követte a szélesebb körű pénzverés kibontakozása is. A következő évszázadokban a kappadokiai királyok ezüst drachmákat és tetradrachmákat, valamint bronz érméket vertek. Ezüstpénzeik megjelenése rendkívül egységes (sablonos). Az előlapon az uralkodó portréját látjuk, a hátlapon pedig szinte mindig Athéna Niképhoros ábrázolása tűnik fel: az istennő balra áll, sisakja jól felismerhető. Baljánál dárda és pajzs van, előrenyújtott jobb kezében pedig Niké kis alakját tartja. A körirat az uralkodót nevezi meg, emellett különböző monogramok és további betűk szerepelnek még a hátlapokon. Ez utóbbiakat talán számokként értelmezhetjük, s esetleg az uralkodók uralkodási éveire utalhatnak. A pénzek verését valószínűleg a fővároshoz, Mazaca-Eusebeiához (a későbbi Caesareához) köthetjük.

A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményében összesen 36 ezüstpénz van Kappadókia királyaitól. Mindegyik drachma. A legkorábbi példányokat IV. Ariarathéshez köthetjük, a legkésőbbit pedig Archelaos uralkodása idején verték. Néhány érem esetében azonban a durva kivitelezés és a körirat hibái alapján talán nem-hivatalos gyártmányra, ókori utánzatra is gondolhatunk.

Az érmék leletkörülményeiről sajnos semmit sem tudunk. A 36 éremből 12 revíziós leltári számot visel: ilyet az 1960-as években, az Éremtár gyűjteményének revíziója során kaptak azok a példányok, amelyeket nem lehetett azonosítani a leltárkönyvek alapján – ezen példányokról tehát semmilyen további információnk nincs. 1 további érmét a múzeum Történeti Osztálya adott át az Éremtárnak, 1 másik darab pedig a Magyar Pénzügyminisztériumból került be az 1950-es években. Az összes többi érem a műgyűjtéshez és a műkereskedelemhez köthető. 3 példány még a 19. század közepén került a gyűjteménybe, Kiss Ferenc numizmatikus gyűjteményéből, 1 további példány pedig Delhaes István grafikus és műgyűjtő hagyatékából származik. 1 érem cserével került a múzeumba, 2 pedig az illegális műkereskedelemből lett lefoglalva Magyarország határán. A maradék 15 darab vétel: a múzeum vásárolt például a bécsi Brüder Egger éremkereskedő cégétől, a Kis-Ázsiában pénzeket gyűjtő Kovács Andrástól és gróf Dessewffy Miklóstól, a 20. század elejének neves magyar éremgyűjtőjétől is.

Zbigniew Bartkowiak

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The Crowns of the Habsburgs

The collection of the National Defense Fund, established in 1936 and currently housed at the National Museum in Poznań, contains approximately 250,000 coins. Among them, there are 9,051 one-crown coins issued between 1892 and 1916, donated by Poles living in the former Austrian partition. The presence of as many as 9,051 coins constitutes a very large statistical sample, and its properties, along with existing data, will be used to:

- reconstruct the structure and quantity of 1-crown coins in circulation in 1916,
- calculate the loss of currency from circulation and, consequently,
- calculate the number of coins introduced into circulation, as well as
- verify the known data on the mintage of individual issues based on the obtained results.

Various mathematical methods were used to achieve the set goals. The characteristics of the collected dataset were first presented, highlighting some of the sample's strengths and weaknesses. A strength is the size of the dataset and the stability of the data at the extremes (the first and last issues), while a weakness is the chaotic nature of the data in the middle of the range (i.e., the discrepancy with the expected order).

Based on the proportions in the sample, the structure of money in circulation in 1916 was reconstructed. These proportions were then used to calculate the number of coins in circulation at that time. The calculations were based on the known mintage of coins issued in 1916, which, having been in circulation for the shortest period, were subject to minimal depletion.

Knowing the total number of coins introduced into circulation in the years 1892–1908 and 1912–1916, as well as those in circulation in 1916, the average annual depletion for each year was calculated using the geometric method, which in turn allowed for the calculation of their initial values at the time of introduction. The calculated mintages of coins for each year of Austrian 1-crown coins were compared with the mintages established by Jaroslav Moravec (taken from Roman Vesely's work, *Mince a medaile 19. století*, Prague, 2020). Data with significant discrepancies were subjected to simulation tests.

Zbigniew Bartkowiak

Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu

Korony Habsburgów

W zbiorze utworzonego w 1936 r. Funduszu Obrony Narodowej, obecnie przechowywanego w Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu, znajduje się ok. 250 000 monet. Wśród nich jest 9051 szt. 1-koronówek emitowanych w latach 1892-1916, ofiarowanych przez Polaków zamieszkujących na obszarze byłego zaboru austriackiego.

Obecność aż 9051 szt. monet powoduje, że mamy do czynienia z bardzo dużą próbą statystyczną, a jej właściwości wraz danymi zastanymi posłużą do:

- odtworzenia struktury i ilości monet 1-koronowych w obiegu w 1916 r.,
- obliczenia ubytków pieniądza z obiegu i tym samym
- obliczenia ilości monet wprowadzonych do obiegu oraz
- weryfikacji znanych danych o nakładach poszczególnych emisji na podstawie otrzymanych wyników.

Dla osiągnięcia postawionych celów posłużono się różnymi metodami matematycznymi. Na początku przedstawiono właściwości zgromadzonego zbioru zwracając uwagę na niektóre mocne i słabe strony próby. Mocną stroną jest wielkość zbioru oraz stabilność danych na krańcach (pierwszych i ostatnich emisjach), słabą – chaotyczność danych ze środka zakresu (tj. niezgodność ze spodziewanym porządkiem).

Na podstawie proporcji w próbie odtworzono strukturę pieniądza w obiegu w 1916 r. W kolejnym kroku wykorzystano je do obliczenia ilości monet, które w tym czasie pozostawały w obiegu. Jako podstawę obliczeń przyjęto znany nakład monet emitowanych w 1916 r., które, będąc najkrócej w obiegu, obarczone były minimalnym ubytkiem.

Znając łączną ilość monet wprowadzonych do obiegu w latach 1892-1908 oraz 1912-1916, a także obecnych w obiegu w 1916 r., obliczono metodą geometryczną średni ubytek roczny dla każdego rocznika, co z kolei pozwoliło obliczyć ich wielkości początkowe w czasie wprowadzania do obiegu.

Obliczone nakłady monet dla każdego rocznika austriackich 1-koronówek porównano z nakładami ustalonymi przez Jaroslava Moravca (które zaczerpnięto z pracy Romana Veselý'ego, *Mince a medaile 19. století*, Praha 2020. Dane o znacznych rozbieżnościach poddano badaniom symulacyjnym.

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Cash flow and its historical development in the Pelhřimov region during the 14th–15th centuries

The Pelhřimov district lies on the western slopes of the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands, close to the historical border between Bohemia and Moravia. This peripheral, rather submontane area was an important transport and communication hub in the late Middle Ages. Provincial roads connecting the western and eastern parts of the Czech Crown with the Austrian Vitoraz region and further on with the Danube region passed through here. These routes were used not only for trade, but also for the transfer of money, especially silver coins of Central European origin. The local inhabitants stored their money here in times of peace, but also during conflicts, which were not uncommon in this area, as it was located not only on the provincial border, but also within the extensive dominions of the expansionist Vítkovec family, who were defending their own interests.

A notable feature of this area is an exceptionally high number of coin hoards. Almost 100 coin hoards have been found and documented in the Pelhřimov region to date, approximately 40 of which can be classified as dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. If we compare this number with neighbouring districts, whose natural and historical environment is very similar, it is clear that the finds in the Pelhřimov region are completely out of line with the numbers in other parts of the eastern Bohemian-Moravian Highlands.

The composition of these coin collections reflects the structure of monetary circulation in the High and Late Middle Ages. An analysis of the representation of individual types of coinage allows us not only to track the intensity of circulation and exchange contact, but also to examine the reactions of the local population to specific historical events. The Pelhřimov region thus appears to be a key area for understanding the dynamics of medieval monetary circulation in a regional and supra-regional context.

Keywords: Pelhřimov region, coin hoard, medieval coins, monetary circulation, Prague groschen, 14th century, 15th century, numismatic analysis

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Peněžní tok a jeho historický vývoj na Pelhřimovsku během 14.–15. století

Pelhřimovský okres se rozkládá na západních svazích Českomoravské vrchoviny, v těsné blízkosti historické zemské hranice mezi Čechami a Moravou. Tato periferní, spíše podhorská oblast, představovala v pozdním středověku významnou dopravní a komunikační křižovatku. Procházely tudy zemské stezky spojující západní a východní části Koruny české s rakouským Vitorazskem a dále s oblastí Podunají. Po těchto trasách proudil nejen obchodní ruch, ale rovněž peněžní prostředky, především stříbrné mince středoevropské provenience. Své peníze ukládali zdejší obyvatelé v dobách klidu, ale i během konfliktů, o které v této oblasti nebyla nouze, neboť se zde nacházela kromě zemských pomezí i rozsáhlá dominia rozpínavých Vítkovců bránících si své vlastní zájmy.

Významnou zvláštností této oblasti je mimořádně vysoký počet mincovních depotů. Na Pelhřimovsku bylo dosud nalezeno a zdokumentováno téměř 100 mincovních pokladů, přičemž přibližně 40 z nich lze chronologicky zařadit do období 14. a 15. století. Pokud tento počet porovnáme s okolními okresy, jejichž přírodní a historické prostředí je velmi podobné, je zřejmé, že se nálezy na Pelhřimovsku zcela vymykají počtům v jiných částech regionu východní části Českomoravské vrchoviny.

Složení těchto peněžních souborů odráží strukturu peněžního oběhu v období vrcholného a pozdního středověku. Analýza zastoupení jednotlivých typů ražeb umožňuje nejen sledovat intenzitu oběhu a směnného kontaktu, ale i zkoumat reakce místního obyvatelstva na konkrétní historické události. Pelhřimovsko se tak jeví jako klíčová oblast pro pochopení dynamiky středověkého peněžního oběhu v regionálním i nadregionálním kontextu.

Klíčová slova: Pelhřimovsko, mincovní depot, středověké mince, peněžní oběh, pražský groš, 14. století, 15. století, numismatická analýza

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Zgubione pośrodku pustki? Monety rzymskie z Bukowa w kontekście znalezisk monetarnych okresu rzymskiego w Sudetach

Latem 2024 roku na gruntach wsi Buków niedaleko dolnośląskiego Żarowa dokonano ciekawego odkrycia. W wyniku penetracji z wykorzystaniem wykrywaczy metali pozyskano 17 wczesnorzymskich monet. Odkryty zespół jest dość jednorodny pod względem chronologii i nominałów. Stanowią go monety Trajana i Hadriana, bez wyjątku denary, przy czym chodzi o oficjalne fałszerstwa, czyli *denari subaerati*. Monety tego typu wprowadzane były do obiegu po przymusowym kursie, szczególnie w okresach prowadzonych przez cesarstwo rzymskie intensywnych kampanii militarnych, w sytuacjach znacznego obciążenia cesarskiego skarbca. W dużych ilościach jako element żołdu trafiały do barbarzyńskich sojuszników służących w pomocniczych oddziałach legionowych, auxiliach. Przypuszczać należy, że taki jest mechanizm napływu odkrytych monet na teren Barbaricum, zajętego na Dolnym Śląsku przez plemiona kultury przeworskiej.

Interesująca jest lokalizacja stanowiska archeologicznego – położone jest ono w należącym do Przedgórza Sudeckiego mezoregionie Wzgórz Strzegomskich. Monety zarejestrowano na przestrzeni kilkunastu arów na środku pola ornego, z dala od jakichkolwiek cieków wodnych, w niedalekim sąsiedztwie Góry Pyszczyńskiej. W promieniu kilkunastu kilometrów od miejsca odkrycia nie są znane jakiekolwiek datowane na okres rzymski stanowiska archeologiczne. Powstaje problem interpretacji znaleziska. Czy jest to zguba, czy może depozyt o charakterze symbolicznym? W strefach pozbawionych stałego osadnictwa w Sudetach znany jest cały szereg analogii do znalezisk drugiego typu. W sierpniu 2025 roku planowane jest wznowienie prac na stanowisku. Badaniami objęta będzie strefa bezpośrednio przylegająca do objętej ubiegłorocznymi pracami – w niej z całą pewnością obecne będą kolejne numizmaty, należące do zbioru. Ich analiza pozwoli na całościowe podjęcie zagadnienia interpretacji funkcjonalnej znaleziska.

Aleksander Bursche and Kirylo Myzgin

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Greek and Latin legends on imitations of Roman coins

Our contribution will attempt to answer the question under what circumstances and with what technologies letters and full Greek and Latin legends were transferred to Roman imitations. While the case of the gold imitations of the colonial coins of Alexandria-Troas has already been explained by us and accepted in the literature, many other cases of the appearance of full Latin legends or Greek words on barbarian coins (e.g. OMONOIA; PERCVSVS VIMINACIO) have not yet found a convincing solution. This also applies to graffiti containing correct Greek or Latin words. Were they made by Roman engravers and coin masters in barbarian captivity, or could late Roman barbarians have acquired knowledge of these alphabets? Or were appropriate technologies used to mechanically transfer legends or fragments of legends from the Roman originals into imitations?

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Greckie i łacińskie legendy na naśladownictwach monet rzymskich

W wystąpieniu podejmiemy próbę odpowiedzi na pytania, w jakich okolicznościach i przy zastosowaniu jakich technik na imitacje monet rzymskich trafiały litery i pełne legendy greckie i łacińskie. O ile casus złotych naśladownictw monet kolonialnych Aleksandrii Troas został już przez nas wyjaśniony i zaakceptowany w literaturze, o tyle wiele innych przypadków pojawiania się na monetach barbarzyńskich pełnych łacińskich legend lub słów greckich (np. OMONOIA) nie znalazł do tej pory przekonującego rozwiązania. Dotyczy to także pisanych w greckim lub łacińskim alfabecie graffiti. Czy były one wykonywane przez rzymskich grawerów i mincerzy znajdujących się w barbarzyńskiej niewoli, czy też barbarzyńcy, zwłaszcza z kręgu gockiego, mogli posiąść w okresie późnorzymskim znajomość tych alfabetów? A może stosowano odpowiednie technologie pozwalające na przeniesienie na imitacje legend lub ich fragmentów z oryginalnych monet?

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A find of contemporary forgeries of Brno pennies with an eagle bearing a breast shield from Rosice near Brno

The subject of this presentation is a small hoard of coins discovered near the town of Rosice (Brno-venkov District, cadastral area Rosice u Brna), situated in the South Moravian Region, 16 km west of Brno. All coins from the hoard are contemporary forgeries of a single coin type. These are forgeries of pennies with an eagle bearing a breast shield with bars, coined with the four-strike (*Vierschlag*) method, based on a coin type minted at the Brno mint beginning in 1435. In appearance, they closely correspond to type XIX defined by Sejbal (1965, pp. 237–238). A total of 23 coins were found, some partially broken, along with several small coin fragments. The majority of the coins (21 specimens) were struck using the same die. The average weight of 15 better-preserved coins from this die is 0.413 g (ranging from 0.267 to 0.630 g). Two coins were struck with another die. The weight of these two coins, minted with a different die, is 0.240 g and 0.650 g (average 0.445 g). The weight of the counterfeits corresponds well to the value 0.446 g reported by Sejbal (1965, p. 239) for genuine coins of this type.

All coins were analysed using non-destructive X-ray fluorescence (XRF). The 21 coins from the same die were identified as copper flans tinned by hot-dip coating. However, the tin layer is preserved only partially, in the form of an intermetallic phase (Richtera and Zmrzlý 2013, pp. 8–9 and 34–39). Surface analysis revealed a predominance of copper (85.8–97.5%, average 92.7%), with significant amounts of tin (1.1–11.0%, average 5.8%), and only trace amounts of silver (0.03–0.44%, average 0.24%). The appearance of these forgeries is characteristic of hot-dip tinned copper flans and is in agreement with the findings of the XRF analysis. The two coins struck with the other die displayed a different surface composition. In addition to copper (71.0–82.3%, average 76.6%), they contained a notable proportion of silver (13.2–25.1%, average 19.1%), while tin was present only in trace quantities (0.03–0.04%). The silver content of these two coins is significantly lower (approximately half) than the fineness reported for genuine coins of this type, which Sejbal (1965, pp. 237–239) gives as 402/1000 (ranging from 364 to 436/1000). Moreover, remnants of plating are visible on parts of their surfaces. These two coins are therefore also likely contemporary forgeries with a copper core and a silver-plated surface. To confirm this hypothesis, further material analyses are planned, including hydrostatic testing and possibly additional methods.

This small hoard of contemporary forgeries of Brno pennies coined with the four-strike method minted after 1435 provides further evidence of the relatively intense counterfeiting activity in Moravia during this period. According to Sejbal (1965, p. 222), forgeries accounted for approximately 4.5% of all Moravian four-strike coins in circulation at the time.

Fig.: Contemporary forgery of a Brno penny with an eagle bearing a breast shield with bars coined with the four-strike method from the find near Rosice.

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Nález dobových falz brněnských peněz s orlicí s prsním štítkem s břevny poblíž Rosic u Brna

Předmětem prezentace je drobný depot mincí nalezený poblíž města Rosice (okres Brno-venkov, k. ú. Rosice u Brna) nacházejícím se v Jihomoravském kraji, 16 km západně od Brna. Všechny mince z depotu jsou dobová falza jednoho mincovního typu. Jedná se o falza čtyřhranných peněz s orlicí s prsním štítkem s břevny, jejichž předlohy byly raženy v brněnské mincovně od roku 1435. Svým provedením jsou velmi blízké typu XIX. dle Sejbala (*1965*, s. 237–238). Celkem bylo nalezeno 23 mincí, z nichž některé jsou částečně olámané, a několik drobných úlomků mincí. Většina (celkem 21) exemplářů bylo vyraženo jedním totožným razidlem. Průměrná hmotnost 15 lépe zachovaných mincí ražených touto raznicí je 0,413 g (v rozsahu od 0,267 do 0,630 g). Dva exempláře pocházejí z jiné raznice. Hmotnost těchto dvou mincí ražených jinou raznicí je 0,240 g a 0,650 g (průměrná hodnota 0,445 g). Hmotnost nalezených falz dobře odpovídá hodnotě hmotnosti 0,446 g, kterou pro uvedený typ mince udává Sejbal (*1965*, s. 239).

Všechny nalezené mince byly podrobeny nedestruktivní rentgenové fluorescenční analýze (XRF). V případě 21 mincí pocházejících z totožné raznice bylo zjištěno, že se jedná o žárově pocínované měděné střížky, přičemž pocínování jejich povrchu je již zachováno pouze částečně ve formě intermetalické fáze (*Richtera – Zmrzlý 2013*, s. 8–9 a s. 34–39). Na jejich povrchu byla detekována převážně měď (v rozsahu 85,8–97,5 %, průměrně 92,7 %) a dále ve významném množství cín (1,1–11,0 %, průměrně 5,8 %), stříbro bylo zaznamenáno v pouze stopovém množství (0,03–0,44 %, průměrně 0,24 %). V souladu se zjištěným složením povrchu je i vzhled zkoumaných falz, vykazující vzhled typický pro žárově pocínované měděné střížky. Odlišné složení povrchu bylo zjištěno u dvou mincí pocházejících z jiného razidla. Kromě 76,6 % mědi (71,0–82,3 %) bylo na jejich povrchu zjištěno také významné množství stříbra (13,2–25,1 %, průměrně 19,1 %). Cín byl na povrchu těchto dvou mincí zjištěn pouze ve stopovém množství (0,03–0,04 %). Obsah stříbra na povrchu těchto dvou mincí je významně nižší (poloviční) oproti hodnotám ryzosti, které u pravých mincí tohoto typu udává Sejbal (*1965*, s. 237–239), což je 402/1000 (364–436/1000). Navíc jsou na povrchu těchto mincí pozorovatelné oblasti, které se jeví jako zbytky pokovení. I tyto dvě mince jsou pravděpodobně dobová falza s měděným jádrem, jejichž povrch byl zřejmě postříbřen. Za účelem ověření této teorie budou mince podrobeny ještě dalším materiálovým analýzám (hydrostatické zkoušce, případně i dalším analýzám).

Nalezený drobný depot dobových falz brněnských drobných mincí ražených po roce 1435 je dalším dokladem poměrně intenzivní falzátorské činnosti na Moravě v tomto období. Sejbal (*1965*, s. 222) udává, že v případě moravské čtyřhranné mince tvořily padělky asi 4,5 % z těchto mincí v oběhu.

Obr.: Dobové falzum brněnského penízu se čtyřrázem s orlicí s prsním štítkem s břevny z nálezu u Rosic.

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Coinage of Ferdinand IV of Castile (Spain): use of iconography for the legitimization of royal power

The accession to the throne of Ferdinand IV of Castile in 1295 was marked by a bitter civil war, as several sectors of the kingdom's nobility did not recognise him as the legitimate monarch. The conflict arose as a result of the marriage of his parents, Sancho IV of Castile and María de Molina, who was his second aunt, and who had not received the necessary papal dispensation for their marriage. Similarly, Sancho IV had ascended to the throne after another war, fighting against his father, Alfonso X of Castile, and his nephews, the Infantes de la Cerda, following the death of Sancho's brother, Fernando de la Cerda, who was the eldest son of the last monarch.

As he was a minor, the early years of Ferdinand IV of Castile's reign were ruled by a regency led by his mother and his uncle, Prince Henry, and were marked by a severe economic crisis caused by civil war and concessions made to cities and nobles in order to gain support for the young monarch. It was in this political and social context that the first coins were minted in the monarch's name. These coins feature the inscription + F REX CASTELLE on the obverse, surrounding a border of dots inside which is a castle with three towers, below which is the mark of each mint. On the reverse, the legend ET LEGIONIS surrounds the same border, in the centre of which is a lion rampant on the right. The reference date for this type of issue is 1297, the year in which the *Ordenamiento de Lorca* ('Lorca Ordinance') was enacted in the city of Toro. This document authorises the minting of coins in the city of the same name, located in the region of Murcia, which is currently under siege by James II, King of Aragon, who had supported one of the noble factions claiming the Castilian throne with the intention of expanding his power throughout the territory. The document contains all the instructions relating to the minting of coins, the organisation of the mint and the work of the various workers, which is why its content is used as a reference for understanding the functioning of other mints located in other parts of the kingdom. The issue was quite large and featured an alloy with a much lower metal content than previous coinage. This, together with the fraudulent coinage produced by the other pretenders to the throne, as mentioned in the chronicles, led to severe inflation that affected the economy of the subjects.

The characteristics of Ferdinand IV of Castile's coinage have generated intense debate about their respective identification, since until recent decades, a large number of authors had attributed these coins to the reign of Ferdinand III of Castile (1189-1252), the young king's great-grandfather. Today, there are fairly solid arguments for ruling out the latter, based on the style of the letters in the legend, which are much more stylised, and the design of the castle and lion, in the same circumstances. All these elements can be traced back to previous monarchs, sometimes with a similar distribution in the monetary field. Analysis and comparison of these elements demonstrate that the coinage of Ferdinand IV of Castile had a well-defined iconographic discourse, in which the design of the obverse and reverse sought a direct connection with previous issues, demonstrating continuity with the line of succession that some factions of the Castilian nobility had questioned.

It is true that coinage was promoted by the regents to demonstrate to the various pretenders that only the crown had the capacity and authority to mint coins. However, the iconography of the issue, which has been little studied from a political point of view, not only reinforces the tactical objective of the regents, but also reinforces the ideological arguments justifying Ferdinand IV of Castile as the heir to the throne. The coin contains the emblems of the Castilian (castle) and Leonese (lion) territories that were under the jurisdiction of the crown and over which there were some claims by the pretenders to the throne. The design of both types shows clear stylistic connections with the coinage of previous monarchs – Sancho IV, father of the young king, Alfonso X, his grandfather, and Ferdinand III, his great-grandfather, who had unified the crowns of Castile and León under his rule – where the castle and the lion appear in different compositions but in the same arrangement as on Ferdinand IV's coin. This relationship is not trivial and demonstrates that the coin, as a clear propaganda tool, would convey to subjects and adversaries that the new monarch intended to continue the project begun by his predecessors, that is, to ensure the integration of the kingdom's borders and prevent the interference of false pretenders.

When Ferdinand IV came of age, the monarch's iconographic policy was reaffirmed, as the marriage of his parents was also canonically recognised. This was truly decisive because it left many of those who claimed the throne without arguments, which led to a decrease in hostilities, although the kingdom continued to be in a maelstrom of conflicts motivated both by the nobility's claims to power and by the expansion of the crown's borders into Muslim-controlled lands. The issue of a gold coin, a double of ten doubloons, in the context of the monarch's coming of age and papal recognition, would demonstrate that Ferdinand IV had adopted his own iconography as an instrument of legitimisation. This gold coin has an iconographic design identical to a coin, also in gold, issued during the reign of Sancho IV. This was also promoted as a demonstration of the legitimate rights of Ferdinand IV's father to the throne claimed by the children of the eldest son of Alfonso X of Castile, hence the iconography of the coin is very similar to the coinage and seal production of the latter monarch. Ultimately, Sancho IV demonstrated that after the death of his brother, Fernando de la Cerda, the rights of succession belonged to him and not to his brother's descendants, which is why he considered it appropriate to use the defining iconographic elements of his father, as the legitimate heir to the crown. In short, the iconography of the coinage of Ferdinand IV of Castile presents the same propaganda strategy and opens up new perspectives for work and analysis on the coinage of these monarchs, always analysed from an economic rather than iconographic perspective.

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Latin as a means of perpetuating the memory of the last Legnica Piasts — coins and inscriptions

The following study is devoted to the topic of perpetuating the memory of the last Piasts with Latin inscriptions on numismatic and epigraphic material. It uses coins and medals from the last 25 years of the dynasty's existence, as well as inscriptions found in the Piasts' Mausoleum in Legnica, both on the building itself and on the sarcophagi inside it.

The study is divided into three parts. The first part discusses regular issues of ducal coinage. They are characterised by a rather standard form of the ruler's (rulers') title, which may appear on both sides of the coin (as in the examples minted by Christian and George Wilhelm) or be placed on the obverse, while the reverse features some special elements. Among the interesting objects in this part of the study is, above all, a considerable group of coins of the three brothers (George III, Louis IV and Christian), issued jointly by all three, as exemplified by a ducat from the Copper Museum collection (ML/N-1486), bearing the inscription D[EI] G[RATIA] GEORGIUS LUDOVIC[US] & CHRISTIA[NUS] FRAT[RES] DUCES SILESIAE LIGN[ICENSES] BREG[ENSES] & WOLAV[IENSES]. Coins bearing a motto (which are referred to in later posthumous medals) also play an important role. Mention was also made of the ¼ ducat coin from 1674 minted by the regent of her juvenile son, Louise of Anhalt, bearing the inscription LOVISE D[EI] G[(RATIA] DVC[ISSA] SIL[ESIAE] LIG[NICESIS] BREG[ENSIS] ET WOLAVI[ENSIS] NAT[A] PR[INCEPS] ANH[ALTINA] CO[MITISSA] ASC[ANIAE]) DO[MINA] SER[VESTAE] ET BER[NBURGII] TVT[RIX] GV[ILHELMI].

The second part is devoted to commemorative issues. These are mainly posthumous coins and medals minted by the descendants of a deceased ruler to commemorate him. Sometimes they use the motto of the ruler (CONSILIVM IEHOVAE STABIT, DEO PATRIAE ET CAESARI, CONSTANTER ET SINCERE) placed on his coins and medals minted during his lifetime. However, the most diverse and at the same time the most numerous group are those that duchess Louise had minted after the death of her son George Wilhelm, on whom the male line of the Piast dynasty died out in 1675. They are characterised by the fact that they not only give the dates of life or place of birth and death on the reverse, as was the case with previous rulers, but also contain, depending on the size of the object itself, a shorter or longer description of virtues and an expression of grief at the loss of the last representative of the dynasty, here directly referred to as the Piast dynasty (PIASTI ETNARCHAE POLONIAE ULTIMUS NEPOS, PIASTEAE REGIAE FAMILIAE ULTIMUS). The picture is completed by several examples of posthumous medals, containing emblems and accompanying short inscriptions, matching those decorating the duke's sarcophagus. This was the idea of the poet Daniel Casper von Lohenstein.

The same man is responsible for the conceptual design of the Piasts' Mausoleum, the Latin inscriptions of which are discussed in part three. It is based on two previously published articles by the author. The content of the inscriptions from the building and sarcophagi (including the unpreserved epitaph on the sarcophagus of George Wilhelm) was compared to that found on posthumous coins and medals. The recurring motifs are primarily information about the death of the ruler and the dates of his life, although in the case of George Wilhelm, it takes on a more substantial form of commemorating him as a young (MAIORENNIS = XIV anno suo nato aetatis veniam), but extremely talented and virtuous ruler (VIRTUTE PRIMUS = Virtute ... omnium Proavorum Virtutes), who after 900 years (NOVEMQUE SECULORUM SENIO = post nonum seculorum senium = POST NOVEM ... SECULA) ends the existence of the Piast dynasty, to the great sadness of his contemporaries (ILLACHRYMANTE SILESIA REDDIDIT = hujus occasu, felicitati nostrae obicem). Depending on the object, one may also find a more complete title (as in the case of the coin minted by the regent duchess Louise) or more information about the merits and love for the ruler (the sarcophagi of Louis IV and George Wilhelm) or even the entire family (the foundation plaque of the Mausoleum).

The presented analysis shows how individual elements replicate certain ideologically crucial content, while others complement each other, providing a richer picture of the last representatives of the Piast ruling family.

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Gilded coins from the Barbaricum in the collection of the Ossolineum (Barbarzyńskie monety pozłacane w zbiorach Ossolineum)

A set of nine gilded coins from eastern Barbaricum imitating originals from the late 2nd-3rd century AD is kept in the Ossoliński National Institute. They were purchased at online auctions of the Warsaw Numismatic Center. These are interesting objects due to the technology of their production and their relations not only to Roman originals, but also to the production of imitations in gold, silver and bronze. I will try to present this set against the background of more recent findings on the Barbaricum minting and taking into account the results of metal research.

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How many rolling mills are needed to mint a country's coins? A case study of 17th-century Moldavian coins

In the 17th century, the Vasa dynasty in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Sweden, and the Hohenzollern Electors in Brandenburg minted various coins. The smallest of these were shillings. Visually, these coins were linked by common iconographic features, with one- or two-letter monograms of the rulers' names on one side, while the other side was reserved to the heraldic emblems of the issuing countries. These coins were eagerly copied in neighbouring regions, and also served as a source of inspiration for the coins of Eustratie Dabija in Moldavia (1661–65).

Not much has been written about the coin production of Eustratius Dabija; much more famous is the illegal production of shillings of the above-mentioned countries at the mint in Suceava. According to the most conservative estimates, an enormous number – amounting to millions – of such counterfeit shillings were produced at the Suceava mint during the 17th century.

The cover for the production of illegal shillings was Dabija's own coins of the same small denomination – one shilling (Romanian șelag). They are highly diverse. According to the typology proposed in 1977 by the authors of the numismatic catalogue (MBR 1977), four types of reverses were distinguished, grouped by the central images located within the inner dotted circle:

- Type 1: round (princely) hat with three feathers, with a crossed sword and mace beneath it;
- Type 2: Cossack (boyar) hat with a feather, with a crossed sabre and mace beneath it;
- Type 3: coins bearing the letters S, T, V;
- Type 4: coins with monograms composed of two letters: СБ, Сс, СД, СН, СР, Сѣ, СТ, СЖ(?) and DI.

The obverses for all types of reverses remained unchanged – they depict a horseman facing left, enclosed within the inner dotted circle.

However, as we have already noted (Dergacheva and Staroverov 2025), the existing typology does not reflect the technical and technological features of coin production and requires revision. According to our calculations, the number of variants of all known coins of Dabija amounts to at least 14.

Our research has revealed that Dabija's coins were produced using the *rolling mill method* (German: *Walzwerk*, *Walzprägewerk*). Examples of minting by using this method are well known in the coin production of countries throughout Central Europe during the second half of the 16th and throughout the 17th centuries. The rolling mill was a mechanized installation (machine), powered by animal, human, or falling water force (Schrötter 1930, p. 733).

The designs for both sides of the future coins were engraved onto rollers, which, during the rolling process, simultaneously impressed the images onto both sides of the strips of rolled metal. Individually coins were then punched out (cut) from those strips. Examples of these machines have been preserved at the mint in Hall in Tyrol. Original surviving rollers are known from mints in Segovia, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, and others. Based on these examples, we can precisely determine the appearance of the rollers and the number of coin images engraved on them. For larger denominations, such as thalers, up to 4 or even 6 images could be placed on a single pair of rollers. For smaller coins, such as shillings, up to 20 images could be arranged on one pair. Importantly, coins minted by a single pair of rollers were identical in design – same denomination, same year of issue, and the same iconographic type. Moreover, a single set of punches was usually used to produce all the dies on a given roller.

Analysing Dabija's coins – over 240 specimens in our database – we have reached several significant observations:

First, it has been established that all of his coins were produced using the rolling mill method. The striking was often imprecise, likely due to poorly calibrated or maintained equipment. This caused a misalignment of the impressions on the metal strips, resulting in coins with off-center designs. These very flaws have enabled us to reconstruct the original coin strips. The reconstructed strips reveal that *seven coin images* were arranged on a single pair of rollers. Thus, with each rotation of the rolling mill, seven coins were impressed onto the metal strip.

Most notably, the entire coinage of Dabija was not produced using 14 pairs of rollers – as one might expect given the 14 known image variants – but significantly fewer. At this stage of our research, we can confirm the use of only *5–6 roller pairs*. Our reconstructions show that *different coin types were engraved on the same roller pair*.

For example, one reverse roller bore monograms: С н, С с, С т, С Р, С д, С Б, С ж. Another pair carried monograms: T, S, Di (with D mirror-reversed), B, and possibly H, V, V – though the exact sequence remains uncertain, as the strip has not yet been fully reconstructed. For this reverse roller, we hypothesize the existence of three variants, differing in terms of their punch characteristics and minor design details. Coins bearing the princely and boyar hats were likely engraved on separate rollers, possibly alongside imitations of coins from Swedish Riga under Queen Christina (1632–1654).

Examples of mixed minting – where coins of different issuers appear on the same roller pair – are known from surviving metal strips that had not yet been cut into individual coins. Such strips were found in Suceava and published by K. A. Romstorfer (1913, pp. 90–98), C. Moisil (1915), A. Mikołajczyk (1980), and also in the Bârnova Monastery (unpublished, information from V. Butnariu). These strips clearly show Swedish, Polish, and Brandenburg coins placed side by side on the same strip.

Besides, some of Dabija's coins indicate that the designs on certain rollers were later modified (retouched or recut). This was likely done to improve the image quality after the rollers had been partially chipped or destroyed during operation.

Thus, the conclusion may be drawn that only a few roller pairs—*preliminarily estimated at 5–6*—were used in Dabija's coin production. Moreover, the minting of his official coins was directly linked to the simultaneous production of counterfeit coins. Furthermore, it can be asserted with certainty that a thorough analysis of the monetary market of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was conducted before the commencement of minting. Dies of various coin types—not only Dabija's official issues but also imitations – were combined on the same roller pairs to create an illusion of diversity, making these coins harder to detect within the already heterogeneous circulating currency.

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Wie viele Walzwerke braucht man, um die Münzen eines Landes zu prägen? Fallstudie moldauischer Münzen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert

Im 17. Jahrhundert prägten die Dynastie Wasa in Polen und Schweden sowie die Kurfürsten des Hauses Hohenzollern in Brandenburg Münzen. Diese wurden in benachbarten Regionen gerne nachgeahmt und dienten als Inspiration für die lokale Geldproduktion. Der Vortrag erörtert dies detailliert am Beispiel Moldau im 17. Jahrhundert: Wie sehen die Münzen aus, wie wurden sie hergestellt und wie viele Walzwerke benötigte man dafür?

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Some remarks on two hoards of ancient coins from Mrzezino, Pomerania

In the village of Mrzezino (German: Bresin), located about 2.5 km from the coast of Puck Bay (northern part of Gdańsk Bay) in present-day northern Poland, two large hoards of Roman coins were discovered. One of them consisted of solidi from the 5th-6th centuries, while the other contained denarii from the Imperial period - in the recorded part, there were only denarii from the 2nd century.

In June 1795, local peasants found a hoard of 150 gold coins, all of them Late Roman/Early Byzantine solidi. The circumstances of the discovery were documented after a detailed investigation conducted by the Prussian authorities (after the first partition of Poland in 1772, Mrzezino found itself within the borders of the Kingdom of Prussia). The coins (as a 'lump' lying directly in the ground) were discovered under a large stone while removing bushes and stones from a part of the field that had previously been agricultural wasteland. The site of the discovery was located north of the then village of Mrzezino, on the side of the neighbouring village of Żelistrzewo (German Sellistrau). Ninety per cent of the coins bore the name of Anastasius I; the rest were minted under Theodosius (II?), Marcian, Leo (I?), Zeno and Basiliscus. The only coin described in detail in an 18th-century account (as representative of the vast majority of coins in the hoard) is a solidus with the portrait of Anastasius I minted in Rome, controlled by the Ostrogoths. Renata Ciołek's findings indicate that most of the coins were melted down shortly after they were found. The 10 surviving solidi are most likely in the collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, but it is currently impossible to identify and attribute them to the Mrzezino hoard.

All available information about the alleged second hoard from Mrzezino comes from Aleksander M. Kuźmin. In September 2008, he gave a never published lecture entitled 'Finds of Roman coins in Gdynia' at the Museum of the City of Gdynia during a session on Gdynia in numismatics, medallic art and phaleristics. For a number of years, A. M. Kuźmin received information that single specimens of Roman denarii from the 2nd century had been found in various districts of Gdynia, including Obłuże, Grabówek, Chylonia, and Wzgórze św. Maksymiliana (until 1990, the last of these districts was called Wzgórze Nowotki). A. M. Kuźmin managed to obtain five coins: one denarius of Hadrian, two of Antoninus Pius and two of Marcus Aurelius. All the denarii remained in the hands of the finders. The coins were discovered, among others, by children playing in the courtyards of blocks of flats. According to A. M. Kuźmin, these denarii were brought in with shipments of sand/gravel intended for the construction of blocks of flats in various districts of Gdynia (another possibility is that the sand was intended to fill sandboxes in children's playgrounds). This could have happened within a very broad chronological framework, considering the history of the construction of Gdynia's housing estates, most likely between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s. A. M. Kuźmin determined that the sand/gravel used in construction was brought in from Mrzezino, among other places, where a large gravel pit has been operating for several decades, extracting aggregate on a very large scale. Considering the earlier discovery of the solidus hoard in Mrzezino, A. M. Kuźmin put forward a hypothesis, which, in the opinion of the author of this paper, is quite plausible, that during the extraction of gravel or sand, a hoard of Roman denarii was discovered, which was then scattered and transported with the gravel/sand to various locations in Gdynia. The gravel pit in Mrzezino has been exploited since 1965, which could be considered the *terminus post quem* of the discovery of the alleged hoard. The aggregate quarry, now very extensive, is located east of the 18^{th}- and 19^{th}-century buildings of the village of Mrzezino.

Most likely, the hoards from Mrzezino (assuming that the hoard of denarii was indeed discovered in this village) were found in various locations on the plateau where the village is located. Nevertheless, in the south-western part of the Baltic region, especially in southern Scandinavia, denarii from the Imperial period, especially heavily worn denarii from the 2^{nd} century, are often found in late contexts dating from the 5^{th} and 6^{th} centuries. So it is quite likely that the time of deposition of both hoards can be dated similarly, to the turn of the 5^{th} century. At the same time, we must remember that the available information about the alleged denarius hoard from Mrzezino, including its composition and actual location, is so scarce that any hypotheses regarding its interpretation are based on very fragile foundations.

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Unde sunt nummi? Third-century AD Roman coin finds from the left bank of the Dnieper River (Ukraine)

Despite the long research tradition, the question of the mechanisms of the influx of Roman coins to Eastern Europe continues to remain at the centre of scientific discussions. In specialized literature, the circulation of Roman coins in the aforementioned region is traditionally considered in the context of the functioning of the Chernyakhiv archaeological culture. However, research in recent decades convincingly demonstrates the internal heterogeneity of this culture, which is naturally reflected in the diversity of ways in which Roman coins were distributed in different parts of its range. One of the most indicative regions in this context is the Left Bank of the Dnieper.

Coins from the 3rd century hold exceptional significance for analyzing economic, sociocultural, and military-political contacts between the barbarian world and the Roman Empire, as they are synchronous with the Chernyakhiv culture. At the same time, statistical data indicate that they constitute only 4.2 per cent of the total number of Roman coins in the region (Myzgin 2013), which requires separate explanation.

The aureus finds represent the greatest research value: eight specimens are currently known, whereas fifteen years ago only one was recorded. Chronological analysis indicates that most of them date to the last quarter of the 3rd century and probably arrived in the region together with the Chernyakhiv population at the beginning of the 4th century. This circumstance indirectly points to the limited participation of the local population in Gothic campaigns of the mid-3rd century.

Particular attention should be paid to the change in functional purpose of Roman coins in the barbarian environment. Most of the aurei were pierced or looped, which unambiguously indicates their use as prestigious ornaments or status symbols. This aspect is actively researched in the works of Polish scholars (Bursche and Więcek 2010; Bursche and Myzgin 2020) and opens promising directions for studying the processes of cultural adaptation of Roman coins in the barbarian milieu.

Finds of antoniniani in the studied region are characterized by extraordinary rarity. Currently, only two reliable finds are known: an antoninianus of Aurelian (2006) and one of Gallienus (2017), both from the territory of Kharkiv oblast. At least 10 coins come from amateur finds. This situation confirms the hypothesis about the relatively late penetration of 3rd-century Roman coins into the eastern part of the Chernyakhiv culture area, which contrasts with the right-bank territories where antoniniani occur significantly more frequently, including hoards (Myzgin 2017).

Roman bronze provincial coins from the 3rd century, represented by coinage of cities in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, constitute a particular scientific interest. Their presence in barbarian world territory serves as an important indicator of the intensity and character of interregional contacts. Research by Yu. Beidin (2012) and K. Myzgin (2011; 2012) demonstrates that the main portion of such finds in the left bank of the Dnieper consists of issues from the mints of Trapezus, Sinope, Ephesus, and Nicomedia. In contrast, on the right bank of Dnieper, coins from Viminacium, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, and Nicaea dominate. Researchers connect this geographical differentiation with different routes of Gothic military expeditions: maritime campaigns to Asia Minor cities and overland invasions of the Balkan provinces. A distinct group is formed by the coin finds from the city of Trapezus, whose presence in the region is associated with the plundering of this city by the Borani tribes (Myzgin and Didenko 2021). Despite the heuristic value of such interpretation, it requires critical reconsideration, as it is not always supported by clear archaeological contexts. Moreover, the area of distribution of Asia Minor provincial coinage extends far beyond the boundaries of the left bank of the Dnieper, encompassing territories of Central Europe (Bursche 1996). However, the spatial coincidence of distribution areas of denarii from the 1st–2nd centuries and coins from the 3rd century points to continuity in the mechanisms of Roman coin influx, which constitutes a weighty argument in favour of the existence of stable transregional political, diplomatic, military or trade connections.

Thus, Roman coins from the 3rd century, particularly those of provincial minting, remain an important source for reconstructing political, military, and commercial contacts within the Chernyakhiv culture and require further systematic research taking into account the regional specificity of their distribution.

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Unde sunt nummi? Знахідки римських монет III ст. н.е. на Лівобережжі Дніпра (Україна)

Незважаючи на тривалу дослідницьку традицію, питання механізмів надходження римських монет до Східної Європи продовжує залишатися в центрі наукових дискусій. У спеціалізованій літературі циркуляція римських монет в означеному регіоні традиційно розглядається в контексті функціонування черняхівської археологічної культури. Проте дослідження останніх десятиліть переконливо демонструють внутрішню неоднорідність цієї культури, що закономірно відображається у різноманітності шляхів розповсюдження римських монет у різних частинах її ареалу. Одним із таких регіонів у цьому контексті є Лівобережжя Дніпра.

У рамках даного дослідження здійснено комплексний аналіз опублікованих знахідок римських монет III ст. н.е. з території Чернігівської, Сумської, Полтавської, Харківської та Київської областей. Мета роботи полягає у визначенні джерел та шляхів надходження цих монет до варварського середовища та з›ясуванні особливостей локального сприйняття римської нумізматичної продукції.

Монети III ст. н.е. мають виняткове значення для аналізу економічних, соціокультурних і воєнно-політичних контактів між варварським світом та Римською імперією, оскільки хронологічно синхронні з черняхівською культурою. Водночас статистичні дані засвідчують, що вони становлять лише 4,2% від загальної кількості римських монет у регіоні (Мизгін 2013), що потребує окремого пояснення.

Найбільшу дослідницьку цінність становлять знахідки ауреусів: на сьогоднішній день відомо вісім екземплярів, тоді як п›ятнадцять років тому їх нараховувався лише один. Хронологічний аналіз свідчить, що більшість із них датується останньою чвертю III ст. н.е. та, імовірно, потрапила до регіону разом із черняхівським населенням на початку IV ст. Ця обставина опосередковано вказує на обмежену участь місцевого населення у готських походах середини III ст.

Окрему увагу слід приділити зміні функціонального призначення римських монет у варварському середовищі. Значна частина ауреусів має отвори або спеціально приклепані вушка, що недвозначно свідчить про їх використання як престижних прикрас або статусних символів. Цей аспект активно досліджується в працях польських науковців (Bursche, Więcek 2010; Bursche, Myzgin 2020) і відкриває перспективні напрямки для вивчення процесів культурної адаптації римської монети у варварському середовищі.

Знахідки антонініанів у досліджуваному регіоні характеризуються надзвичайною рідкісністю. Наразі відомі лише дві достовірні знахідки: антонініани Авреліана (2006 р.) та Галлієна (2017 р.), обидва з території Харківської області. З аматорських знахідок походить не менше 10 монет. Така ситуація підтверджує гіпотезу про порівняно пізнє проникнення римської монети III ст. до східної частини ареалу черняхівської культури, що контрастує з правобережними територіями, де антонініани трапляються значно частіше, включно з скарбами (Myzgin 2017).

Особливий науковий інтерес становлять провінційні монети III ст., представлені переважно бронзовою та білоновою чеканкою міст Малої Азії та Балканського півострова. Їхня присутність на території варварського світу є важливим індикатором інтенсивності та характеру міжрегіональних контактів. Дослідження Ю. Бейдіна (2012) та К. Мизгіна (2011; 2012) засвідчують, що основну частину таких знахідок на Лівобережжі становлять випуски монетних дворів Трапезунда, Синопа, Ефеса та Нікомедії. Натомість на Правобережжі домінують монети з Вімінація, Маркіанополя та Нікополя на Істрі. Дослідники пов›язують цю географічну диференціацію з різними маршрутами готських військових експедицій: морськими походами до Малої Азії та сухопутними вторгненнями на Балкани. Особливу групу складають знахідки монет м. Трапезунд, поява яких у регіоне пов'язується з пограбуванням цього міста племенами боранів (Myzgin, Didenko 2021). Попри евристичну цінність такої інтерпретації, вона потребує критичного переосмислення, оскільки далеко не завжди підкріплена чіткими археологічними контекстами. Крім того, ареал поширення малоазійської провінційної чеканки простягається значно далі за межі Лівобережжя Дніпра, охоплюючи терени Центральної Європи (Bursche 1996). Проте просторовий збіг ареалів поширення денаріїв I–II ст. та монет III ст. вказує на спадкоємність механізмів надходження римських монет, що становить вагомий аргумент на користь існування стабільних трансрегіональних торговельних зв'язків.

Таким чином, римські монети III ст. н.е., зокрема провінційного карбування, залишаються важливим джерелом для реконструкції політичних, воєнних і торговельних контактів у межах черняхівської культури та потребують подальшого системного дослідження з урахуванням регіональної специфіки їх поширення.

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Medieval coinage in Buda

In recent times, the staff of the Budapest History Museum set themselves an ambitious task to summarize the history of the Buda Castle District in a multi-volume series, from its medieval beginnings up to the unification of Pest, Buda, and Óbuda in 1873. On this occasion, it became necessary to re-examine the history of the mint of Buda, which will be included as a subchapter in the major chapter dealing with the medieval economy of the town.

The first charter referring to the operation of the mint dates from 1255. Following this, it became the most important mint of the medieval kingdom, serving as a model for other mints across the country. This development is closely linked to the establishment of the royal residence on the Buda Castle Hill, which became the capital of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

The last comprehensive study on coin minting in Buda was published a long time ago. Lajos Huszár, the most prominent researcher in Hungarian numismatics, published his work *The History of Coinage in Buda during the Middle Ages* in 1958. Even this book demonstrated clearly that the history of the Buda mint is complex and cannot be studied without interdisciplinary research, as evidence has often survived only sporadically or indirectly. Most written sources were lost during the turbulent decades of the 19th and 20th centuries, so only secondary records and documents provide clues about where minting activity may have taken place and who may have worked in the mint. Archaeological data are perhaps even more uncertain, as most of the remains that could have referred to local coin production were demolished over the past seven centuries. Often, it is the coins themselves that serve as evidence. A good example is the independent minting in Buda under the Anjou rulers, Charles I (1301–1342) and Louis I (1342–1382), for which no written sources survive. However, several coin types are known that differ from the regular royal issues and feature iconographic and inscriptional elements that indicate a close connection to the town of Buda.

In the first half of the 15th century, under Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1435), Buda was still the most important mint in the country, but even at that time, signs were beginning to appear that Kremnitz (today: Kremnica) would eventually take over this role. This transition did indeed take place; nevertheless, coin production in the royal capital of Buda continued until 1541, when the town and castle was captured by the Ottomans.

The approximately 300-year history of the Buda mint raises several important questions, such as: (1) Where were the workshops located, who may have worked in them, and how did they operate? (2) What types of coins were minted during specific periods? (3) What impact did the operation of the coinage of Buda have on the domestic financial administration, and in what ways did it differ? In my presentation, I aim to address these questions in light of existing research. My primary goal is to present our current state of knowledge to an international professional audience and to highlight the areas that complicate a full reconstruction of the history of local coinage. Naturally, the presentation will also touch on possible directions for future research and my long-term objectives, supplemented by preliminary findings.

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Régész – A Középkori Gyűjtemény vezetője

Középkori pénzverés Budán

Az elmúlt időszakban a Budapesti Történeti Múzeum munkatársai nem kisebb feladatot vállaltak magukra, mint Budai Várnegyed történetét egy több kötetből álló sorozatból foglalják össze a középkori kezdetektől egészen Pest, Buda és Óbuda 1873-as egyesüléséig. Ennek apropóján vált szükségessé, hogy a budai pénzverde történetét újból górcső alá vegyük, amely a város középkori gazdaságával foglalkozó nagy fejezetben fog helyet kapni alfejezetként.

A budai pénzverde első működésére utaló oklevél 1255-ből származik. Ezt követően vált a középkori királyság legfontosabb verdéjévé, amely példaként is szolgált az ország többi pénzverő kamarája számára. Ez a folyamat nem függetleníthető a budai Várhegyen kiépülő királyi székhely kialakulásától, amely a középkori Magyar Királyság fővárosává vált.

Az utolsó szintetizáló munka a budai pénzverésről igen régen jelent meg. Huszár Lajos, aki a magyar numizmatika legkiemelkedőbb kutatója volt, 1958-ban jelentette meg *A budai pénzverés története a középkorban* című munkáját. Már ez a könyv is jól bemutatta, hogy a budai pénzverde története komplex, interdiszciplináris kutatások nélkül nem vizsgálható, hiszen a bizonyítékok sokszor csak szórványosan vagy közvetetten maradtak ránk. Az írott források zöme a 19–20. század zivataros évtizedei során az enyészet áldozataivá váltak, ezért csak indirekt források és dokumentumok jelzik hol, milyen munka folyhatott a verdében és kik dolgoztak benne. A régészeti adatok talán még ennél is bizonytalanabbak, hiszen az elmúlt 7 évszázadban a legtöbb emléket, amely a helyi pénzverésre utalhattak volna, elbontották. Sokszor maguk az érmék azok, amik bizonyítékként szolgálhatnak. Jó példa erre a Anjou uralkodók, I. Károly (1301–1342) és I. Lajos (1342–1382) uralkodása alatt folyó budai autonóm pénzverés, amelyről, habár írott forrás nem maradt fenn, de több olyan éremtípus ismert, amelyek a rendes királyi veretektől eltérnek, viszont Buda városával szoros kapcsolatot mutató éremképi és felirati részletekkel rendelkeznek.

15. század első felében, Luxemburgi Zsigmond alatt még az ország legfontosabb pénzverdéje volt, de már ekkor szaporodtak a jelek, hogy Körmöcbánya át fogja venni ezt a szerepét. Ez be is következett, ettől függetlenül a budai pénzverés egészen 1541-ig, Buda török által való elfoglalásáig folytatódott a pénzverés a királyi fővárosban.

A budai pénzverde megközelítőleg 300 éves történetében számos kérdés felvetődik, mint például: 1.) Hol létesültek a műhelyek, kik dolgozhattak bennük, hogyan működtek? 2.) Egyes időszakokban milyen érméket vertek bennük? 3.) Milyen hatással volt a hazai pénzügyigazgatásra a budai kamara működése és miben volt más? Elsősorban előadásomban ezekre a kérdésekre keresem a választ az eddigi kutatások tükrében. Elsődleges célom az eddigi ismereteink bemutatása a külföldi szakmai közönségnek, illetve azokat a területeket, amelyek megnehezítik azt, hogy a lokális pénzverés történetét teljes egészében feltárjuk. A prezentációmból természetesen nem maradhat ki azt sem milyen további kutatásokra van lehetőség és milyen célkitűzéseim vannak hosszútávon, részeredményekkel kiegészítve.

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Deniers and other coins of Hungary in Austrian coin edicts in the time of Ferdinand I (1521–1564)

The fact that Hungarian deniers were increasingly in circulation in modern Austria's territory from the 16th century onwards is well known in research and has been proven by archaeological finds. In 1924, Günther Probszt devoted himself extensively to this subject for the last third of the 16th century in the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He drew primarily on written sources, including coin edicts, for his observations. The Hungarian deniers were known there under the names *Schaftreiber* ('Shepherd driving sheep'), *Soldin*, or *ungarische Dreier* ('Hungarian triples'). *Dreier* because they circulated at the supposed value of three Austrian pennies. To my knowledge, the circulation of Hungarian deniers in Austria in the preceding period has not yet been studied in detail.

In 2009, a hoard consisting almost exclusively of Hungarian deniers, numbering approximately 3,900 coins, was discovered in Fohregg near Ybbs, far from the Hungarian-Austrian border. The hoard ends with the year 1533 and is unique in Austria in terms of its composition and size. Hungarian coins are also a recurring theme in the Austrian coin edicts or coin mandates in the time of Ferdinand I (1521–1564, emperor since 1556/58). Between 1521 and 1564, they are mentioned in at least 15 edicts. Only a few of these coin edicts are known to researchers to date. It is noteworthy that Hungarian deniers were banned in several mandates until the end of 1533 and then only became an issue again in 1556. There was therefore a gap of 23 years during which the circulation of Hungarian deniers apparently did not need to be regulated. In my research for this period, I was also unable to find any relevant mention of Hungarian deniers in the archives on Austrian coinage history. In addition, there are almost no Hungarian deniers in Austrian coin finds for this period. While they occur frequently in hoards dating up to 1533 and become more common again from 1564 onwards, they are almost completely absent in the intervening period. However, this finding should be viewed with some caution, as the total number of known hoards in Austria and the sum of the coins found in them also peaked between 1523 and around 1535/1544. Even the few known individual finds of Hungarian deniers do not show such a marked decline as the hoards. Nevertheless, the temporary decline in Hungarian deniers in the finds is more pronounced than the general decline in hoard finds. It also appears that the years of minting of the deniers from 1534 to 1563 and earlier years reappear in the hoard finds, which end in 1564 and later. This evidence raises the question of why Hungarian deniers virtually disappeared from Austrian currency circulation or at least hoard finds for two to three decades. Strict compliance with the prohibition mandates over such a long period of time is not to be expected.

My thesis is that Hungarian deniers had such a bad reputation due to the large number of underweight specimens in circulation and, even more so, due to even lower-value, unauthorized imitations/counterfeits, that they were no longer in circulation in Austria, or at least were no longer being hoarded. For the period up to the death of the Hungarian anti-king John Zápolya in 1540, these problems with Hungarian denarius minting are largely accepted by scholars. For the period after 1540, older literature in particular often attests to a significant improvement in the situation. Contrary observations have so far only been carefully included in the literature. A newly discovered source from 1550 indicates that even then, many low-value Hungarian denars were still in circulation outside Hungary. The content of a coin edict dated 30 May 1556, which banned Hungarian deniers, suggests that Hungarian deniers only began to circulate again in Austria at that time.

In addition to the coin edicts that generally prohibit the circulation of Hungarian deniers, other edicts are also hidden in the archives and have not yet been examined, or only superficially. They deal with the coins of King John Zápolya (1526–1540) and the coins of Count Nicholas Zriny (†1534), with the valuation of the Hungarian *moneta nova* and the in 1525 restored Hungarian *moneta antiqua* in Austria, as well as with warnings about counterfeit Hungarian gold coins. Upon closer analysis, all of these coin edicts offer details on coin and monetary history that may only be found there. For example, a coin edict for Tyrol dated 2 November 1527, reveals that counterfeit Hungarian *Goldgulden* or ducats bearing the image of King Louis II appeared on the market in Bolzano (Italy). These coins are said to have contained no more than 19 carats of gold, but were additionally gold-plated in such a way that they were difficult to recognize by their color or sound. Another coin mandate for the five Lower Austrian hereditary lands (*Erbländer*) dated 18 December 1533, reveals the exact location of the Vienna currency exchange (*Wechselbank*) at that time.

This presentation is also intended to raise awareness of the depth of information that can be gleaned from a closer analysis of already known coin edicts and similar sources.

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Denare und andere ungarische Münzen in österreichischen Münzmandaten der Zeit Ferdinands I. (1521–1564)

Dass ungarische Denare seit dem 16. Jahrhundert auch vermehrt im heutigen Österreich umliefen, ist in der Forschung hinlänglich bekannte und durch Funde belegt. Günther Probszt widmete sich 1924 ausgiebig diesem Sachverhalt für das letzte Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain. Dabei zog er vom allem schriftliche Quellen, darunter Münzmandate, für seine Betrachtungen heran. Die ungarischen Denare waren dort unter den Namen *Schaftreiber*, *Soldin* oder *ungarische Dreier* bekannt. *Dreier* deshalb, weil sie zum vermeintlichen Wert von drei österreichischen Pfennigen umliefen. Der Umlauf ungarischer Denare in Österreich in der vorhergehenden Zeitperiode wurde meines Wissens nach bisher nicht genauer untersucht.

2009 wurde in Fohregg bei Ybbs, also weit weg von der ungarisch-österreichischen Grenze, ein nahezu ausschließlich aus ungarischen Denaren bestehender Hortfund mit ca. 3900 Exemplare entdeckt. Der Fund schließt mit dem Jahrgang 1533 und ist in dieser Zusammensetzung und Größe einzigartig für Österreich. Auch in den österreichischen Münzmandaten aus der Zeit Ferdinands I. (1521–1564, ab 1556/58 Kaiser) sind ungarische Münzen immer wieder ein Thema. Im Zeitraum von 1521 bis 1564 werden sie in mindestens 15 Mandaten genannt. Nur wenige dieser Münzmandate sind bisher in der Forschung bekannt. Bemerkenswert ist, dass die ungarischen Denare in mehreren Mandaten bis Ende 1533 verboten wurden und dann erst wieder 1556, thematisiert wurden. Es gab also eine Lücke von 23 Jahren, in der der Umlauf ungarischer Denare offensichtlich nicht reguliert werden musste. Auch in den Archivalien zum österreichischen Münzwesen konnte ich bei meiner Recherche für diesen Zeitraum keine relevante Erwähnung der ungarischen Denare finden. Zusätzlich finden sich auch in den österreichischen Münzfunden für diesen Zeitraum nahezu keine ungarischen Denare. Während sie in Hortfunden, die bis 1533 schließen, gehäuft vorkommen und auch ab 1564 wieder mehr werden, fehlen sie in der Zwischenzeit nahezu komplett. Diese Erkenntnis ist jedoch mit etwas Vorsicht zu betrachten, da auch die Gesamtzahl der bekannten Hortfunde in Österreich und die Summe der darin enthaltenen Fundmünzen für den Zeitraum von 1523 bis ca. 1535/1544 einen Höhepunkt erreichen. Auch die ohnehin wenigen bekannten Einzelfunde von ungarischen Denaren zeigen keinen so prägnanten Rückgang wie die Hortfunde. Doch ist der zwischenzeitliche Rückgang der ungarischen Denare in den Funden deutlicher ausgeprägter als der allgemeine Rückgang der Hortfunde. Es zeigt sich auch, dass die Jahrgänge der Denare von 1534 bis 1563 und frühere Jahrgänge in den Hortfunden, die ab 1564 schließen, wieder vorkommen. Aus dieser Evidenz stellt sich die Frage, warum die ungarischen Denare für zwei bis drei Dekaden aus dem österreichischen Geldumlauf bzw. den Hortfunden nahezu verschwanden. Eine strikte Beachtung der Verbotsmandate über einen so langen Zeitraum ist nicht zu erwarten.

Meine These ist, dass die ungarischen Denare durch die vielen untergewichtigen Exemplare darunter und noch mehr durch noch geringwertigere, unautorisierte Imitationen/Fälschungen einen so schlechten Ruf hatten, dass sie in Österreich nicht mehr umliefen oder zumindest nicht mehr in den Horten angespart wurden. Für die Zeit bis zum Tod des ungarischen Gegenkönigs Johannes Zápolya 1540 sind diese Probleme der ungarischen Denarprägung weitestgehend wissenschaftlicher Konsens. Für die Zeit ab 1540 wird vor allem in der älteren Literatur oft eine deutliche Verbesserung der Situation attestiert. Gegenteilige Erkenntnisse fanden bisher nur zaghaft Eingang in die Literatur. Eine neuentdeckte Quelle von 1550 deutet darauf hin, dass auch damals noch viele geringwertige ungarische Denare im Umlauf außerhalb Ungras zu finden war. Der Inhalt eines Münzmandats vom 30. Mai 1556, das die *ungarischen Dreier* verbot, deutet darauf hin, dass die Denare erst damals wieder in Österreich umzulaufen begannen.

Neben den Münzmandaten, die den Umlauf der ungarischen Denare generell verbieten, sind auch andere Mandate in den Archiven versteckt und bisher nicht oder nur oberflächlich rezipiert wurden. Sie beschäftigen sich mit den Münzen des Königs Johannes Zápolya (1526–1540) und mit den Münzen des Grafen Nikolaus Zriny (†1534), mit der Bewertung der ungarischen *moneta nova* und der ab 1525 wiederhergestellten ungarischen *moneta antiqua* in Österreich, sowie mit der Warnung vor falschen ungarischen Goldgulden. All diese Münzmandate bieten bei genauerer Analyse Details zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte, die vielleicht nur dort zu finden sind. So ist aus einem Münzmandat für Tirol vom 2. November 1527 herauszulesen, dass auf dem Markt zu Bozen (Italien) falsche ungarische Goldgulden mit dem Bild König Ludwigs II. auftauchten. Diese sollen nicht mehr als 19 Karat Gold gehalten haben, doch zusätzlich so vergoldet gewesen sein, dass sie an Farbe und Klang nur schwer zu erkennen gewesen sein. Ein anderes Münzmandat für die fünf niederösterreichischen Erbländer vom 18. Dezember 1533 verrät uns den genauen Standort der Wiener Wechselbank zu jener Zeit.

Diese Präsentation soll auch dafür sensibilisieren, was für eine Informationstiefe bei genauerer Analyse aus bereits bekannten Münzmandaten und ähnlichen Quellen herauszuholen ist.

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Graffiti on post-medieval coins: practical, symbolic, and alchemical messages

By *definition*, graffiti consists of scratched marks, symbols, or signs made intentionally on objects — in this case, on coins struck in gold, silver, or, more rarely, copper. Based on an examination of approximately one hundred post-medieval coins bearing graffiti, several recurring patterns and potential functions can be identified. Some of these specimens come from documented hoards, such as the Głogów Hoard (*terminus post quem* 1656), while the majority were identified via online numismatic platforms, museum catalogues, and auction archives. The dataset covers examples from Central and Western Europe, dating roughly from the 16th to the early 18th century.

Medium and denomination: Graffiti most frequently appear on coins of high denomination, including gold ducats, gold guldens, thalers, silver guldens, and their fractional or multiple units. Low-value coins are almost never marked in this way.

Form: The most common types of graffiti are simple incised lines, often forming patterns that resemble Roman numerals: X, III, II, I, V, XXX, XX. Other examples include symbols akin to alchemical signs — most notably the (Lat. *crucibulum*) 🝧, or simplified variants such as X. A final group of graffiti consists of initials or letters — A, PO, L, MB, W (or double V) — possibly representing the names or personal marks of former owners or users. Such inscriptions may have served commemorative or ritual functions (e.g. baptism, marriage, guild initiation, or graduation).

Intent: Graffiti rarely had decorative intent. They were often incised hastily and without aesthetic concern. However, their placement in empty fields of the coin design indicates a deliberate and purposeful act.

Scope: These features are most commonly found on post-medieval coins, although the practice is not strictly limited to that group. The occurrence remains relatively rare, but it is consistent enough to be considered a marginal yet meaningful part of coin circulation and transformation.

The functions and meanings of these graffiti can be categorized into three main groups:

I. Letters – symbolic, apotropaic, and personal functions

Inscriptions consisting of initials or single letters likely served as identifiers of ownership, signs of pious intent, or commemorative elements. Parallels can be drawn with ancient and medieval coins marked with names, crosses, or letters. Such graffitied coins may have functioned as souvenirs marking important life events — e.g. baptism, wedding, or professional promotion within a guild. Related traditions include the donation of engraved goblets or cups with embedded coins, known from early modern burgher and craft culture. In some cases, coins were physically adapted into pendants bearing initials. Marked coins may also have functioned as *touch pieces* — small objects carried for protection, healing, or good fortune. Contemporary written sources confirm the widespread belief in coins as amulets, votive tokens, or instruments of silent prayer or blessing.

II. Numerals and alchemical symbols – practical and economic functions

This group includes various types of utilitarian or value-related inscriptions:

(a) Testing fineness: As in earlier periods, some graffiti may reflect attempts to verify a coin's composition. Cross-cuts or scraped surfaces (often in the form of parallel or intersecting lines) were likely used to confirm the silver content and detect forgeries with copper cores. Such test marks are often deep, irregular, and difficult to fully remove, although attempts are sometimes made to do so by modern coin dealers.

(b) Value confirmation: Graffiti resembling Roman numerals may have served as informal tally marks or internal value markers. In the context of a pre-decimal, non-standardized monetary system, such signs could reflect accounting practices or exchange control, although no consistent pattern has yet been confirmed.

(c) High-value marking: Certain coins bearing graffiti — particularly those marked with an X — are extremely high in value (e.g. 10-ducat pieces). The markings may have denoted ownership or exclusion from normal circulation, suggesting that these coins were intended for safekeeping, gift-giving, or ceremonial purposes rather than daily use.

(d) Alchemical signs: A distinct group of graffiti includes alchemical symbols. In particular, the *symbol of the crucible* (🝣) — sometimes represented as a simple *X* — may indicate that the coin was designated for melting. Such signs appear predominantly on large silver and gold coins and likely correspond to periods of monetary instability or debasement, when the metal value of coins exceeded their face value. In such contexts, coins were withdrawn from circulation and converted into *pagament* — raw material traded by weight rather than nominal value.

III. Alchemical messages – esoteric and ideological meanings

Lastly, some graffiti may express symbolic messages rooted in alchemical or esoteric thought, which gained popularity during the 16th and 17th centuries. During episodes of political or financial crisis, both state authorities and private investors enlisted alchemists to experiment with transmutation. Certain mysterious or undeciphered signs may represent symbolic language or internal notation known only to the practitioner. We also know of so-called '*alchemical coins*', bearing marks that suggest they were either produced through transmutation or used in related rituals. Such coins reflect a fascinating intersection between metal, value, belief, and experimentation.

Summary

The principal feature of graffitied coins is that they were typically withdrawn from ordinary circulation. This may be explained by two key mechanisms:

(1) Retention: Coins were kept as keepsakes or ceremonial gifts, often personalized with initials or symbols.

(2) Melting: Coins marked with alchemical or tally-like symbols may have been intended for smelting, whether as bullion for trade or as source metal for minting new coinage.

Although written sources rarely mention the practice of physically marking coins, early modern records attest to widespread metal trading, intentional melting, and the symbolic treatment of precious-metal objects. Graffiti on coins, though marginal and often overlooked, offer unique insights into personal agency, economic behaviour, and the symbolic life of money in post-medieval Europe.

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Graffiti na monetach wczesnonowożytnych: funkcje praktyczne, symboliczne i alchemiczne

Z definicji graffiti to celowo wykonane nacięcia, znaki lub symbole na powierzchni przedmiotów — w tym przypadku monet wybitych ze złota, srebra lub — rzadziej — z miedzi. Na podstawie analizy ponad stu monet nowożytnych z widocznymi graffiti autor wyróżnił powtarzające się schematy oraz potencjalne funkcje tych znaków. Część egzemplarzy pochodzi ze znalezisk skarbów, takich jak skarb z Głogowa (*tpq* 1656), część została odnaleziona za pośrednictwem katalogów muzealnych, natomiast większość za pośrednictwem portali numizmatycznych i archiwów aukcyjnych. Egzemplarze poddane analizie obejmują monety z Europy środkowo-zachodniej z okresu od XVI do początku XVIII w.

Materiał i nominał: Graffiti najczęściej występują na wysokich nominałach, takich jak dukaty, złote guldeny, talary, srebrne guldeny oraz ich wielokrotności i ułamki. Monety o niskich nominałach i wartości niemal nigdy nie były w ten sposób oznaczane.

Forma: Najczęstsze są proste linie układające się w znaki przypominające cyfry rzymskie: X, III, II, I, V, XXX, XX. Występują również symbole zbliżone do znaków alchemicznych — szczególnie symbol tygla (*crucibulum*, 🝧), a także uproszczone jego wersje, np. X. Odrębną grupę stanowią litery i inicjały — A, PO, L, MB, W (lub VV) — które prawdopodobnie były znakami właścicieli lub użytkowników. Tego typu napisy mogły pełnić funkcje pamiątkowe lub rytualne (np. związane z chrztem, małżeństwem, awansem cechowym lub ukończeniem nauki).

Intencja: Graffiti rzadko miały charakter dekoracyjny. Często wykonywano je niedbale i pospiesznie, bez dbałości o estetykę. Umieszczano je jednak zazwyczaj w pustych polach monet, co sugeruje świadome działanie.

Zakres: Zjawisko to dotyczy monet bitych w okresie nowożytnym, choć nie jest ograniczone wyłącznie do tej grupy. Choć stosunkowo rzadkie, graffiti występują na tyle konsekwentnie, że można uznać je za marginesowy, lecz znaczący element obiegu i przekształceń monet.

I. Litery – funkcje symboliczne, apotropaiczne i osobiste

Napisy składające się z inicjałów lub pojedynczych liter prawdopodobnie służyły jako znaki własności, intencji religijnej lub pamiątkowe. Można je porównać do znanych z monet antycznych i średniowiecznych oznaczeń osobistych, krzyży czy liter. Takie monety mogły pełnić funkcję pamiątek związanych z ważnymi wydarzeniami życiowymi — np. chrztem, ślubem czy awansem w cechu. Pokrewną tradycją jest ofiarowywanie grawerowanych kielichów z przytwierdzonymi monetami, znane z kultury mieszczańskiej i rzemieślniczej. Część monet z graffiti przekształcano również w zawieszki z inicjałami. Tak oznaczone egzemplarze mogły funkcjonować jako *touch pieces* — monety-amulety noszone w celu ochrony, uzdrowienia lub przyciągnięcia szczęścia. Źródła pisane potwierdzają szeroko rozpowszechniony zwyczaj używania monet jako amuletów i symboli wiary.

II. Cyfry i symbole alchemiczne – funkcje praktyczne i ekonomiczne

W tej grupie można wyróżnić kilka możliwych zastosowań:

a) Testowanie próby: Podobnie jak w starożytności i średniowieczu, nacięcia mogły służyć do sprawdzenia zawartości i jakości kruszcu. Krzyżujące się lub równoległe rysy mogły ujawniać miedziany rdzeń. Znaki testowe są zwykle głębokie, nieregularne i trudne do całkowitego usunięcia bez uszkodzenia monety.

b) Potwierdzenie wartości: Graffiti przypominające cyfry rzymskie mogły stanowić formę lokalnych oznaczeń wartości. W systemie przeddziesiętnym ich znaczenie nie było precyzyjne i dotąd nie udało się ustalić jednoznacznego schematu, który by to potwierdził.

c) Oznaczenie wysokiej wartości: Na niektórych monetach o bardzo wysokiej wartości (np. 10-dukatówkach) pojawia się znak „X", który mógł wskazywać na przeznaczenie monety do tezauryzacji, a nie do obiegu.

d) Znaki alchemiczne: Osobną kategorię stanowią symbole alchemiczne. W szczególności *znak tygla* **(🜩)** — niekiedy uproszczony do postaci X — mógł oznaczać monetę przeznaczoną do przetopienia. Takie graffiti pojawiają się głównie na dużych monetach srebrnych i złotych i wiążą się prawdopodobnie z okresami destabilizacji pieniądza, kiedy wartość kruszcu przewyższała wartość nominalną. Monety były wówczas wycofywane z obiegu i sprzedawane jako surowiec (pagament).

III. Przekazy alchemiczne – funkcje ezoteryczne i ideologiczne

Niektóre graffiti mogą odzwierciedlać myślenie alchemiczne, popularne w XVI i XVII w. W czasach kryzysów politycznych i finansowych władcy i emitenci zatrudniali alchemików, którzy podejmowali próby transmutacji metali nieszlachetnych w srebro lub złoto. Niektóre trudne do odczytania znaki mogły być częścią kodu znanego jedynie ich twórcom. Wiemy również o tzw. „monetach alchemicznych", które — według przekonań — miały powstać w wyniku transmutacji lub uczestniczyć w rytuałach o charakterze ezoterycznym. Monety te stanowią swoiste połączenie między metalem, wartością, wiarą i eksperymentem.

Podsumowanie

Cechą charakterystyczną monet z graffiti jest to, że rzadko wracały do obiegu. Można to tłumaczyć dwiema głównymi przyczynami:

1. Tezauryzacja: Monety były przechowywane jako pamiątki lub upominki o charakterze osobistym.

2. Przetopienie: Monety z oznaczeniami alchemicznymi lub liczbowymi mogły być przeznaczone do przetopienia — zarówno w celach handlu kruszcem, jak i przetworzenia na nowe emisje.

Chociaż źródła pisane rzadko wspominają o celowym ryciu monet, wiele dokumentów potwierdza szeroki obrót kruszcami i rytualne traktowanie przedmiotów z metali szlachetnych w epoce nowożytnej. Graffiti na monetach — choć zjawisko marginalne — dostarcza wyjątkowych świadectw indywidualnych działań, zachowań ekonomicznych oraz nieekonomicznego znaczenia pieniądza w nowożytnej Europie.

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Find of coins and unminted silver near Boskovštejn in South Moravia

At the beginning of 2025, amateur finders found a coin find in a forest area near Boskovštejn (South Moravia, Znojmo district), which contained approximately 60–70 coins and 20 pieces of unminted silver. Unfortunately, the find was unprofessionally excavated, but it was handed over to the South Moravian Museum in Znojmo. Subsequently, archaeologists conducted a search at the site of the find, but only small fragments of coins were found. The coin component of the find consists mainly of small Moravian bracteates of Přemysl Ottokar II (1247–1253–1278) of one type and one variant (Cach 1974, 956a; Grossmannová 2015, 116, Type 53.2). Their minting is dated to the late 1260s–70s. In this variant, the type of small bracteate mentioned is not very well known in finds. In one piece, a small Moravian bracteate of Přemysl Ottokar II type Cach 1974, 910; Grossmannová 2015, 70, Type 15, and a roll of three medium-sized bracteates were preserved in the find. The uppermost coin in the roll was determined as a Moravian bracteate of Přemysl Ottokar II type Cach 1974, 990; Grossmannová 2015, 144, type 72, dated to the 1270s. The find also contains many small fragments of coins (one medium-sized bracteate and small bracteates) whose precise determination was not possible. The exact number of hoarded coins is therefore impossible to determine.

An important part of the find is 20 pieces of unminted silver of various sizes, shapes and weights. Its use for paying higher amounts is known not only from the Czech lands, but also from other European and non-European countries. According to the medium-sized bracteates of Přemysl Ottokar II in the find, the hoard can be dated to the 1270s. Only a few finds of unminted silver are known from the historical territory of Moravia, which is why this depot is one of important documents on the use, circulation and hoarding of this kind of currency during the reign of the Přemyslid dynasty.

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Nález mincí a neraženého stříbra u Boskovštejnu na jižní Moravě

Na začátku roku 2025 byl amatérskými nálezci v lesním prostředí nedaleko Boskovštejnu (jižní Morava, okr. Znojmo) nalezen mincovní depot, který obsahoval přibližně 60–70 mincí a 20 kusů neraženého stříbra. Nález byl bohužel vykopán neodborně, byl však předán do Jihomoravského muzea ve Znojmě. Následně na místě nálezu archeologové provedli dohledávku, nalezeny však byly již jen drobné fragmenty mincí.

Mincovní složka nálezu je tvořena především malými moravskými brakteáty Přemysla Otakara II. (1247–1253–1278) jednoho typu a jedné varianty (*Cach 1974, 956a; Grossmannová 2015, 116, Typ 53.2.*). Jejich ražba je datována do období konce 60. – 70. let 13. století. V této variantě není uvedený typ malého brakteátu v nálezech příliš známý. V jednom kuse se v nálezu dochovaly malý moravský brakteát Přemysla Otakara II. typu *Cach 1974, 910; Grossmannová 2015, 70, Typ 15* a svitek ze tří středních brakteátů. Horní mince ve svitku byla určena jako moravský brakteát Přemysla Otakara II. typ *Cach 1974, 990; Grossmannová 2015, 144, typ 72* datovaný do 70. let 13. století. Nález obsahuje rovněž mnoho drobných fragmentů mincí (jednoho středního brakteátu a malých brakteátů) jejichž přesné určení nebylo možné. Přesný počet mincí, které depot obsahoval, tedy není možné stanovit.

Významnou součástí nálezu je 20 kusů neraženého stříbra různých velikostí, tvarů a hmotností. Jeho užívání k placení vyšších částek je známo nejen z českých zemí, ale i z dalších evropských i mimoevropských zemí. Podle středních brakteátů Přemysla Otakara II. v nálezu je možno depot datovat do období 70. let 13. století. Z historického území Moravy je známo jen několik nálezů neraženého stříbra, proto tento depot patří k významným dokladům o používání, oběhu a tezauraci tohoto typu platidla za vlády dynastie Přemyslovců.

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The *Hälbling* of the *Wiener Pfennig*

The presentation provides insights into the subject of an ongoing master's thesis. It will outline the current research questions, methods and challenges and serve as a progress report on the thesis.

The presentation focuses on a chapter of Austrian coinage in the Middle Ages, specifically the *Wiener Pfennig*. The emphasis is on the fractional pieces, namely the half value coins known as *Hälblinge*. The aim is to investigate when such half pennies were systematically issued as smaller denominations by mints, and their distribution and function within monetary circulation.

What we traditionally refer to as the *Wiener Pfennig* was minted during the Babenberg dynasty, the Interregnum and the Habsburg dynasty in the Duchy of Austria and Styria, from the end of the 12th century to the second half of the 14th century. These coins were minted in Enns, Vienna and Wiener Neustadt. Their circulation area was primarily in what is now Vienna, Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Upper Austria and extended eastward into what is now Hungary and Slovakia.

Some halved pieces, in the form of cut coins, have survived from the preceding coinage of the early 12th century in what is now Austria. Later coins were minted on smaller flans and weighed approximately as much as half of a *Pfennig*. These pieces have not yet been systematically recorded or studied.

As part of this research coin finds containing *Wiener Pfennige*, as well as important coin collections, will be examined specifically for the presence of halves using metrological analysis. Furthermore, the phenomenon of fractional coins in the *Wiener Pfennig* circulation area will be compared with developments in other currency regions to gain a broader understanding of this phenomenon in a wider geographical context. In addition, contemporary written sources will be analysed for references to *Hälblinge*.

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Emblematics of the Lithuanian coins of Kęstutis: Borrowing from the Princes of Grodno?

The emblematics of the first Lithuanian coins continue to spark debates among researchers due to the superficial degree of our current knowledge, the rough craftsmanship of the coins, and their predominant anonymity. At the same time, the 'boom' of hypotheses that occurred in the first decade of the 21st century, following the sensational mass appearance of coins on the antique market due to the spread of metal detectors, has somewhat subsided, and it is now time to discard weakly reasoned hypotheses in favour of more carefully substantiated ones.

Interpretation of the coinage pictorial motifs has been significantly influenced by cultural and ideological aspects. Academic researchers of the total assemblage of early Lithuanian coins in the early 21st century—Lithuanians and Poles by origin—were brought up in a Catholic environment and were most familiar with iconography, the system of social relations, and the methods of organising coinage in Western states. Thus, even the central thesis of the entire classification—that the minting of Lithuanian coins with Christian symbolism before 1387 ('Christianization of Lithuania') was 'absolutely impossible', as stated categorically by prominent scholars—was easily refuted by the reading of the name of Kęstutis (died in 1382) on a single coin that became known a decade later.

The imagery on the reverse side of these same coins was also previously considered primarily in the Western context, specifically as the simplified emblem of the Duchy of Trakai, which led further to the attribution of the depiction to the sign of Vytautas. Despite the well-known personal emblem of this prince—Pillars (Lith. *stulpai*)—being quite different, the researchers have not put forward a better hypothesis.

In June-July 2018, during archaeological excavations in the northern part of the outer city of medieval Grodno, 85 lead seals of the second half of the 12th to early 13th centuries were discovered, shedding light, in my view, on the correct interpretation of the images on Kęstutis coins and the subsequent 'ПЕЧАТ' type. This work presents a justification of the depiction of a cold weapon from these coins as a proto-heraldic symbol of Black Ruthenia, ruled by the prince at the time. It also includes a review of other known cases of the use of symbolism from the ancient Rus′ period in coinage at the end of the 14th century, which flourished widely in the eastern part of Europe after the beginning of the Great Troubles in the Ulus of Jochi.

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Coinage of tyrants' dynasty in Heraclea Pontica in the fourth-third centuries B.C.

The Megara colony of Heraclea Pontica is one of the largest centres of the Southern Black Sea region, as well as the metropolis of two colonies – Callatis on the Western Black Sea coast and Tauric Chersonesus in the Northern Black Sea region. The coinage of Heraclea has been attracting the attention of antiquity period numismatic experts over the years. Heraclea was founded in the 560s BC, and its own coinage began only in the last third of the 5th century BC. Previously the market probably contented itself with Cyzicus coins.

The Heraclea was characterized by oligarchic rule for most of its history although the democrats came to power twice. The first time it happened near the last quarter of the 6th century BC, the second democratic rule has happened just a hundred years later. During the second rule of democrats the own coin minting was started. The coinage of Heraclea divides into four periods according the catalogue of Waddington, Babelon and Reinach:

(1) Democracy during 415-364 BC – the Persian-style silver coins.

(2) Tyranny during 364-281 BC – the coexistence of the lightened Persian and Aeginian systems.

(3) Restored democracy – the silver coinage was discontinued.

(4) The Age of Emperors.

We are interested in the second period – the Tyranny. Nevertheless, it should be noted that during the first period the traditional form of the Heraclea government was oligarchy and not democracy. The temporary rule of democrats and the beginning of the own coinage refers to the 430s BC. Approximately in 422/21 BC, the Tauric Chersonesus was already founded by the democrats who fled Heraclea after oligarchic power return.

The fact that the first silver coins were minted by democrats, is confirmed by the inscription on the reverse of some coins: ΔΑΜ (=δάμοζ), the Heracles in a lion's skin being displayed as the patron of the polis on the obverse.

During the oligarchic rule in Heraclea the coins had the image of the head of a bearded or beardless Heracles in a lion's skin on the obverse and a quiver with a bow and arrow or stick on the reverse. The image of weapons symbolized the victory of the oligarchy over the democrats. This coin type was issued in Heraclea until the 380-70s BC.

Later not only the coin type but the standard were changed and Heraclea passes to the Aeginetan weight system. The beardless Heracles in the skin of a lion was depicted on the obverse and the full or abbreviated legend of the city and a female head in a tower crown (we consider it is the head of the goddess Tyche) on the reverse.

In 364/63 BC the tyrant Clearchus came to power. Heraclean tyranny is usually divided into three stages:

(1) The reign of Clearchus (364/63 – 352 BC) and his brother Satyrus (352-346 BC);

(2) The reign of Timotheus and Dionysius (346-337 and 337-305 BC);

(3) The reign of Amastris and Dionysius's sons Clearchus II and Oxater (305-284 BC).

Clearchus did not change the coin type radically. Silver coins of this period were minted according to the lightweight Persian system. We can distinguish two subgroups. Different weapon was depicted on the reverse of both subgroups – the mace, bow and quiver in different variations. On the obverse of the first subgroup – the full or abbreviated legend of the city, a female head in a tower crown to the left (similar to the image of the reverse of the previous group, i.e. the head of Tyche). On the obverse of the second subgroup was the head of beardless Heracles turned left covered with the skin of a lion. Perhaps the image of Tyche was minted on the coin reverses under Clearchus rule and the image of Heracles under the Satyrus rule. Clearchus wished to emphasize the succession and legitimacy of his power.

Clearchus's sons Timotheus and Dionysius had already placed their names on coins. On the reverse of their coins naked Heracles with the lion skin moving to the left for the trophy was depicted. A mace or a bow and quiver were depicted next to him. The tradition of depicting weapons was typical for the coin issues by Clearchus and Satyrus. Here are the full names of the tyrants ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. On the obverses of the coins there was an image of the beardless Dionysus turned left wearing the ivy wreath and with a thyrsus on his shoulder. The minting period of these coins is 345-337 BC.

From 337 to 305 BC, the coins with the sole name of Dionysius were minted, whose obverse and reverse are similar to the coins of the joint coinage. The further issues relate to the reigns of Amastris, Clearchus II and Oxater (305-284), and Arsinoe (284-281). But it is next to impossible to divide them into separate issues. Some of the coins were minted according to the Persian system and the others according to the Attic system. Probably the Attic system was introduced in Heraclea under the influence of Lysimachus whose gold and silver coins were used by the Pontic cities. The images of Heracles and Dionysus vary on the coins; if Heracles is on the obverse, then Dionysus is on the reverse, and vice versa.

After the fall of tyranny in 281 BC, the Heraclea silver coinage was discontinued due to the spread use of diadochi gold and silver coins.

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Монетна справа гераклейських тиранів IV-III ст. до н.е.

Мегарська колонія Гераклея Понтійська є одним з найбільших центрів Південного Причорномор'я, метрополією двох полісів – Каллатіса в Західному Причорномор'ї та Херсонеса Таврійського у Північному. Монетна справа Гераклеї вже не одне десятиліття привертає увагу нумізматів-античників. Гераклея була заснована в 560-ті рр. до н.е., а власне карбування розпочинається лише з останньої третини V ст. до н.е. Ймовірно, що до того часу ринок задовольнявся кизикінами.

Для Гераклеї протягом більшої частини її історії притаманним було олігархічне правління. Хоча до влади двічі приходили й демократи. Перший раз це відбулося приблизно в останній чверті VI ст. до н.е., а вдруге майже буквально через сто років. З другим приходом до влади демократів пов'язано безпосередньо й власне карбування монети. Монетна справа Гераклеї в каталозі Waddington, Babelon, Reinach поділена на 4 періоди:

1. Демократія 415-364 рр. до н.е. – срібло перського зразку;
2. Тиранія 364-281 рр. до н.е. – співіснування полегшеної перської та егінської систем;
3. Поновлена демократія – срібло вже не карбується.
4. Епоха імператорів.

Нас цікавить другий період – тиранії. Стосовно першого періоду слід зазначити, що традиційною формою правління для Гераклеї була олігархія, а не демократія. А тимчасове панування демократів та початок карбування власної монети відноситься до 30-х. рр. V ст. до н.е. Приблизно в 422/21 рр. вже було засновано Херсонес Таврійський. Як відомо його заснували демократи, які тікали з Гераклеї під час повернення до влади олігархів.

Те, що перші срібні монети почали карбувати демократи, підтверджують написи на реверсі деяких монет — ΔΑΜ (=δάμοζ), на аверсі Геракл у шкурі лева – покровитель полісу.

За часів панування олігархів на аверсах гераклейських монет розташовувалось зображення голови бородатого чи безбородого Геракла у шкурі лева, на реверсах – колчан з луком та стрілами або палиця. Зображення зброї символізувало перемогу олігархії над демократією. Цей монетний тип випускався в Гераклеї до 80-70-х. рр. IV ст. до н.е. Надалі відбувається не лише зміна монетного типу, але й стандарту, Гераклея переходить на егінську систему ваг. На аверсах монет був зображений безбородий Геракл у шкурі лева, на реверсах – повна або скорочена легенда міста, жіноча голова у вежовій короні (на думку автора статті це голова богині Тихе).

В 364/63 рр. до влади прийшов тиран Клеарх. Гераклейську тиранію зазвичай ділять на три етапи:

1. Час правління Клеарха (364/63 352 рр. до н.е.) та його брата Сатира (352 346 рр. до н.е.);
2. Правління Тимофія та Діонісія (346-337 та 337-305 рр. до н.е.);

3. Правління Амастрії та синів Діонісія Клеарха ІІ та Оксатра (305-284 рр. до н.е.).

Клеарх не змінив радикально монетний тип. Срібло цього періоду карбували за полегшеною перською системою. Ми можемо виділити дві підгрупи. На реверсах двох підгруп зображено різну зброю – палиця, лук, колчан у різноманітних варіаціях. На аверсі першої підгрупи – повна або скорочена легенда міста, жіноча голова у вежовій короні, вліво (аналогічно зображенню реверса попередньої групи, тобто голова Тихє). На аверсі другої підгрупи – голова безбородого Геракла, яка покрита шкурою лева, вліво. Можливо, що за часів Клеарха на реверсах карбували зображення Тихє, а за часів Сатира – Геракл. Клеарх тим самим намагався підкреслити спадковість та легітимність своєї влади.

Сини Клеарха Тимофій та Діонісій вже розміщали свої імена на монетних випусках. На реверсах їх монет було зображення голого Геракла у накидці зі шкури лева, що рухався вліво за трофеєм. Біля нього або палиця, або лук з колчаном. Традиція зображення зброї відповідна до випусків монет за часів Клеарха та Сатира. Саме тут й повні імена тиранів ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. На аверсах монет зображення безбородого Діоніса у вінкові з плющу й з тирсом на плечові, вліво. Час карбування цих монет 345-337 рр. до н.е. З 337 по 305 рр. карбуються монети з ім’ям вже одного Діонісія, а аверс та реверс подібні монетам спільного карбування.

Подальші випуски відносяться до часу правління Амастриди, Клеараха ІІ та Оксатра (305-284 рр. до н.е.) і Арсиноï (284-281 рр. до н.е.). Але розділити їх по окремим випускам практично неможливо. Частина монет карбувалася за персидською системою, друга частина за аттичною. Ймовірно, аттична система була впроваджена в Гераклеї під впливом Лісімаха, золото та срібло якого використовували припонтійські міста. На монетах чергуються зображення Геракла та Діоніса, якщо на аверсі Геракл, то на реверсі Діоніс, та навпаки.

Після падіння тиранії в 281 р. до н.е. Гераклея вже не карбувала срібло, що пояснюється широким розповсюдженням золота та срібла діадохів.

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Imitations of Byzantine coins of the Heraclian dynasty in Egypt

There are two chronological categories of Byzantine coins from Egypt: (1) coins from the Justinian dynasty (518-602) and (2) Heraclian dynasty (610-645). The Phocas era (602-610), when the Alexandrian mint was inactive, is used to identify the caesura. The illicit manufacture of cast copies and imitations helped to make up for the lack of bronze currency under Phocas. Egypt already faced a similar phenomenon in the 4^{th} century when coins were copied *en masse* using cast moulds. The question of whether mass production of copies during the Tetrarchy and forgery during the Byzantine era are continuations or separate phenomena remains open. In this article, the author focuses attention on imitation coins of the Heraclian dynasty in Egypt.

First, it is important to distinguish between different types of monetary counterfeiting. On the one hand, there are cast copies, meaning the original coins were imprinted in moulds, which were then poured over heated metal. On the other hand, there were imitation coins, that is, unofficial coins whose image was modelled on official ones. Thirdly, imitations may have been minted, but they could also later serve as patterns to be imprinted in moulds, as a result cast copies of imitations also appear. Cast copies have been greatly reduced in weight and size over time, where the smallest examples are less than 1 gram and less than 10 mm in diameter.

After Heraclius' successful coup against Phocas, the Alexandrian mint was reopened and multiple attempts were conducted to fix the financial situation. Unofficial coins were pulled from the market to restruck them, as a result overstruck coins emerged. However, counterfeiting coins persisted during Heraclius' reign in a limited range. Meanwhile, Egypt was subject to the Sassanids (619-629) for a decade, and by the time Heraclius died in 641, the Arab conquests were already underway. The unstable situation encouraged the illegal or semi-legal production of unofficial coins. The practice of issuing imitations and casting coins of Constans II persisted both during and after the Arab invasion of Egypt (642-645). It's worth noting that their production may have taken decades, as the Arabs didn't make a monetary reform until 694.

The purpose of this article is to analyze imitation coins of the Heraclian dynasty from Byzantine Egypt. A preliminary grouping and chronological range will be proposed. The results will be supported by numismatic data discovered in the course of archaeological research in 'Marea'/ Philoxenite.

The conclusions presented here are the result of the project entitled: *Moneta falsa et alia* — Money in Crisis in Byzantine Egypt: The Case of 'Marea'/ Philoxenite.

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Ferryman on the puszta? Charon *vs.* the coins in Sarmatian graves

With over 600 coins found in graves, the Sarmatians appear to have parted with more of their money for the deceased than any other group in Barbaricum. This practice seems to reflect a broader trend, especially during the late Roman period, as coins are found in graves of all ages and genders. Their varied placement within the graves suggests that this was a widespread custom not tied to a single religious belief. The myth of Charon – although a good story and the most general interpretation – seems to lack any validity.

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Flavian dynasty coins in the Moravian Museum and Moravian coin finds

This contribution focuses on the analysis of the Moravian fund of Flavian coins, specifically coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and examines their typology in the context of Vespasian's reforms. Based on the study of the preserved material, it attempts to clarify the spread of Flavian coins in Moravia in relation to economic and military events during the reign of the Flavian dynasty. The aim is to contribute to the understanding of the role of Flavian coins in the economic and cultural context of Moravia during the Roman period.

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Game of Hoards
The coin hoard of the interregnum (the early fourteenth century) from Gellért Hill

The end of the Árpád dynasty was followed by years of intrigue worthy of a television series. Even though the years following the death of King Andrew III in January 1301 are generally defined as an interregnum, meaning 'between reigns', there were indeed three crowned kings fighting for the throne, each representing a powerful dynasty: King Charles I (1301–1342) of the Neapolitan Angevin dynasty, the Přemyslid King Wenceslas (1301–1305), Prince of Bohemia, and King Otto (1305–1307), Duke of Bavaria from the Wittelsbach dynasty.

Around these turbulent years, a coin hoard had been hidden near Buda, on the Gellért Hill, that was found in 1827 during viticulture. The coin hoard was a milestone in the history of science in two ways. First, one of the first modern analyses of this find was made, which examined the find as a whole, taking into account both the proportions of the composition and the condition of the coins, and presented strong arguments in favour of preserving the entire finds. This analysis identified the pennies of King Wenceslas among the previously unknown coins found there: a finding that is still considered authoritative by the professional community.

According to surviving descriptions, the find consisted of over two-and-a-half thousand coins (2,591 pieces). The majority of these coins are attributed to Wenceslas, precisely 2,295 pieces. The remainder consisted of 238 Prague groschen of Wenceslas's father, King Wenceslas II of Bohemia; ten late Árpád-period Hungarian pennies from the reigns of Béla IV, Ladislas IV and Andrew III, and 48 Viennese and Bavarian pfennigs.

The coins first came into the possession of a wealthy collector, Miklós Jankovich, who analysed and published them and donated them to the Hungarian National Museum. However, after that, contrary to the donor's firm recommendation, they were not kept together. Instead, as was customary at the time, the coins intended to be kept were selected, and the rest were exchanged to other artefacts.

The aim of the presentation is to re-identify the remaining coins based on the museum documentation, and to outline the possible paths of the exchanged pieces.

Kovács Enikő

A Gellért-hegyi éremlelet az interregnum korából

Az Árpád-ház kihalását filmsorozatba illő intrikákkal tarkított évek követték. III. András 1301 januári halálát követő hét éves időszakot interregnumnak – királyközinek – szokás nevezni, a valóságban azonban volt király, nem is egy. Három megkoronázott király, és rajtuk keresztül három dinasztia küzdött a megüresedett trónért: I. Károly a nápolyi Anjou-házból (1301–1342), Přemysl Vencel (1301–1305), cseh herceg és Wittelsach Ottó (1305–1307) bajor herceg.

Ehhez a turbulens időszakhoz kapcsolódik az az éremlelet, amit 1827-ben találtak szőlőművelés közben a budai Gellért-hegyen. Az éremkincs tudománytörténetileg két szempontból is mérföldkövet jelentett. Először is erről a leletről készült az egyik első, modern szemléletű feldolgozás, amely teljes egészében vizsgálta a leletet, mind az összetétel arányait, mind az érmék állapotát figyelembe vette, erős érveket sorakoztatva fel a teljes leletek megtartása mellett. Ez az elemzés azonosította a lelet korábban nem ismert érméiben Vencel király denárjait, és ezt a megállapítást mindmáig mérvadónak tartja a szakmai közeg.

A fennmaradt leírások alapján a lelet bő két és fél ezer érméből állt (2591 db). Ennek meghatározó részét a lelet alapján Přemysl Vencelhez köthető denárok, egészen pontosan 2295 darabot sorolnak fel. A fennmaradó részből 238 darab szerepelt Vencel apjának, II. Vencel cseh királynak a prágai garasa, 10 darab késő Árpád-kori magyar denár (IV. Béla, IV. László és III. András korából) és 48 darab bécsi, illetve bajor pfennig.

Az érmék előbb egy tehetős gyűjtő, Jankovich Miklós tulajdonába kerültek, aki feldolgozta és a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumnak adományozta őket. Ezt követően azonban szembe menve az ajándékozó határozott ajánlásával nem tartották egyben. Ehelyett a korszakban jellemző szokás szerint kiválogatták belőle a megtartani szándékozott példányokat, a többit pedig duplumként elcserélték.

Az előadás kitűzött célja az éremtári dokumentáció alapján a megmaradt érmék visszaazonosítása és képes közlése, az elcserélt darabok lehetséges útjának felvázolása.

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The legacy of Peter Włostowic on pennies from the Głogów hoard

The paper focuses on two types of coins from the medieval hoard from Głogów (1987), one of the largest known in Europe. Recent years have resulted in many discoveries and hypotheses about the chronology and attribution of particular types of coins found there. In this presentation, we will deal with coins that were probably not minted by the supreme prince, but local magnates: descendants of magnate Peter Włostowic, castellan of Wrocław and voivode (*palatinus*). This concerns the penny with the PETRVS monogram (Wittyg No. 18) and the one with the image of a bishop holding a cross (Stronczyński No. 46).

The former coin was attributed to Peter Wszeborowic, voivode of Kuyavia, as one of the few examples of private coinage in medieval Poland. The second coin in particular has been the subject of intense discussion recently. Initially, the image was thought to depict St. Adalbert, and bishop Stanislaus was also considered (in time before his canonization). Recently, an attempt has been made to link this coin to archbishop of Gniezno, Henry Kietlicz. Both types of coins were discovered and described back in the 19th-century and for many years it was not thought that they could have anything in common.

In recent years, however, a very important discovery has been made in the hoard from Głogów: one (with PETRVS) was overstruck into another (with bishop). This made us wonder if it was a pure coincidence or is there something more to it. The starting point was the legacy of Peter Włostowic, to which the first of the pennies clearly refers. The monogram PETRVS was considered a family emblem and appeared on architectural elements and seals, and only once on a coin. Their issue was supposed to have been established by Peter Wszeborowic, considered to be the relative of Peter Włostowic.

Now it would appear that these pennies may have much more in common with each other than it may have initially appeared. Image of a bishop with a cross and VS letters could be related with the nearly forgotten cult of a certain saint in Wrocław: Saint Vincent, bishop and martyr from Mevania (currently Bevagna in Italy), who died during the Diocletianic Persecutions at the beginning of the 4th century AD. His cult was instilled in the Abbey of Ołbin (currently part of Wrocław) personally by Peter Włostowic. He brought there the relics of St Vincent from Magdeburg in 1145. The Ołbin Abbey, which had also been founded earlier on his initiative, became one of the largest and richest in medieval Poland. Other ecclesiastical communities were subordinate to the Ołbin Abbey, not only in Wrocław in Silesia, but also in Strzelno in Kuyavia. According to previous hypotheses, it was for the erection of the Premonstratensian monastery in Strzelno, that a special issue of coins with the monogram PETRVS was to be made. Is a similar interpretation possible in the case of the coin with the bishop with cross in the context of St.

Vincent Abbey? New findings and related hypotheses will be presented here, which may change our perception both of these coins.

Key words: Medieval coinage; 12th/13th century; Silesian medieval nobles; Peter Włostowic; Medieval Wrocław; Saint Vincent; The Ołbin Abbey.

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Chronology of Silesian kwartniks: breaking news

The time of the kwartniks at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, although short, is considered by numismatists as one of the most interesting periods in the history of Silesian coinage. Kwartniks (*quartenses)* were the embodiment of the Polish weight unit called the *quarta*. Together with smaller coins named conventionally the parvi (*denarii parvi*; the original name being not known, though), they circulated in Lower Silesia, and later also in Greater Poland. At this period, Silesia was divided into many duchies and its coinage was extremely decentralized. Today we know more than a hundred types of Silesian kwartniks. Moreover, there are types representing many small variants. Most of the kwartniks have no legends. This muteness with shortage in written sources makes our knowledge deficient.

In the 1960s, much scholarly attention was drawn to the problem of whether the creation of Silesian kwartniks was influenced by the new Czech coin – the Prague groschen. Ryszard Kiersnowski proved, however, that the Silesian kwartniks evidenced the first grosso-type coinage in Central Europe, and the systemic, metrological and iconographic patterns for its implementation should be found in the French and Flemish coinage (Kiersnowski 2008). The oldest known kwartnik of a certain chronology, is a coin struck during the reign of Duke Bolko I of Świdnica (1278-1301), before his death on 9 November 1301. Its types follow French gros tournois patterns (Fig. 1).

At the beginning of the 21st century, a rapid increase both in the number of coins and coin types is visible (Paszkiewicz 2010, Maciejczuk 2021). Thanks to the research related to our project,[1] carried out as part of the author's dissertation, a database has been created on the Silesian kwartniks stored in museums around the world. Almost 1000 coins have been recorded, including photos and metrological data. The profound study of these coins, including iconography and epigraphy, die-links, and classification of type variants, will help to determine the chronology of individual kwartnik issues. Thanks to these extensive studies, for the first time in the history of research, the author managed to discover the overstrikes of the Silesian kwartniks (fig. 2.)

The newly discovered overstrikes reveal a sequence of types. This makes us sure that the CLIPEVS BAVWARIE type was not a continuation (as it was believed until now) but rather a predecessor of the IVVENVM BOLKONVM type. Furthermore, if a GALEA DVCIS BOLKONIS coin served as an undertype for the CLIPEVS BAVWARIE coin, the latter type certainly followed the former, presumably within a short period. The overstrikes presented here indicate

1 Project: *The Great Monetary Reform in Central Europe: Low Countries, French and Italian patterns and the modernization of Silesian coinage in the kwartnik period* (UMO-2020/39/O/HS3/00475), financed by the National Science Centre, led by Prof. Borys Paszkiewicz.

that the GALEA DVCIS BOLKONIS coin was most likely minted much earlier, even in the mid-1290s, which coincides with the heyday of Duke Bolko I's reign. Therefore, the relationship between the CLIPEVS BAVWARIE type and the coronation of Beatrice of Silesia as the Queen of Louis IV Bavaria in 1314, long considered obvious, no longer justifies the use of the Wittelsbach dynastic symbols on Silesian coins. The key to the absolute chronology of the Silesian kwartniks lies in the affinities of the Silesian Piasts with the Bavarians and Brandenburgers, whose tradition dates back to the 1280s.

Fig. 1. On the left: Silesian kwartnik, Bolko I (1281-1301), Duke of Fürstenberg (Świdnica and Jawor), struck by 1301 (private collection), on the right: France, Royal, Louis IX (Saint Louis, 1226–1270), gros tournois, struck 1266-1270. Fritz Rudolf Künker Münzenhandlung 121: 270.

Fig. 2. Overstrikes: in the middle: CLIPEVS BAVWARIE type over on GALEA DVCIS BOLKONIS (host coin), on the right: IVVENVM BOLKONVM type struck over CLIPEVS BAVWARIE type (host coin). Compiled by D. Maciejczuk.

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Chronologia kwartników śląskich: najświeższe wiadomości

Krótki czas obiegu kwartników śląskich (przełom XIII i XIV w.) uważany jest przez numizmatyków za jeden z najciekawszych okresów w historii śląskiego mennictwa. Kwartniki (*quartenses*) były urzeczywistnieniem polskiej jednostki wagowej zwanej kwartą. Wspólnie z mniejszymi monetami nazywanymi dziś umownie parwusami (*denarii parvi*) obiegały na Śląsku właściwym (Dolnym) oraz w Wielkopolsce. Śląsk w tym czasie podzielony był na wiele księstw a mennictwo ulegało skrajnej decentralizacji. Dziś znamy ponad 100 typów kwartników śląskich reprezentowanych przez liczne odmiany i warianty stempli. Wiele z nich nie nosi legend, a brak źródeł pisanych sprawia, że nasza wiedza na ich temat jest wciąż niewystarczająca.

W latach 60. XX w. wiele uwagi poświęcili uczeni zagadnieniu, czy kwartniki śląskie powstały pod wpływem waluty czeskiej — grosza praskiego. Ryszard Kiersnowski udowodnił jednak, że kwartniki śląskie były pierwszą monetą typu groszowego w Europie Środkowej, a ich pierwowzorów systemowych metrologicznych i ikonograficznych należy szukać w mennictwie francuskim oraz flamandzkim (Kiersnowski 2008). Najstarszym pewnie datowanym kwartnikiem jest moneta wybita za rządów księcia Bolka I Świdnickiego (1278-1301), co najmniej kilka miesięcy przed śmiercią tego władcy 9 listopada 1301 roku. Ikonografia tego kwartnika odnajduje analogię na francuskich groszach turońskich (ryc. 1).

Na początku XXI wieku obserwujemy znaczny przyrost bazy źródłowej w postaci monet (Paszkiewicz 2010, Maciejczuk 2021). Dzięki badaniom związanym z naszym projektem[2], prowadzonym w ramach rozprawy doktorskiej autora, stworzyliśmy bazę danych o kwartnikach śląskich pozostających w wielu kolekcjach muzealnych na całym świecie. Odnotowano w niej ponad 1000 egzemplarzy tych monet wraz z fotografiami i danymi pomiarowymi. Szczegółowe badania obejmujące analizy ikonograficzne, epigraficzne, badania wzajemnych powiązań stempli oraz ich klasyfikację pod względem odmian i wariantów pozwoliły na ustalenie chronologii poszczególnych emisji kwartników. Dzięki tym rozbudowanym studiom, autorowi po raz pierwszy w historii badań udało się rozpoznać przebicia kwartników śląskich (ryc. 2).

Nowoodkryte przebicia ujawniają kolejność typów. Dzięki temu ustaliłem, że typ CLIPEVS BAVWARIE nie był kontynuacją (jak do tej pory sądzono), lecz poprzedzał typ IVVENVM BOLKONVM. Co więcej przebicie typu GALEA DVCIS BOLKONIS na typ CLIPEVS BAVWARIE dowodzi, że oba typy następowały jeden po drugim. Ponadto, przedstawione przebicia wskazują, że typ GALEA DVCIS BOLKONIS wybity został najprawdopodobniej znacz-

2 Projekt naukowy pt. *Wielka reforma monetarna w Europie Środkowej: wpływ wzorców niderlandzkich, francuskich oraz włoskich na modernizację mennictwa śląskiego w okresie kwartnikowym* (UMO-2020/39/O/HS3/00475) finansowanego przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki, prowadzonego pod kierunkiem prof. dra hab. Borysa Paszkiewicza.

nie wcześniej, nawet w połowie lat 90. XIII w., na które przypada rozkwit rządów księcia Bolka I Świdnickiego. Zatem związek pomiędzy typem CLIPEVS BAVWARIE a królewską koronacją Beatrycze Śląskiej przy Ludwiku IV Bawarskim w 1314 roku, od dawna uważany za oczywisty, nie uzasadnia już zastosowania symboli dynastycznych Wittelsbachów na monetach śląskich. Klucz do chronologii bezwzględnej kwartników CLIPEVS BAVWARIE leży w koligacjach Piastów śląskich z Bawarczykami i Brandenburczykami, które swoją tradycją sięgają jeszcze lat 80. XIII w.

Ryc. 1. Po lewej: kwartnik śląski, Bolko I (1281-1301), książę fürstenberki (świdnicko-jaworski), przed 1301 (kolekcja prywatna); po prawej: Francja, Ludwik IX Święty (1226–1270), grosz turoński, 1266-1270. Fritz Rudolf Künker Münzenhandlung 121: 270.

Ryc. 2. Ślady przebić na kwartnikach śląskich: w środku: typ CLIPEVS BAVWARIE wybity na kwartniku GALEA DVCIS BOLKONIS, po prawej: typ IVVENVM BOLKONVM wybity na kwartniku CLIPEVS BAVWARIE. Opracował D. Maciejczuk

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Emergency money from Silesia
The collection of the Hungarian National Museum

The Hungarian National Museum (founded in 1802) began to acquire emergency money—primarily of Hungarian relevance—already during the nineteenth century. At that time, however, their number remained negligible and did not yet constitute a distinct collection. Significant expansion took place during the First World War, owing to the dedicated efforts of László Fejérpataky (1857–1923), the director general of the museum between 1916 and 1923. He systematically collected various emergency currencies issued by the belligerent parties, both from domestic and foreign sources, on occasion collecting entire series. As a result of his work, nearly 9,000 Hungarian and foreign emergency currencies – notes and also coins — entered the museum's Coin Cabinet. In subsequent decades, the staff of the Coin Cabinet continued to enlarge the collection through donations and purchases from collectors and auctions. This century-long work has resulted in a banknote collection of approximately 30,000 items, now preserved in the Coin Cabinet of the Hungarian National Museum.

Silesian emergency currencies also entered the numismatic collection during Fejérpataky's directorship. At present, the Coin Cabinet houses more than 280 pieces issued between 1914 and 1923 by almost fifty Silesian cities and towns, including, for example, Bielszowice (Bielschowitz), Wrocław (Breslau), Głogów (Glogau), Katowice (Kattowitz), and Legnica (Liegnitz). For many places, the collection contains multiple issues from different years within the period mentioned, in some cases even from different issuers (for example, Wrocław-Breslau: the city: 1917 and 1923; the Imperial Railway Directorate: 1923; and the W. Welling Färberei: undated).

The holdings include early specimens from 1914 (e.g.: Fürstlich Plessische Bergwerks-Direktion, Katowice-Kattowitz), although the majority date from the issues of 1921–1922. As with other emergency issues of the period, these notes were produced not only as a means of payment but also for collectors, providing an additional source of income to towns strained by wartime economies and state bureaucracy. Many were produced in the style of the German *Serienscheine*, sometimes as complete collectible series (e.g. Zielona Góra-Grünberg, 1921, more than 40 pieces in the collection dated from 1921 and 1922). These issues often artistically designed, reflecting a local history, landmarks, economy, folklore, or contemporary political circumstances (e.g.: Przysiecz-Przyschetz, pro-Germany 50 Pfennig, 1921; Kończyce-Kunzendorf, pro-Poland, 1 Mark, 1922). Printing was undertaken by local, or where none existed, nearby presses (such as Paul Baron, Liegnitz; Flemming-Wiscott, Glogau etc.). Whilst most items were produced on paper, the collection also contains textile ones (f.e.: Małomice-Mallmitz, Wrocław-Breslau). Among its particular curiosities are the monochrome and coloured series issued by Bolków (Bolkenheim).

Photos: Ádám Mézes

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A 17th century coin hoard from the church of St. Andrew the Apostle in Barczewo, Warmia

Hoards of modern small coins generally do not arouse much interest and are neglected by researchers. Therefore, precise information on the composition of a collective find consisting of the smallest fractions of 16th–17th-century money rarely reaches the scholarly community. One exception may be the hoard from Barczewo, which consists of 1,084 coins. This is a very interesting find, made during archaeological research conducted in 2019 at the monastery of St. Andrew the Apostle in Barczewo, Warmia. The main part of the entire find consists of the smallest denominations minted during the reign of the first Polish king of the Vasa dynasty – Sigismund III (1587–1632). These include shillings from the mints in Kraków, Riga and Vilnius, groschen from the mints in Kraków, Vilnius and Gdańsk (for Royal Prussia), one-and-a-half groschen from the mint in Bydgoszcz, 3-groschen coins and 6-groschen coin, both from the Kraków mint. A particularly interesting admixture are coins of Sigismund III, deniers and kwartniks, minted in the 1620s at two private mints in Greater Poland – in Łobżenica and Poznań – which are relatively rarely found in collective finds. King Sigismund's money certainly accounts for about 70% of the entire find. The second largest group in the characterized find are coins of the Duchy of Prussia, dating from the reign of George William (1620–1640), represented by two denominations – shillings and one-and-half groschen. Additionally, the hoard includes several Prussian one-and-half groschen of John Sigismund (1618–1620) and one kwartnik from 1591, minted during the reign of George Frederick of Ansbach (1578–1603). The final group, more notable in number, consists of coins of the King of Sweden, Gustav II Adolf (1611–1632), minted during the Swedish occupation of Riga. The vast majority of these are the smallest coins in the shilling denomination, but one 1 1/2-shilling coin and a dozen one-and-half groschen are also recorded.

These three groups of coins constitute 95% of the entire find, but coins that appear in the Barczewo hoard in single pieces are also worth mentioning. These include a Szczecin one-and-half groschen of Bogislaus XIV (1620–1637), three-kreuzer coins of Dukes Henry Wenceslaus and Charles Frederick (1617–1639) of Ziębice-Oleśnica, a Swedish öre of Gustav II Adolf from 1626, minted in Gothenburg, an 8-haller municipal issue of the city of Cologne from 1586 and one shilling of the Free City of Riga from 1575. The oldest recorded coins in the analyzed hoard are three half-groschen coins of King of Poland, John Albert (1492–1501). The youngest are George William's shillings from 1628, which mark the time when the entire fortune was hidden (*terminus post quem*). The depositing of the hoard in the ground is likely related to the military operations that took place during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The main goal of the project is to fully identify and compile a complete catalogue of the coins from this assemblage. We have an ideal opportunity to study the composition of the find from the end of the first third of the 17th century. The circumstances of its discovery make us certain that it is a complete assemblage and that no part of it has been dispersed. The chronological range of all the coins is quite short – not counting John Albert's half-groschen and the oldest Lithuanian coin from 1570, as well as a coin from Cologne from 1586 and a shilling of the Free City of Riga from 1575 – they end in the 1620s. We can therefore analyze the assemblage of small coins from the 1620s, which were likely in circulation shortly before their hoarding. The Barczewo hoard is likely a cache of cash that may have belonged to the monastery under the floor of which the find was uncovered. It is possible that these are coins collected for the church pulpit, donated by the faithful. A thorough analysis of the entire hoard's composition will allow for statistical analyses of Sigismund III's coinage. Additionally, 75 shillings and one-and-half groschen minted at the Riga mint during the reigns of Sigismund III and Gustav II Adolf were metallographically examined, and the results of physicochemical analyses confirmed that these coins were largely blanched.

The Barczewo hoard is a unique find, which will be placed in its archaeological and historical context. A detailed catalogue of coins, accompanied by a numismatic commentary, will allow us to trace the monetary economy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the first third of the 17th century. This was a time of pan-European monetary crisis, when prolonged wars depleted the monetary economy. It was a time of hyperinflation and widespread currency counterfeiting. Using the Barczewo hoard as an example, we will be able to observe the situation in Poland at that time.

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Celtic coins from a new central settlement in Western Bohemia

In 2022, a new and exceptionally interesting settlement site was discovered near Mariánská Týnice in the northern Plzeň region. Since then, archaeological surveys using metal detectors have been carried out at the site, organized by the Museum of Northern Plzeň Region in Mariánská Týnice and the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. Due to the need to protect the site, the exact location of the find has not been disclosed. So far, more than 500 individual coins have been discovered at the site—and this number continues to grow as archaeological research progresses. All finds are stored at the Museum of Northern Plzeň Region in Mariánská Týnice.

Until recently, central settlements were concentrated only along the Amber Route corridor between Silesia and northeastern Austria. In recent years, however, it has become clear that unfortified lowland central settlements also existed in the pre-oppidum period on Czech territory (such as Žehuň, Čištěves, and the presented site), where we observe intense monetary circulation as well as evidence of local coin production. In this context, the discovery of a central settlement in the northern Plzeň region is extremely valuable, offering entirely new perspectives on the La Tène period in this area. Coins from the pre-oppidum period (horizon LT C) account for about 10% of all coins found at the site. A wide range of already-known types is represented, along with entirely new types, particularly among the gold denominations. Through the coins, human activity can be traced throughout the entire pre-oppidum period.

The vast majority of the coins found at the site date from the oppidum period (horizon LT D). It is especially interesting that during this time, lowland settlements with continuity from LT C1 existed in Bohemia alongside oppida. This distinguishes the lowland settlements from oppida, which were newly founded. In the LT D period, a significant unification of coin production occurred across Bohemia, with the same types of coins being minted. However, local variations can still be observed. These local variants are particularly evident in the material from the western Bohemian site. Domestic production of both gold and silver coins is represented by known variants, supplemented by many previously undocumented ones. One example even includes a contemporary forgery of a 1/8 stater. Some of the undocumented variants, especially among the silver obols, may be of local origin. The range of domestic coinage is complemented to a limited extent by imported coins. Numerically, oppidum-period coins represent 90% of all coins found at the site—a very surprising finding.

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Keltské mince z nového centrálního sídliště v západních Čechách

V roce 2022 došlo k objevu nové a mimořádně zajímavé sídlištní lokality v okolí Mariánské Týnce v regionu severního Plzeňska. Od té doby zde probíhají archeologické průzkumy s detektory kovů, organizované Muzeum severního Plzeňska Mariánská Týnice a Archeologický ústav AVČR Praha. Přesnou nálezovou lokalitu z důvodu ochrany naleziště zatím nesdělelujeme. Z lokality pochází aktuálně přes 500 jednotlivě nalezených mincí – toto množství se však neustále zvyšuje s pokračujícími archeologickým průzkumy. Všechny nálezy jsou uloženy v Muzeum severního Plzeňska Mariánská Týnice.

Do nedávné doby byly centrální sídliště koncetrovány pouze v oblasti koridoru Jantarové stezky mezi Slezskem a severovýchodním Rakouskem. V posledních letech se ukázalo, že také na českém území existují v předoppidálním období rovinná neopevněná centrální sídliště (Žehuň, Čištěves a prezentované naleziště), kde sledujeme intenzivní peněžní oběh i doklady lokální mincovní výroby. V tomto ohledu je nesmírně cenný objev centrálního sídliště v oblasti severního Plzeňska, který otevírá zcela nové pohledy na dobu laténskou v této oblasti. Mince předoppidálního období (horizont LT C) zde reprezentuje asi 10 % z celkového množství nalezených mincí. Je zastoupena celá řada typů již známých, ale i typy zcela neznámé, a to zvláště mezi zlatými nominály. Právě prostřednictvím mincí lze doložit lidské aktivity po celé předoppidální období.

Drtivá většina mincí na lokalitě spadá do průběhu oppidálního období (horizont LT D). Je mimořádně zajímavé, že v tomto období existovala v Čechách kromě oppid také rovinná sídliště s kontinuitou od LT C1. Tím se rovinná sídliště liší od oppid, která byla založena nově. V období LT D došlo k výrazné unifikace mincovní produkce v celých Čechách, kde byly raženy stejné typy mincí. Můžeme však sledovat jejich lokální variabilitu. Právě tuto skutečnost můžeme velmi dobře sledovat v materiálu pocházejícím ze západočeského naleziště. Domácí produkci zlatých i stříbrných ražeb reprezentující známé varianty, doplněné mnoha variantami doposud nepodchycenými. Jedním exemplářem je zde zastoupen také dobový padělek 1/8statéru. Nepodchycené varianty zvláště stříbrných obolů mohou v některých případech být i lokálního původu. Spektrum domácích ražeb doplňují v omezené míře i mince importované. Z početního hlediska reprezentují mince oppidálního období 90 % všech nalezených mincí na lokalitě, což je velice překvapivé zjištění.

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Unknown three-kreuzer coins of the Duchy of Legnica-Brzeg from 1621 and 1622

In 1968, during the renovation of the basement of the burgher house No. 16 on the square in Polička (a former royal dowry town situated on the Bohemian-Moravian border), a hoard containing more than 12,000 mainly small silver coins (3-kreuzers) was discovered. A more thorough investigation confirmed that, with a few exceptions, the coins were minted during the years 1620–1622 and that, besides numerous issues from German territories, more than 80% of the hoard consists of Silesian coinage. As no coin later than 1622 was found amongst the hoard, it can be assumed that the period of deposition was 1622–1623. Considering that most of these *Scheidemünzen* were withdrawn to the mints and melted down into higher-quality coinage metal after the monetary reform (*Kalade*) in December 1623, the entire find – from the period of the most intense inflation at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, with its narrow chronological profile and the abundant representation of some mint outputs – constitutes an exceptionally valuable numismatic source.

Work on processing the hoard has been conducted, more or less systematically, since the 1970s, but it has yet to be completed. However, the intensive work of recent years, aiming to make the entire find available in book (catalogue) form, has made it possible to identify a number of interesting coin variants, especially among the most abundant Silesian ducal issues. The most numerous group comprises the 3-kreuzer coins of the Duchy of Legnica-Brzeg from 1621 and 1622, which accounting for around 45% of the entire hoard. Previously unpublished variants have been identified amongst these coins, differing in imagery, inscriptions or moneyers' marks. It was common to encounter combinations of obverse and reverse dies from the same mint. Particularly interesting is the use of dies from two different mints (Złoty Stok-Reichenstein and Oława) on a single coin. The large quantity of 3-kreuzer coins from the Legnica and Brzeg mints has a clear benefit: it makes it highly probable that the provenance of certain coins for which existing scholarship had not been able to definitively identify, can be confirmed.

This paper will therefore seek selectively to present some of the new or numismatically rare variants of 3-kreuzer coins of the Duchy of Legnica-Brzeg from 1621–1622, struck under the Piast dukes George Rudolf and John Christian (from 1621 independently), particularly at the mints of Legnica, Brzeg, Kluczbork, Złoty Stok, and Wąsosz.

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Neznámé tříkrejcary knížectví Lehnice-Břeh z let 1621 až 1622

V roce 1968 byl při rekonstrukci sklepních prostor měšťanského domu č. p. 16 na náměstí v Poličce (původně královské věnné město ležící na česko-moravském pomezí) objeven depot více než 12 tisíc vesměs drobných stříbrných mincí (tříkrejcarů). Jeho zevrubnější průzkum potvrdil, že se jedná o mince až na výjimky ražené v letech 1620–1622 a že kromě početných ražeb německých teritorií tvoří přes 80 % jeho obsahu ražby slezské. Jelikož se v nálezu nenašla mince mladší roku 1622, lze léta 1622–1623 považovat za období uložení depotu. S ohledem na skutečnost, že většina těchto „Scheidemünzen" byla po kaládě v prosinci 1623 stažena do mincoven a přetavena v kvalitnější mincovní kov, je celý nález z období nejintenzivnější inflace počátku třicetileté války s přihlédnutím k jeho úzkému časovému profilu a početnému zastoupení produkce některých mincoven mimořádně cenným numismatickým pramenem.

Zpracování depotu probíhá více či méně systematicky již od 70. let 20. století, přičemž dosud nebylo dokončeno. Intenzivní práce posledních let, jejichž cílem je knižní (katalogové) zpřístupnění celého nálezu, však umožnily identifikovat řadu zajímavých mincovních variant, především pak v nejhojněji zastoupených ražbách slezských knížectví. Nejpočetnější z nich tvoří skupina tříkrejcarových mincí knížectví Lehnice-Břeh z let 1621 až 1622, které představují podíl zhruba 45 % z celého nálezu. Z nich se podařilo určit dosud nepublikované varianty, které se liší jak svým obrazovým ztvárněním, tak i opisovými legendami či mincovními značkami. Zcela běžně byla doložena kombinace lícních a rubních razidel v rámci jedné mincovny. Zajímavostí je pak užití razidel dvou různých mincoven (Rychleby, Olava) u jedné mince. Nepochybným přínosem velkého množství tříkrejcarů z mincoven Lehnice a Břeh je možnost s velkou mírou pravděpodobnosti potvrdit provenienci některých mincí, které dosavadní odborná literatura nebyla schopná s konkrétní mincovnou ztotožnit.

Příspěvek se tedy pokusí výběrově představit některé nové či z numismatického hlediska raritní varianty tříkrejcarových mincí knížectví Lehnice-Břeh z let 1621–1622, ražených za piastovských knížat Jiřího Rudolfa a Jana Kristiána (od roku 1621 samostatně), a to především v mincovnách Lehnice, Břeh, Kluczbork, Rychleby a Wąsosz.

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Between coins and medals. Commemorative coins of the noble family Gienger in the 16th century

The chamber counts (*comites camerae*) of the mining towns in northern Hungary were allowed to mint commemorative coins from their own mining products at the Royal Mint in Kremnica. We know several coins or medals belonging to the Gienger family, as four of them were chamber counts. These medals usually have portraits or coats of arms on the sides, but in the case of the Gienger medals they were also minted for family events, such as marriages. The presentation shows the different types of medals the Giengers in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum.

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The coinage of the Odrysian dynasty in the kingdom of Thrace, the 5th–4th century BC

An overview and presentation of the existing coins of the Odrysian dynasty of the kingdom of Ancient Thrace, struck in silver and bronze. They start with coins of the Odrysian king Sparadokos (c. 450-431 BC), run through the dynastic issues of Seuthes I, Saratokos, Seuthes II, Amadokos I, Metokos, Hebryzelmis, the great Kotys I, Amadokos II, Ketriporis, Teres III, Kersebleptes, and finish with the bronze coinage of Seuthes III (c. 323-300/297 BC). The iconography and the main motives shown on coins will be tracked down and analysed. The main mints suggested and areas of circulation of coins will be traced. The dynastic lineage will be followed.

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Late Boii Coinage on the Peripheries: An Archaeological Perspective

The interpretation of late coinage associated with the eastern part of the La Tène culture, particularly within the so-called Boii coinage zone, can vary significantly depending on the methodological framework adopted. An archaeological approach that prioritises contextual analysis of finds and their spatial distribution within local cultural landscapes often yields markedly different conclusions to those derived from numismatic analysis, which focuses on typology, iconography, manufacturing techniques and systematisation. Rather than leading to contradiction, confronting these two perspectives can serve as a valuable tool for achieving a multidimensional understanding of coinage as a phenomenon within the Late La Tène world. This combined approach enables us to appreciate the complexity of coinage function and the variability and adaptability of its roles, ranging from the practical and utilitarian to the symbolic and identity-related.

From this perspective, late coinage that circulated on the margins of the La Tène culture, or in adjacent zones, is a crucial source for analysing the disintegration of former political structures, the transformation of the ideology of power and the redefinition of local elites. Examples from the Kujawy and Kalisz regions, as well as from the area around Bratislava and the Slovak-Austrian borderlands, reveal various models of coin usage, including as instruments of communication, prestige, ritual and the consolidation of collective identity, in a world undergoing profound socio-political change.

In the north, in areas associated with the Przeworsk culture, Boii gold coins have been found in unusual contexts. These coins are found in environments with no earlier tradition of coin production, and the archaeological material linked to the La Tène culture is limited and ambiguous. While the presence of certain La Tène elements is sometimes noted, the current state of research makes it difficult to determine the extent to which these are directly connected to the coins themselves. The distribution of such finds often overlaps with traditional settlement zones associated with fertile lands, seemingly independent of cultural affiliation. The coins are mostly stray finds, not linked to settlements or hoards — though this absence may also be a result of current research limitations. Their presence in a peripheral space, both geographically and culturally, but one potentially intersected by communication routes such as the so-called Amber Route or the hypothesised Northern Route, suggests that their function may have been non-economic. They may have served as markers of prestige, tools of communication or expressions of local status, rather than instruments of exchange. Their appearance should not be viewed as purely incidental; they are better understood as the result of processes of selection, storage and specific acts of deposition which may not have anticipated later recovery.

From a typological perspective, these issues demonstrate regional distinctiveness alongside clear links to the more established tradition of Boii coinage. Small denominations predominate, with the vast majority corresponding to one-eighth of a stater. These gradually diverged from the actual standard of gold coinage over time. However, it seems that the earliest series had a relatively high gold content, whereas later issues were more nominal. The iconography, based on arrangements of arcs, dots and lines, aligns with the broader trend towards graphic simplification evident in late Boii coinage from the LT D1 phase. Conversely, certain types found in the Kujawy region exhibit more complex, abstract compositions, potentially reflecting local innovation and a flexible approach to symbolic representation.

In contrast to the southern regions, small silver denominations, which were common at oppida within the Boii coinage zone, are absent in Poland. This difference has significant interpretative value, suggesting that the function of these coins may have been fundamentally different, regardless of their gold content. Their production and possession were probably linked to demonstrating prestige and status rather than participating in everyday economic transactions. In this respect, they can be compared to the use of Roman denarii among 'barbarian' communities during the Roman period — as carriers of value and symbols of prestige rather than components of a fully integrated monetary system. Gold coins thus constituted a distinct and selective element within systems of exchange and valuation, with a character that was more social and symbolic than strictly economic.

The analysis of finds from the south, particularly in the area of the Bratislava oppidum and the borderlands of present-day Austria, reveals a different picture. Here, we are dealing with a more developed minting environment, where coins appear both as isolated finds and as part of deliberately deposited hoards. While some of these coins may have circulated within a limited sphere, the dominance of non-settlement contexts, careful selection of items and good state of preservation suggest intentional and deliberate deposition. The example from Deutsch Jahrndorf supports this interpretation, indicating the existence of symbolic practices possibly linked to local tradition, ritual activity or displays of prestige. Such deposits should not merely be understood as hidden wealth or emergency hoards, but rather as the outcome of complex and often lengthy processes in which coins held material, communicative, and ritual significance.

The iconography of coins issued in this region is particularly noteworthy, with motifs such as Italic-style busts, chariots and Latin letters suggesting a deliberate appropriation of Roman imagery. This may have served to legitimise local elites and reinforce their authority by referencing the power and prestige of the Roman world. These coins probably served not only as a means of internal communication, but also as a way of engaging in a symbolic dialogue with the wider Mediterranean cultural and political sphere.

In both the south and the north, coinage may have served purposes that went beyond the conventional understanding of monetary circulation. While they may have been used for practical purposes, their form, find contexts and iconography all suggest a strong symbolic dimension. It is plausible that these coins formed part of a Late La Tène language of prestige — a means of expressing status, legitimacy and aspiration during a period of the disintegration of the former oppidum-based order. This perspective encourages us to interpret individual coins and hoards not merely as instruments of exchange or accumulation, but as the result of intentional actions, which were often complex and took place over a long period of time, and which were aimed at communication, commemoration, or the symbolic anchoring of values.

The observed typological diversity and the absence of clearly identifiable centres of issue suggest a process of decentralisation within political and monetary structures, with finds dispersed across a wide area. In such circumstances, coins may have gradually lost their function as instruments of exchange and instead taken on the role of ideological communication tools. They may have functioned as signs, material traces of the aspirations, status and identity of elites who, in the face of far-reaching transformations, were seeking new ways to establish themselves in a changing world.

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Późne mennictwo bojskie stref pogranicza. Perspektywa archeologiczna

Interpretacja późnego mennictwa wschodniej części kultury lateńskiej – zwłaszcza w ramach tzw. bojskiej strefy menniczej – może znacząco różnić się w zależności od przyjętej metodologii badawczej. Podejście archeologiczne, koncentrujące się na kontekście odkryć, ich rozmieszczeniu przestrzennym oraz osadzeniu w lokalnym krajobrazie kulturowym, często prowadzi do odmiennych, a niekiedy nawet sprzecznych wniosków niż analiza numizmatyczna, która skupia się na typologii, ikonografii, technice wykonania i systematyzacji emisji. Zderzenie tych dwóch perspektyw nie musi jednak prowadzić do konfliktu, lecz może stanowić wartościowe narzędzie dla wieloaspektowej analizy fenomenu monetarnego w późnolateńskim świecie. Pozwala bowiem dostrzec nie tylko złożoność funkcjonowania monet, ale również zmienność i elastyczność ich funkcji – od praktycznych, użytkowych po symboliczne i tożsamościowe.

W takim ujęciu późne mennictwo funkcjonujące na obrzeżach kultury lateńskiej lub w strefach z nią sąsiadujących jawi się jako kluczowe źródło do analizy procesów dezintegracji dawnych struktur politycznych, przekształceń w zakresie ideologii władzy oraz redefinicji lokalnych elit. Przykłady z Kujaw i ziemi kaliskiej, jak również z regionu Bratysławy oraz pogranicza słowacko-austriackiego, odsłaniają różne modele wykorzystywania monet – jako elementów komunikacji, prestiżu, rytuału i utrwalania tożsamości w świecie przechodzącym głębokie przeobrażenia.

Na północy, na obszarach związanych z kulturą przeworską, złote monety bojskie pojawiają się w kontekstach nietypowych. Występują w środowiskach, które nie posiadały wcześniejszej tradycji mennictwa, a materiał archeologiczny łączony z kulturą lateńską jest tu ograniczony i niejednoznaczny. Czasem wskazuje się na obecność pewnych elementów kultury lateńskiej, jednak na podstawie obecnego stanu badań trudno określić, na ile mają one bezpośredni związek z obecnością monet. Dystrybucja tych znalezisk często pokrywa się ze strefami tradycyjnego osadnictwa związanego z występowaniem urodzajnych ziem, niejako niezależnie od przynależności kulturowej. Znaleziska monet mają charakter przede wszystkim luźny, nie są związane z kontekstem osadniczym ani z depozytami, choć nie można wykluczyć, że ich brak może wynikać także ze stanu badań. Ich występowanie w peryferyjnej przestrzeni – geograficznej i kulturowej, ale potencjalnie przecinanej przez szlaki komunikacyjne, takie jak tzw. szlak bursztynowy lub postulowany przez część badaczy tzw. szlak północny – może sugerować funkcje odmienne od czysto gospodarczych. Monety mogły pełnić rolę nośnika prestiżu, narzędzia komunikacji lub lokalnego wyrazu statusu, a nie środka wymiany. Nie można przy tym traktować ich obecności jako czysto przypadkowej – warto rozpatrywać je jako rezultat procesów selekcji, przechowywania i specyficznego aktu zdeponowania, który nie musiał zakładać późniejszego odzyskania.

Z perspektywy typologicznej emisje te wykazują zarówno odrębność regionalną, jak i wyraźne powiązania z rozwiniętym mennictwem bojskim. Dominują drobne nominały, przy czym zdecydowana większość odpowiada 1/8 statera i z czasem coraz bardziej oddala się od rzeczywistego standardu złotych monet. Wydaje się jednak, że najwcześniejsze serie cechowały się stosunkowo wysoką zawartością złota, dopiero późniejsze emisje przyjmowały charakter nominalny. Ikonografia tych monet, oparta na układach łuków, kropek i kresek, wpisuje się w szerszą tendencję upraszczania form graficznych charakterystyczną dla późnego mennictwa boiskiego z fazy LT D1. Jednocześnie niektóre typy kujawskie ukazują bardziej złożone, abstrakcyjne kompozycje, które mogą świadczyć o lokalnej innowacyjności i elastycznym podejściu do przekazu symbolicznego.

W przeciwieństwie do terenów południowych, w Polsce brakuje drobnych srebrnych nominałów, powszechnych na oppidach strefy bojskiej. Różnica ta ma istotne znaczenie interpretacyjne: sugeruje, że niezależnie od zawartości złota, funkcja tych monet mogła być odmienna. Ich produkcja i posiadanie były najprawdopodobniej związane z prestiżem i statusem społecznym, a nie z rzeczywistym uczestnictwem w codziennym obrocie. W tym sensie można je porównać do sposobu wykorzystywania rzymskich denarów przez społeczności barbarzyńskie w okresie rzymskim – jako wartościowego kruszcu i nośnika prestiżu, nie zaś elementu pełnego systemu monetarnego. Monety złote stanowiły zatem wyodrębniony i selektywny komponent systemu wymiany i wartości, o charakterze bardziej społecznym i symbolicznym niż ekonomicznym.

Odmienny obraz wyłania się z analizy znalezisk z południa, zwłaszcza z regionu oppidum Bratysławy i terenów przygranicznych dzisiejszej Austrii. W tym przypadku mamy do czynienia z bardziej rozwiniętym środowiskiem menniczym, w którym monety występują zarówno jako pojedyncze znaleziska, jak i jako części celowo zdeponowanych zbiorów. Choć możliwe jest, że część z nich krążyła w ograniczonym obiegu, przewaga kontekstów nieosadniczych, staranna selekcja i stan zachowania monet sugerują świadome, intencjonalne ich złożenie. Przykład znaleziska z Deutsch Jahrndorf potwierdza te obserwacje i wskazuje na możliwość istnienia praktyk o charakterze symbolicznym, być może związanych z lokalną tradycją, rytuałem lub manifestacją prestiżu. Tego rodzaju zdeponowania należy postrzegać nie tyle jako proste skarby czy ukryty majątek, lecz jako wynik złożonych i czasem rozciągniętych w czasie procesów, w których istotna była nie tylko funkcja materialna monet, ale także ich znaczenie komunikacyjne i rytualne.

W emisjach z tego regionu szczególnie interesująca jest ikonografia: motywy takie jak popiersia w stylu italijskim, rydwany czy litery łacińskie wskazują na świadomą adaptację wzorców rzymskich. Być może ich zastosowanie miało na celu legitymizację lokalnych elit oraz wzmocnienie ich pozycji poprzez nawiązanie do autorytetu Imperium. Monety te mogły działać nie tylko jako środek komunikacji wewnętrznej, ale też jako narzędzie symbolicznego dialogu ze światem śródziemnomorskim.

Zarówno na południu, jak i na północy, monety mogły odgrywać funkcje wykraczające poza tradycyjnie pojmowany obieg monetarny. Choć ich użycie mogło mieć pewien aspekt praktyczny, to jednak ich forma, kontekst odkryć oraz ikonografia wskazują na znaczenie symboliczne. Możliwe, że stanowiły one element późnolateńskiego języka prestiżu – sposobu wyrażania pozycji, legitymacji i aspiracji w sytuacji rozpadu dawnych struktur oppidalnych. Takie ujęcie zachęca do traktowania zarówno pojedynczych egzemplarzy, jak i zbiorów monetarnych jako rezultatów intencjonalnych działań – często rozciągniętych w czasie i o złożonym charakterze – których celem nie zawsze była wymiana czy akumulacja, ale również komunikacja, upamiętnienie czy symboliczne zakorzenienie wartości.

Zaobserwowane zróżnicowanie typologiczne, brak czytelnych ośrodków emisji oraz rozproszenie znalezisk sugerują proces decentralizacji struktur politycznych i menniczych. W takich warunkach moneta mogła stopniowo tracić funkcję narzędzia wymiany, przejmując rolę środka komunikacji ideologicznej. Nie da się wykluczyć, że pełniła funkcję znaku – materialnego śladu aspiracji, statusu i tożsamości elit, które w obliczu przemian szukały nowych sposobów zakorzenienia w zmieniającym się świecie.

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Microstructural aspects regarding the forging technique used in an 18th century counterfeiter workshop

The archaeological finds reveal that a counterfeiter produced high quality forged coins of large circulation having very good design and silvery aspect. There were only a few subtle errors in legends such as inconsistencies between issuer and issue date and small design details. The silvery aspect is nice too, well preserved over three centuries, and requires detailed investigation. X-ray diffraction (XRD) reveals that the substrate was copper, with a surface layer composed of high purity silver. A small displacement of silver's XRD peaks indicate a very small amount of dissolved alloying element. Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) coupled with elemental spectroscopy (EDX) reveal that the thin silver layer was applied through Ag – Hg amalgam (Figure 1).

The reverse of the 3-kreutzer coin (Figure 1a) is almost covered with a compact silver layer having only a few excoriations. The SEM elemental map reveals the copper substrate coloured in orange nuance. Silver foil is blue coloured forming a compact domain uniformly covering the copper substrate. It is finely dotted with pink spots corresponding to mercury dissolved into the silver coating. Similar aspect is observed for the poltura (Figure 1b). Spectrum 16 was taken on the substrate revealing its composition as 100% copper. Spectrum 17 was taken on the silver foil revealing a mixture of 55.1 % silver, 40 % mercury and 4.9 % copper. It indicates that silver solvers mercury atoms in its crystal structure during the solidification from the liquid amalgam layer at interact with the copper substrate making a good cohesion. It ensures a good resistance of the deposited layer that resists until today. The forgery would have been difficult to be detected under circulation in the 18th century unless the coin was cut or cracked. The one-and-half-groschen (Figure 1c) has large areas covered with silver both on obverse and reverse, and its copper substrate is merely oxidized. The SEM elemental map clearly evidence the copper substrate with a relatively etched structure (grainy aspect) while the silver foil is well attached and smooth. Mercury is evenly distributed within the silver coating sustaining the XRD observations as silver solid solution. The copper stripe having rounded marks where the coins blanks were punched out with the cutter, was also investigated (Figure 1d), evidencing its copper content and some oxide pits over its surface. Its microstructural aspect corresponds to the forged coins substrate.

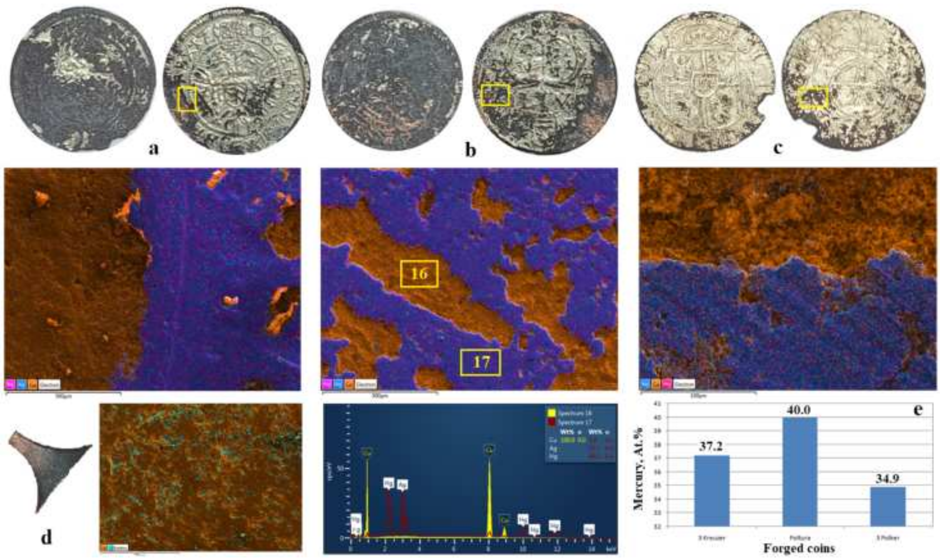

Fig. 1. Photographs of the forged coins (obverse and reverse), the area investigated with SEM – EDX is marked with yellow rectangle and the main results are presented below: (a) forged Bohemian 3-kreuzer 1706 of Leopold I; (b) forged Hungarian poltura 1706 of Joseph I; (c) forged Polish one-and-half-groschen 1623 of Sigismund III; (d) part of a copper stripe used for coins blanks punching and (e) mercury variation chart.

The mercury amount is extremely high ranging from about 34 to 40 at.% (Figure 1e). The poltura coin has the highest mercury content and the one-and-half-groschen has the lowest. It proves to be a characteristic for this counterfeiter workshop. Their issues had a good chance of widespread circulation because of their high quality design and good silver coverage. Random finds of counterfeit coins of this type should be investigated to determine whether they correspond to the features presented confirming the spatial distribution of forgeries issued by this workshop.

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Příspěvek k raně středověkým polským nálezům. Denáry z polských nálezů ve sbírce Národního muzea – obsahové doplnění, upřesnění přiřazení a datace
(Contribution to early medieval Polish finds. Deniers from Polish finds in the collection of the Národní muzeum – content additions, clarifications of attributions and dating)

Přednáška se věnuje raně středověkým polským nálezům z české perspektivy. Primárně má seznámit s polskými nálezy uloženými ve sbírce Národního muzea. Tyto nálezy se do sbírky Národního muzea dostaly především prostřednictvím významných českých sběratelů, Františka Rudolfa a Karla Chaurových, Viktora Katze a Františka Cacha. V naprosté většině se jedná o české denáry z těchto nálezů, ale významnou složku tvoří také polské mince Boleslava Chrabrého, považovaného tehdy, byť krátkodobě, za českého knížete a napodobeniny českých denárů dnes považované za ražby pomořanské.

Mince s dochovanými nálezovými okolnostmi se ve sbírce Národního muzea nacházejí již od 19. století, z tohoto období však bohužel často nemáme doložen zdroj. Novější přírůstky se tak do sbírky dostaly především přes Chaurovu sbírku, a to prokazatelně z devíti, přes Cachovu sbírku ze šesti a přes Katzovu sbírku ze tří polských nálezů.

Ve staré sbírce tak prozatím evidujeme mince z nálezu Bystrzyca, v Chaurově sbírce Bystrzyca, Długa Goślina, Dobrzyków, Jarocin, Kujavy I, Miastko, Polsko – kongresové?, Vratislav – okolí?, Wicimice, v Cachově sbírce Bystrzyca, u Hnězdna, Jarocin, Lisówek, Łupawa, Miastko a v Katzově sbírce Lisówek. Łupawa a Polsko – meziválečné?.

Z těchto 13 nálezů nezná „Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen“ (FMP) čtyři vůbec (u Hnězdna, Polsko – kongresové?, Polsko – meziválečné?, Vratislav – okolí), u dalších dvou nejsou uvedeny ani přesné typy uložené ve sbírce NM (Długa Goślina, Łupawa), ve třech jen částečně (Dobrzyków, Lisówek. Miastko), u čtyř pak FMP zná typy (Bystrzyca, Jarocin, Kujavy I, Wicimice), ale jen u dvou z nich (Bystrzyca, Kujavy I) jsou konkrétní mince z NM uvedeny, alespoň podle starších soupisů. V 11 případech tak sbírka NM přináší nové nálezové exempláře ve FMP nezmíněné. Ani v jednom případě pak není uvedena sbírka NM jako sbírka, ve které se mince z daného nálezu nacházejí.

Na závěr pak bude zmíněn i přínos nových českých nálezů a zjištěných přeražeb na dataci polských nálezů. Nová typologie zde paradoxně přináší potvrzení pro starší datace nálezů Bystrzyca a Niemcza II.

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An unusual counterfeit coin workshop (early 18th century) identified in the former Turda County of Transylvania (Romania)

Relatively recently (in the spring of 2024), in the vicinity of the village of Finișel/Kisfenes/Kleinfenes, Săvădisla commune, Cluj County, approximately 25 km from the city of Cluj-Napoca/Kolosvár/Klausenburg, in the former Turda County, in a wooded and isolated area, accidental discoveries were made revealing evidence of clandestine monetary activities. So far, forgeries of 23 types of coins minted after 1623 have been identified here, especially between 1693 and 1718, from the Kingdom of Poland and the Holy Roman Empire, including issues for Transylvania, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia.

According to their value, notable among the counterfeited coins found there are: a ducat issued by Leopold I for Transylvania in 1699 with the mintmark of Cluj/Kolosvár/Klausenburg (K V), a quarter thaler (1/4 thaler/vierteltaler) issued by Charles VI for Hungary in 1716 (Fig. 1), with the mintmark of Baia Mare/Nagybánya/Frauenbach (N-B), as well as forgeries of 15-kreuzer coins issued by Leopold in 1693 (Fig. 2) and 1704, with mint marks of Kremnica (K-B) and 1704 Sibiu (F-T) respectively.

Fig. 1 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Fig. 2 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Among the counterfeit 6-kreuzer coins from Finișel, two emissions of Charles VI were identified: one from 1718 (Fig. 3) for Hungary (Kremnica/Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz mint – currently the latest dated coin in the counterfeit batch) and another from 1713 for Austria.

Fig. 3 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

The most frequently counterfeited coins at Finișel are 3-kreuzer coins (*Groschen*). So far, seven forged specimens have been identified. Four of them imitate coins of Leopold I – two for Hungary (1699 and 1703, from the Baia Mare mint), one for Bohemia (1706, Prague mint, mint master Gregor Egerer), and one for Austria (1701). The other three were copied from coins of Joseph I: one for Silesia (1706, Wrocław/Breslau, mint warden Franz Novak (Fig. 4), one for Hungary (1710, Bratislava/Pressburg/Pozsony), and one for Styria (1710, Graz, mint master Johann Jacob Aigmann). Two other counterfeits with the name of Joseph I imitate poltura coins dated 1705 (Fig. 5) and 1707, minted in Sibiu for Transylvania. These were discovered along with polturas from 1709 issued for Hungary.

Fig. 4 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

A distinct group is made up of forgeries of coins of Francis II Rákóczi. Among them, there is a test strike on a thin copper strip for a counterfeit silver poltura from 1704 (·MONETA·NOVA·ARGEN·REG·HVNG·) with the mintmark of Baia Mare/Nagybánya/Frauenbach (Fig. 6), another (fragmented) die test for copper polturas from 1704–1707 with the mintmark of Kremnica/Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz (Fig. 7), and defective forgeries of 10-poltura coins from 1704 and 1705.

Fig. 5 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Fig. 6 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Fig. 7 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Some scraps from the X-polturas were used as raw material for counterfeiting other coins (Fig. 8), most likely groschen.

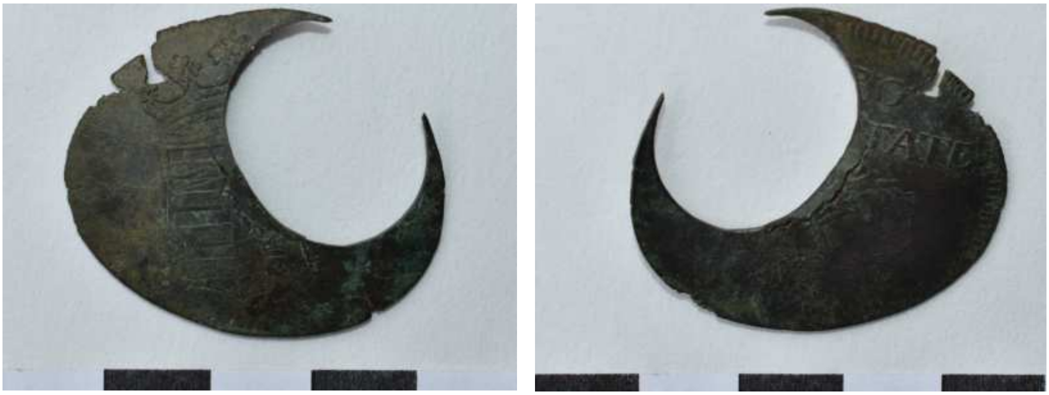

Fig. 8 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Another group consists of three types of counterfeit coins of 1.5 groschen (*półtorak/Dreipölker*) issued in the Kingdom of Poland by Sigismund III. One has a complete, correct legend and is dated 1623, while the other two have corrupted legends and no date.

Besides the actual counterfeit coins, items discovered at the site include copper blanks (some silvered or tinned), copper scrap from blank cutting (Fig. 9), and copper strips, along with several specific iron tools (two hammers, two molds?, a blank-cutting instrument, and part of a coin die).

Fig. 9 (avers/revers; obverse/reverse).

Several period documents refer to extensive counterfeiting activity in Turda County from the last quarter of the 17th century until after the mid-18th century.

It is possible that the clandestine workshop at Finișel operated after the closure of the mint in Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben (1712/1713) and in the first five to six years after the reopening of the mint in Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg (1713).

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Un atelier inedit de falsificare a monedei (începutul secolului XVIII) identificat în fostul comitat Turda din Transilvania (România)

Relativ recent (în primăvara anului 2024), în hotarul satului Finișel/Kisfenes/Kleinfenes, comuna Săvădisla, județul Cluj, la aproximativ 25 de km de orașul Cluj-Napoca/Kolosvár/Klausenburg, în vechiul comitat Turda, într-o zonă împădurită, izolată, au fost descoperite întâmplător dovezi ale unor activități monetare clandestine. Până în prezent au fost identificate aici falsuri după 23 de tipuri monetare emise după anul 1623, dar cu precădere între 1693-1718, în Regatul Poloniei și Sfântul Imperiu Romano-German, pentru Transilvania, Austria, Ungaria, Boemia și Silezia.

În funcție de valoarea lor, remarcăm printre monedele falsificate aici, un ducat emis de Leopold I pentru Transilvania în anul 1699 cu sigla monetăriei din Cluj/Kolosvár/Klausenburg, un sfert de taler (1/4 taler/vierteltaler) emis de Carol al VI-lea pentru Ungaria în anul 1716, cu sigla monetăriei din Baia Mare/Nagybánya/Frauenbach (Foto 1), falsuri după piese de XV creițari emise de Lepold în anul 1693 (Foto 2), cu sigla monetăriei de la Kremnica/Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz (K-B) și în anul 1704, cu sigla monetărirei din Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben (F-T).

Dintre monedele cu valoarea de VI creițari falsificate la Finișel, au fost identificate două emisiuni de la Carol al VI-lea, una din anul 1718 pentru Ungaria, cu sigla monetăriei din Kremnica/Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz, aceasta este deocamdată și cea mai târzie monedă din lotul de falsuri descoperit aici (Foto 3) și o alta datată 1713, emisă pentru Austria.

Cele mai numeroase tipuri falsificate la Finișel sunt monedele de 3 creițari (Ggroschen). Până în prezent au fost identificate șapte emisiuni de groși falsificați aici, după cum urmează: patru tipuri de falsuri după monede lui Leopold I, două pentru Ungaria din 1699 și 1703 ce poartă siglele monetăriei din Baia Mare/Nagybánya/Frauenbach, una pentru Boemia, emisă în anul 1706 la Praga, iar alta pentru Austria din anul 1701. Celelalte trei tipuri de groși au fost falsificați după monedele emise de Joseph I pentru Silezia în anul 1706 la Wrocław/Breslau, cu inițialele supraveghetorului monetăriei Franz Novak (Foto 4), pentru Ungaria în 1710 la Bratislava/Pressburg/Pozsony și tot în 1710 pentru Austria (Stiria) la Graz (cu inițialele maestrului monetar Johann Jacob Aigmann).

Tot de la Joseph I au fost falsificate două emisiuni diferite după polturi datate 1705 (Foto 5) și 1707, bătute pentru Transilvania în monetăria de la Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben și polturi emise în 1709 pentru Ungaria.

Un lot aparte este reprezentat de falsurile după monede emise de Francisc Rákóczi al II-lea. Printre descoperiri se află o probă de ștanță pe o bandă subțire din cupru, pentru falsificarea polturei de argint din 1704 (·MONETA·NOVA·ARGEN·REG·HVNG·) cu sigla monetăriei din

Baia Mare/Nagybánya/Frauenbach (Foto 6), o altă probă de ștanță (păstrată fragmentar) pentru polturile din cupru emise în perioada 1704-1707 cu inițialele monetăriei din Kremnica/Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz (Foto 7), dar și falsuri (rebuturi) după monede de X polture din anii 1704 și 1705. Unele rebuturi de la monedele de X polture au fost folosite ca materie primă pentru falsificarea altor monede (Foto 8), cel mai probabil de trei creițari (groschen).

Un alt lot este reprezentat de trei tipuri de falsuri după monede cu valoarea de 1,5 groși (półtorak/Dreipölker) emise în Regatul Poloniei de Sigismuld al III-lea, unul cu legenda redată corect/completă, ce poartă data 1623, celelalte două cu legenda coruptă și fără an.

Pe lângă falsurile monetare propriu-zise, rondele din cupru (unele argintate sau acoperite cu cositor), resturi de benzi din cupru de la decuparea rondelelor (Foto 9) și benzi de cupru, au fost descoperite câteva unelte specifice din fier (două ciocane, două lingotiere? un instrument pentru decupat rondele din cupru și o parte dintr-o ștanță monetară).

O seamă de documentele de epocă vorbesc despre o amplă activitate de falsificare a monedelor în comitatul Turda, din ultimul sfert al secolului al XVII-lea, până după jumătatea secolului al XVIII-lea.

Cea mai târzie monedă falsificată la Finișel este datată 1718. Așadar, este posibil ca atelierul clandestin de aici, să fi activat după închiderea monetăriei din Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben (1712/1713) și în primii cinci-șase ani de după redeschiderea monetăriei de la Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg în anul 1713.

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A numismatic analysis of the two hoards of Prague groschen of Wenceslas II from Čertův hrádek near Blansko

Two small hoards of Prague groschen of Wenceslas II, discovered near Čertův hrádek (Blansko District, South Moravia), raise a number of questions for which we do not yet have satisfactory answers. Although, in terms of the total count of just under sixty groschen, these are not major finds, the other circumstances dramatically enhance the significance of these two closely situated hoards. These finds includes, with notably higher frequency, a relatively rare variety with a reversed letter 'Z' in the word 'WENCEZLAVS,' and one imitation has also been identified. In addition, among the groschen there is a thin silver sheet bearing an imprint of the reverse of a Prague groschen. Another important find from the site is an unofficial die, or more precisely, the punch.

Once the necessary cleaning and conservation have been fully completed, the basic metrological data (weight and dimensions) will be recorded, and the required analyses will be carried out, namely non-destructive surface X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and hydrostatic weighing. 3D scanning of noteworthy coin variants (the imitation) and significant objects (an unofficial die/punch and thin silver sheet imprint of the reverse of the Prague groschen) has already begun. The considerable representation of the rare variety with the reversed 'Z' could serve as a useful chronological indicator for defining a *terminus post quem*. However, this is where we encounter a major obstacle – one of the most pressing gaps in Czech numismatic research on the groschen period: there is currently no comprehensive typological classification of the groschen of Wenceslas II. As a result, the outdated typological system by Smolík (1894) remains the most commonly used. An alternative might be the treatment of a large hoard of Prague groschen of Wenceslas II from Černožice in Eastern Bohemia (near Hradec Králové) by Němečková and Sejbal (2006). However, due to incomplete photographic documentation in this study and certain inconsistencies in the proposed typological framework, a full revision of this hoard is now underway in cooperation with the Museum of Eastern Bohemia in Hradec Králové. On the other hand, the metrological and statistical analysis (Němečková and Sejbal 2006, pp. 160–169 and 271–300) provides a solid basis for comparison.

It is clear that the processing of the finds from Čertův hrádek will benefit greatly from the broadest possible photographic documentation base of the Prague groschen of Wenceslas II. The key resources will include the already mentioned hoard from Černožice as well as the steadily growing database of Prague groschen at cnspg.cz, where several dozen coins of Wenceslas II are currently deposited. This contribution thus also serves as an appeal and a call to other institutions to share photographic materials and, where possible, metrological data, thereby actively supporting the effort to finally create the much-needed typological framework for the earliest Prague groschen.

Answering questions about the function and use of the discovered objects will be challenging and will require further investigation and discussion. The wear on the die/punch indicates relatively intensive use, yet no coins matching its design were found at the site. Furthermore, the specific use of the die remains unclear. It clearly bears an unmistakable depiction of a crown and the inner legend 'WENCEZLAVS SECVID(?),' or 'SECVIID(?),' or 'SECVIIV(?)' and although visual assessment is difficult due to the degree of corrosion, the 3D scanning has provided unequivocal data (with the exception of the legend's ending). Similarly, the significance of the thin silver sheet imprint of the reverse of the Prague groschen remains entirely uncertain. Both items naturally raise questions and provoke speculation about the existence of a counterfeiting workshop in the area, though no further evidence supporting this hypothesis has yet been found. It is worth noting that the imitation present in the assemblage is most likely unrelated to such hypothetical activity, as it demonstrates a high level of craftsmanship.

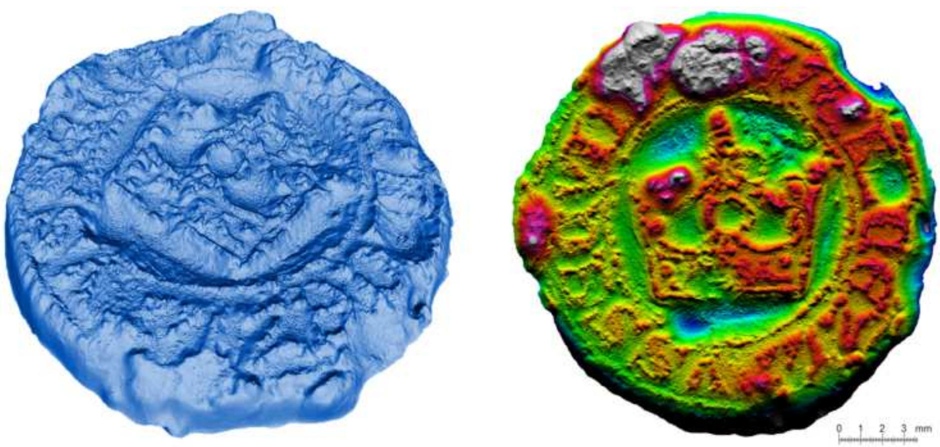

Fig.: 3D scan of the unofficial die, or more precisely, the punch. The scan was made using forensic examination system LMI ToolScan by Eliška Petřeková, Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno.

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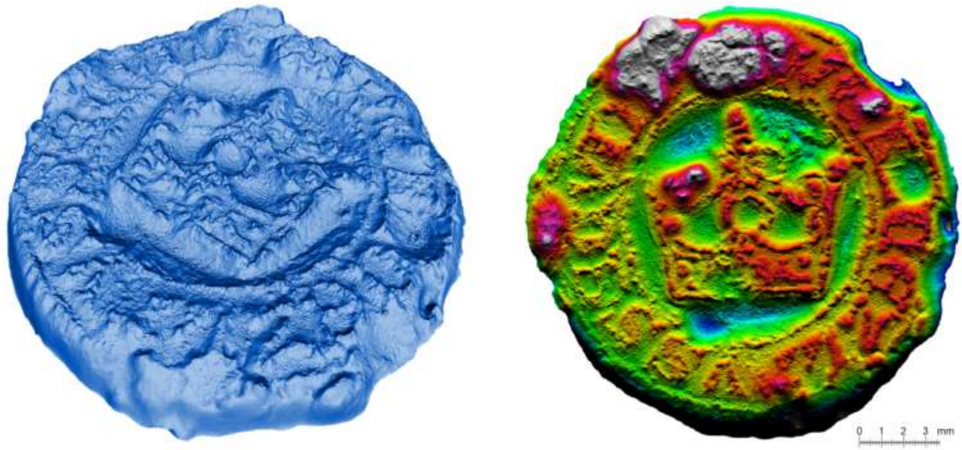
Numismatická analýza dvou depotů pražských grošů Václava II. z Čertova hrádku u Blanska

Dva menší depoty pražských grošů Václava II. nalezené nedaleko Čertova hrádku (okres Blansko, Jižní Morava) vzbuzují řadu otázek, na které zatím neznáme uspokojivé odpovědi. Přesto, že se co do celkového počtu necelých šesti desítek grošů nejedná o významné nálezy, ostatní okolnosti význam těchto dvou blízkých depotů dramaticky zvyšují. V souboru je zastoupena významně frekventovaněji poměrně vzácná varianta s obráceným písmenem „Z“ ve slově „WENCEZLAVS“, identifikována byla jedna napodobenina. Navíc se mezi groši nachází i odražek reverzu pražského groše na tenkém stříbrném plíšku. Dalším významným nálezem z dané lokality je neoficiální razidlo, resp. patrice.

Po kompletním dokončení nezbytného čištění a konzervace budou zjištěny základní metrologické údaje (hmotnost a rozměry) a budou provedeny potřebné analýzy, tj. povrchová nedestruktivní rentgenová fluorescenční analýza (XRF) a hydrostatická zkouška. Zahájeny již byly i 3D scany zajímavých variant mincí (napodobenina) a významných předmětů (neoficiální razidlo, resp. patrice a odražek reverzu pražského groše na tenkém stříbrném plíšku). Významné zastoupení vzácné varianty s obráceným „Z“ by mohlo být dobrým časovým vodítkem k definování „post quem“. Zde ale narážíme na zásadní obtíž a tou je jeden z doposud největších dluhů české numismatiky zabývající se grošovým obdobím – neexistence kvalitního typologického zpracování grošů Václava II. Nejběžněji se proto používá velmi staré typologické členění dle Smolíka (*1894*). Jistou alternativu by mohlo představovat zpracování velkého nálezu pražských grošů Václava II. z východočeských Černožic (nedaleko Hradce Králové) autorů Němečkové a Sejbala (*2006*). Vzhledem k nekompletní fotodokumentaci v uvedené knize a některým dílčím nejasnostem v pokusu o typologické zpracování je však nutná kompletní revize tohoto nálezu, která již v současnosti probíhá ve spolupráci s Muzeem východních Čech v Hradci Králové. Dobře se lze naopak opřít o metrologické a statistické zpracování (*Němečková, Sejbal 2006*, pp. 160–169, 271–300). V tomto ohledu bude možné nálezy dobře porovnat.

Je zjevné, že pro zpracování nálezů z Čertova hrádku bude výhodné využít co nejširší bázi fotografické dokumentace pražských grošů Václava II. Klíčovými zdroji bude již zmíněný nález z Černožic a také pomalu se rozrůstající databáze pražských grošů cnspg.cz, kde je aktuálně deponováno několik desítek pražských grošů Václava II. Tento příspěvek je tedy zároveň prosbou i výzvou dalším institucím ke sdílení fotografických podkladů a případně i metrologických dat a tím k aktivní podpoře snahy konečně vytvořit tak citelně chybějící typologické zpracování prvních pražských grošů.

Zodpovězení otázek o smyslu a využití nalezených předmětů bude nelehké a bude předmětem dalších zkoumání a diskusí. Opotřebení patrice ukazuje na její relativně intenzivní využívání, v dané lokalitě ale nebyly žádné groše odpovídající jejímu obrazu nalezeny. Navíc není jasný způsob jejího využití, razidlo nese nezpochybnitelně vyobrazení koruny a vnitřního opisu „WENCEZLAVS SECVID(?) nebo SECVIID(?) či SECVIIV(?)“ a byť vizuální posouzení není s ohledem na úroveň koroze snadné, 3D scan poskytl data zcela jednoznačná (s výjimkou zakončení opisu). Podobně i význam odražku reverzu pražského groše na tenkém stříbrném plíšku je naprosto nejasný. Oba předměty logicky vzbuzují otázky a úvahy nad existencí falzátorské dílny v dané lokalitě, ale žádné další podklady potvrzující tuto hypotézu se zatím získat nepodařilo. Je na místě poznamenat, že s těmito uvažovanými aktivitami s nejvyšší pravděpodobností nesouvisí v souboru přítomná napodobenina, která vykazuje vysokou úroveň zpracování.



Obr.: 3D model (vlevo) a výšková mapa (vpravo) neoficiálního razidla, resp. patrice. Sken byl pořízen pomocí forenzního digitálního mikroskopu LIM Toolscan, autor: Eliška Petřeková, Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Brno

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The bracteate hoard from Inzell (Upper Austria)

From a monetary-historical perspective, the 13th century ranks among the most complex periods in the history of Central European coinage. Researchers are primarily confronted with a lack of relevant written sources. As a result, material sources – coins and coin hoards – gain particular importance. Each hoard find must first be professionally examined by numismatists in order to serve as a reliable source for historians investigating. The same applies to older publications of coin finds, which often fall short of current scholarly standards due to their summarised data and insufficient or missing illustrations.

The first report of a 'coin hoard from the Lower Mühlviertel comprising 28 Meissen silver bracteates' was written by an art historian, Dr. Justus Schmidt (1903–1970), who mentioned the acquisition in the 1939 annual report on new additions to the coin collection of the former Gau Museum in Linz. In 1951, the archaeologist and curator of the Upper Austrian Provincial Museum Dr. Franz Stroh (1889–1960) clarified that these specimens originated from a hoard of 30 bracteates discovered in a small pot in Inzell. This information was based on research conducted by the archivist and numismatist Dr. Max Doblinger (1873–1965), who ultimately studied the contents of the hoard according to the scholarly standards of the time and published it – unfortunately without illustrations – in the journal *Numismatische Zeitschrift* in 1955.

The findspot Inzell is a small village belonging to the municipality of Haibach ob der Donau (cadastral area Mannsdorf) in the political district of Eferding in Upper Austria. It is situated on the right bank of the Danube River at the end of the Danube Loop of Schlögen, approximately halfway between Passau and Linz. In the village stands a Roman Catholic filial church dedicated to Saint Nicholas, which was probably built in the second half of the 12th century. This dating is also supported by written sources: Inzell is mentioned as a possession of Passau in a charter issued by Bishop Konrad of Babenberg (1148–1164) dated 1163, as well as in an undated document of his. Furthermore, the village is referenced in the Passau *urbarium* from the 13th century.

The Inzell find is a small medieval hoard of uni-faced pfennigs, so-called bracteates. It consists of a single Bohemian and 29 Meissen bracteates, which can be dated to the period between approximately 1235 and around 1300. The time span between the earliest and latest coin thus covers about 65 years, which is remarkable given the relatively small size of this medieval hoard. A closer examination of the chronological composition of the hoard allows for further conclusions, as two distinct parts can be identified. The larger and older part, comprising 23 specimens, ends with a Bohemian bracteate of Přemysl II Ottokar (1253–1278), which could have been minted by no later than 1258. In contrast, the smaller and younger part is represented by five so-called knob bracteates from the Margraviate of Meissen dating to the late 1280s, as well as the two final coins struck under Wenceslaus II as stadtholder in Meissen, Osterland, and Pleißenland (*c.* 1298–1304), minted around 1300. It can be concluded that the Inzell hoard consists of two distinct parts accumulated during the periods *c.* 1235–1255 and 1285–1300, respectively.

Bohemian coins played no significant role in Austrian currency circulation until the spread of the Prague groschen. The occurrence of Meissen bracteates is documented here for the first time with the find from Inzell. In the 13th century, Upper Austria belonged to a different monetary zone, characterized by a dominant influence of two-faced pfennigs from Vienna and Passau. The question of how and by whom the bracteates reached Upper Austria can hardly be answered definitively; merchants from the Central Germany are considered the most likely intermediaries. The circumstances under which the coins were hidden in Inzell also remain unclear. Thus, this small medieval coin hoard can be regarded as an unusual testimony to currency circulation in the Upper Danube valley.

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Der Brakteatenfund von Inzell (Oberösterreich)

Aus geldgeschichtlicher Sicht gehört das 13. Jahrhundert zu den kompliziertesten Epochen des mitteleuropäischen Münzwesens. Die Forschenden müssen sich vornehmlich mit dem Mangel an relevanten schriftlichen Quellen auseinandersetzen und infolgedessen gewinnen materielle Quellen, also die Münzen und Münzfunde, an Bedeutung. Jeder Schatz- oder Hortfund muss zuerst von Numismatikern fachgerecht bearbeitet werden, um als nutzbare Quelle für Historiker zu dienen, die wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Verhältnisse in einer bestimmten Zeit und Region beleuchten kann. Dies gilt ebenso für ältere Fundveröffentlichungen, die vor allem wegen ihrer summarischen Angaben sowie fehlender oder nur sporadischer Abbildungen den heutigen wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen nicht mehr genügen.

Die erste Meldung über einen „Münzfund aus dem unteren Mühlviertel von 28 Meißener Silberbrakteaten" verfasste der Kunsthistoriker Dr. Justus Schmidt (1903–1970), als er im Jahresbericht für das Jahr 1939 über die Neueingänge in die Münzsammlung des damaligen Gaumuseums Linz berichtete. Erst im Jahr 1951 klärte der Archäologe und Kustos des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums Dr. Franz Stroh (1889–1960) auf, dass diese Exemplare aus einem in Inzell in einem kleinen Topf entdeckten und aus insgesamt 30 Brakteaten bestehenden Fund stammen. Diese Kenntnisse beruhten auf den Nachforschungen des Archivars und Numismatikers Hofrat Dr. Max Doblinger (1873–1965), der auch letztendlich den Fundinhalt dem damaligen Forschungsstand entsprechend bearbeitete und im Jahr 1955 in der Numismatischen Zeitschrift – leider ohne Abbildungen – veröffentlichte.

Der Fundort Inzell ist eine kleine Ortschaft der Gemeinde Haibach ob der Donau (Katastralgemeinde Mannsdorf) im politischen Bezirk Eferding in Oberösterreich, die am rechten Donauufer am Ausklang der Schlögener Schlinge, etwa auf halbem Weg zwischen Passau und Linz, liegt. Im Dorf steht eine römisch-katholische Filialkirche mit dem Patrozinium des Heiligen Nikolaus, die wahrscheinlich in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts errichtet wurde. Diese Datierung wird auch durch schriftliche Quellen gestützt, denn Inzell wird als Passauer Besitztum in einer Urkunde des Bischofs Konrad von Babenberg (1148–1164) aus dem Jahr 1163 sowie in seinem undatierten Schriftstück genannt. Darüber hinaus wird diese Ortschaft im Passauer Urbar aus dem 13. Jahrhundert erwähnt.

Der Fund von Inzell ist ein kleiner mittelalterlicher Brakteatenschatz. Er besteht aus einem einzigen böhmischen und 29 meißnischen Brakteaten, die im Zeitraum von etwa 1235 bis um 1300 datiert werden können. Die Zeitspanne zwischen der frühesten und der spätesten Prägung umfasst somit rund 65 Jahre, was angesichts des relativ geringen Umfangs dieser mittelalterlichen Barschaft bemerkenswert ist. Bei genauer Betrachtung der chronologischen Zusammensetzung des Fundinhalts lassen sich weitere Schlüsse ziehen, da zwei Teile unterscheiden werden können. Der größere und ältere Teil, der 23 Exemplare umfasst, schließt mit einem böhmischen Brakteaten Přemysl II. Ottokars (1253–1278), der spätestens bis zum Jahr 1258 entstanden sein kann. Demgegenüber ist der kleinere und jüngere Teil durch fünf markmeißnische Knopfbrakteaten aus den späten 1280er Jahren sowie den beiden Schlussmünzen Wenzels II. als Statthalter in Meißen, Osterland und Pleißenland (ca. 1298–1304), die um 1300 geprägt wurden, zeitlich eingegrenzt. Daraus ergibt sich, dass der Inzeller Fund aus zwei Barschaften besteht, die in den Zeitabschnitten ca. 1235–1255 bzw. 1285–1300 angesammelt wurden.

Im österreichischen Geldumlauf spielten die böhmischen Münzen bis zur Verbreitung der Prager Groschen keine bedeutende Rolle und das Vorkommen meißnischer Brakteaten wird hier mit dem Inzeller Fund erstmals dokumentiert. Oberösterreich gehörte im 13. Jahrhundert einem eigenen Währungsraum an, in dem ein dominierender Einfluss von zweiseitigen Wiener und Passauer Pfennigen zu beobachten ist. Die Frage, wie und durch wen die Brakteaten nach Oberösterreich gelangten, lässt sich kaum eindeutig beantworten; als mögliche Vermittler sind insbesondere Kaufleute aus dem mitteldeutschen Raum in Betracht zu ziehen. Ebenso unklar bleiben die Umstände, unter denen sie in Inzell verborgen wurden. So kann dieser kleine mittelalterliche Schatz als ein ungewöhnliches Zeugnis des Geldumlaufs im oberen Donautal angesehen werden.

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To the issue of dating the hoard of silver payment ingots of 2005 from Bużyska near Drohiczyn, Podlaskie voivodeship

In 2024, archaeologist Mgr. Mieczysław Bienia and numismatist Dr. Grzegorz Śnieżko published the article 'Treasure of early medieval silver bars from Bużyska near Drohiczyn,'[1] which describes a complex of 11 silver payment ingots with a total weight of 2091.6 g, found in 2005 during excavations in a multicultural settlement near the village of Bużyska, near Drohiczyn on the Bug River (Korczew commune, Siedlce district, Podlaskie voivodeship). The authors give detailed description of find circumstances, its archaeological context and historic background, morphological and metrological data, including metal content analyses on modern equipment and provide good photos in three projections. In this way, they introduce into scholarly circulation a very important numismatic find from the Bug River basin on the Mazovian-Rus′ian borderland of the 12th century. The only drawback is that they incorrectly ascribe one of the payment ingots to the Lithuanian (West-Rus′ian) type and thus mistakenly date the 'hiding or loss of the hoard' to the second half of the 12th or the first half of the 13th century.

The morphological features of ingot 11 are described as 'both ends hammered; arched in side section; a notch on the underside; numerous surface corrosion pits' and its photograph in three projections is given (Fig. 1).[2] However, just on the basis of its weight of 97.0 g, the authors classify this payment ingot as a Lithuanian (West-Rus′ian) type. In fact, this silver ingot with specifically hammered ends looks like a variation of Chernihiv (North-Rus′ian) type and only its somewhat semicircular rod-shape appearance must have misled the authors. Nevertheless, similar small rods of irregular weight are known from ancient times, as it was the easiest possible shape for casting metal ingots. This bar 11 from the hoard is also bent – the feature which once gave grounds for some numismatists from Ukraine to distinguish a special Halych type of silver ingots, which is a big exaggeration, as bending was just the way to check the plasticity and thus one of the ways to check the purity of the metal content. Therefore all ingots in the Bużyska assemblage belong to the Chernihiv (North-Rus′ian) type.

As for the weight, there are known uncut silver payment ingots of half and 1/3 of the standard average weight for some types of ingots. M. Kotliar described 34 Chernihiv (North-Rus′ian) payment ingots from the Burge hoard, Ksp. Lummelanda, found in 1967 on Gotland, Sweden.[3] It contained 34 ingots and more than 2900 coins, weighing a total of over 10 kg of silver, *tpq*

1 Bienia and Śnieżko 2024.

2 Bienia and Śnieżko 2024, pp. 186 and 194.

3 Kotliar 1996.

1143.[4] There were six half-weight ingots among them, including two uncut specimens weighing 101.17 and 96.88 g.[5] M. Kotliar also admits that the process of changing the form of Chernihiv (North-Rus′ian) type ingots could have lasted for at least 50 years and supposes that there were half weight ingots of this type.[6] All this gives sound grounds to date the Bużyska near Drohiczyn hoard of 2005 to the second half – end of the 12th century.

The authors also mention the hoard of silver jewellery and payment ingots, found in the end of the XIX century in the village of the similar name: Bużyski, in the former Grodno governorate of the Russian Empire, situated about 14 km to the north-west direction, but on the right bank of the Bug River.[7] This hoard was found in 1885 and contained eight silver neck *grivnas* and five payment ingots, which now can be classified as Chernihiv (North-Rus′ian) type. The hoard had been studied by the Archaeological Commission and then transferred to the Historical Museum, Moscow. The hoard was first published in full by G.F. Korzukhina in 1954.[8] The silver neck *grivnas* are still in the archaeological collection of the museum, but payment ingots cannot be traced after revision of 1955.

Both hoards contain similar silver payment ingots of the Chernihiv (North-Rus′ian) type which can be broadly dated to between the end of the 11th and the end of the 12th century. The hoard of 1885 perhaps was hidden a little earlier than the hoard of 2005. The two hoards demonstrate the importance of the trade route via the Bug River on the Mazovian-Rus′ian borderland of that time.

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4 Hatz 2001.

5 Kotliar 1996, Appendix 2, p. 136.

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7 Bienia and Śnieżko 2024, p. 198.

8 Korzukhina 1954, No. 43, p. 95, Pls. XVII-XX; FMP III, No. 13, pp. 55-56, Plate VI.

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W kwestii datowania skarbu srebrnych grzywien płatniczych z Bużysk koło Drohiczyna, woj. podlaskie (2005 r.)

W 2024 r. ukazał się artykuł autorstwa archeologa mgr. Mieczysława Bieni i numizmatyka dr. Grzegorza Śnieżki, *Skarb wczesnośredniowiecznych grzywien srebrnych z miejscowości Bużyska koło Drohiczyna*,[1] w którym został opisany zespół 11 srebrnych grzywien płatniczych o łącznej wadze 2091,6 g, znalezionych w 2005 r. podczas prac wykopaliskowych na terenie wielokulturowej osady obok miejscowości Bużyska, w pobliżu Drohiczyna nad Bugiem (gm. Korczew, pow. siedlecki, woj. podlaskie). Autorzy szczegółowo opisują okoliczności znalezienia, kontekst archeologiczny i tło historyczne, dane morfologiczne i metrologiczne, wyniki badań metalu przy użyciu nowoczesnego sprzętu, oraz podają wysokiej jakości zdjęcia w trzech rzutach. W ten sposób wprowadzają do obiegu naukowego niezwykle ważne znalezisko numizmatyczne z dorzecza Bugu na pograniczu mazowiecko-ruskim z XII w. Jedynym mankamentem jest mylne przypisanie jednej z grzywien płatniczych do typu litewskiego (zachodnioruskiego) i błędne datowanie na tej podstawie skarbu na drugą połowę XII lub pierwszą połowę XIII w.

Szczegóły morfologiczne tej jedenastej grzywny są opisane tak: „oba końce rozklepane; w przekroju bocznym łukowato wygięta; na spodniej stronie nacięcie; liczne wżery na powierzchni". Są też jej zdjęcia w trzech rzutach (Ryc. 1)[2]. Ale jedynie na podstawie jej wagi 97,0 g, autorzy klasyfikują tą grzywnę płatniczą jako typ litewski (zachodnioruski). W rzeczywistości ta srebrna grzywna ze specjalnie kutymi końcami wygląda jak odmiana typu czernihowskiego (północnoruskiego) i jedynie jej nieco półkolisty, prętowaty kształt musiał wprowadzić autorów w błąd. Takie małe pręty o nieregularnej wadze znane są jednak od czasów starożytnych, ponieważ był to najłatwiejszy możliwy kształt do odlewania sztabek metalu. Ta jedenasta grzywna ze skarbu jest również wygięta – cecha, która niegdyś pozwoliła niektórym numizmatykom z Ukrainy wyróżnić odrębny, halicki typ, co jest przesadą, ponieważ wyginanie służyło jedynie do sprawdzenia plastyczności, a tym samym do sprawdzenia czystości metalu. Wszystkie grzywny w skarbie z Bużysk należą więc do typu czernihowskiego (północnoruskiego).

Co się tyczy wagi, znane są srebrne grzywny płatnicze o wadze połowy i 1/3 standardowej średniej wagi dla niektórych typów grzywien. M. Kotlar opisał 34 czernihowskie (północnoruskie) grzywny płatnicze ze skarbu Burge, Ksp. Lummelanda, znalezionego w 1967 roku na Gotlandii w Szwecji[3]. Zawierał on 34 sztabki i ponad 2900 monet o łącznej wadze ponad 10 kg srebra, *tpq* 1143[4]. Pomiędzy nimi było sześć sztabek o połowie wagi, w tym dwie całe grzywny

1 Bienia, Śnieżko 2024.

2 Bienia, Śnieżko 2024, s. 186, 194.

3 Kotlâr 1996.

4 Hatz 2001.

płatnicze o wadze 101,17 i 96,88 g[5]. M. Kotlar przyznaje również, że proces zmiany formy grzywien typu czernihowskiego (północnoruskiego) mógł trwać co najmniej 50 lat i przypuszcza, że istniały sztabki tego typu o połowicznym ciężarze[6]. To wszystko daje mocne podstawy do datowania skarbu z Bużyska koło Drohiczyna z 2005 r. na 2. połowę lub koniec XII w.

Autorzy wspominają również o skarbie srebrnych ozdób oraz grzywien płatniczych, znalezionym pod koniec XIX w. we wsi o podobnej nazwie — Bużyski, w dawnej guberni grodzieńskiej Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego, położonej około 14 km na północny zachód, ale na prawym brzegu Bugu[7]. Skarb ten został znaleziony w 1885 r. i zawierał osiem srebrnych grzywien szyjnych i pięć sztabek płatniczych, które obecnie można określić jako typ czernihowski (północnoruski). Skarb został zbadany przez Komisję Archeologiczną, a następnie przekazany do Muzeum Historycznego w Moskwie. Po raz pierwszy opublikowała go w całości G.F. Korzuchina w 1954 r.[8] Srebrne grzywny szyjne nadal znajdują się w zbiorach archeologicznych tego muzeum, ale sztabek płatniczych nie można odnaleźć po rewizji z 1955 r.

Oba skarby zawierają podobne srebrne sztabki płatnicze typu czernihowskiego (północnoruskiego), które można datować na koniec XI–koniec XII w. Skarb z 1885 r. został prawdopodobnie ukryty nieco wcześniej niż skarb z 2005 r. Oba skarby pokazują duże znaczenie szlaku handlowego przez Bug na pograniczu mazowiecko-ruskim tamtych czasów.

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Two staters of the Nike type found near Chlumec nad Cidlinou (Central Bohemia)

Nike type staters are generally considered to be the oldest Celtic coins minted and used in Central Europe. However, for most variants it is not clear whether they were minted in Central Europe or imported from the area of south-eastern Europe. Two hitherto unknown specimens of strikingly low weight and fineness from near Chlumec nad Cidlinou probably come from the hoard. Their minting period and place of origin are uncertain.

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The copper miners and the coins: from the Byzantine Empire to the German Empire

Archaeological research and metal detector prospecting undertaken in 2019–2020 by the Archaeological Foundation Archeo in Leszczyna (Złotoryja municipality, Złotoryja county) were related to the project entitled 'Organisation of metallurgical production in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Poland.' The main objective of the research was to verify the chronology of former mine shaft pits in this site and, at the same time, to attempt to determine, on the basis of the excavated artefacts, the chronology of the beginnings of copper mining in the copper-ore marls (*Kupferschiefer*) of the Leszczyna Basin.

Excavations have identified mining shaft pits and yielded a number of new metal artefacts, including mining tools, horseshoes, lead seals, buttons (both civilian and military), fittings, slag and smelting residues, and other finds. The most important were undoubtedly coins. Their detailed study allows us to take a fresh look at the history of local ore mining, while also providing important evidence about the beginnings of copper and silver mining and other raw materials exploited in this region from the early Middle Ages.

Located in the Kaczawskie Foothills, the village appears in written sources in the 14th century: a document from 1389 mentions *Hasilow zu districtus Jauor*. The site is associated with the exploitation of copper and silver ores and rock raw materials (sandstone, limestone). However, the first mentions of mining activities in Leszczyna and neighbouring locality Prusice dates back to 1569–1570.

During research using metal detectors, fifteen coins dating from the 11th–12th centuries to the early 20th century were found at the site area. Within a radius of about 150–200 m of the site, coins from various parts of medieval and modern Europe were found side by side, as well as coins from the early 20th century. The oldest Byzantine and Hungarian coins could be connected, based on recent analyses by Dr W. Bartz and A. Stasińska, with the activity of stonemasons in this area, who were obtaining raw material – red subarcose sandstone – for the erection of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary and St. Vincent in Ołbin. It was established in the 1130s on the initiative of Piotr Włostowic, probably with the consent of the duke Bolesław the Wrymouth. The chronology of the coins – those with a certain date come from the reign of Bela II the Blind (1131–1141) – corresponds to this event. The presence of a Byzantine coin (copper tetarteron?) may be surprising in the context of the discovery, but it should be remembered that the Piasts had close relations with the Ruthenian duchies at that time — after all, Duke Bolesław's wife was Zbysława, daughter of Prince Sviatopolk of Kiev.

Other coin finds confirm both previous archaeological research and other information known from written sources. The presence of three coins of Sigismund of Luxembourg in the area of the Charakter adit could confirm a mention of copper smelting in the vicinity of Złotoryja in 1429. In almost the same area, during 2008–2009 works, an iron dagger dating from the 15th–early 16th century was discovered. The mining activities in the 16th century, and even more so in the following centuries, are confirmed by accounts and documents from the 1620s and 1660s. The coins obtained during the 2019–2020 research are mostly very common circulation coins, such as three-kreuzer coins and groschen coins. Among them, the 17th-century grosetto from the Dubrovnik mint, a coin found only sporadically in Polish lands, deserves attention. Together with king John Casimir's shilling (boratynka), it may indicate attempts to resume mining in Leszczyna by the last Piasts of Legnica-Brzeg. The mining excavations – both the Charakter adit and the adits on the left bank of the Prusicki Potok stream – were visited by Duke Louis IV (1639-1663) himself.

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Górnicy miedzi i monety: od Cesarstwa Bizantyńskiego do Rzeszy Niemieckiej

Badania archeologiczne oraz poszukiwania z wykorzystaniem wykrywaczy metali, podjęte w latach 2019–2020 przez Fundację Archeologiczną Archeo w Leszczynie (gmina Złotoryja, pow. złotoryjski), związane były z projektem pt. „Organizacja produkcji metalurgicznej w późnej epoce brązu i wczesnej epoce żelaza na terenie ziem polskich". Głównym celem prac była weryfikacja chronologii zapadlisk dawnych szybów górniczych w rejonie miejscowości, a jednocześnie próba określenia na podstawie pozyskanych zabytków ruchomych chronologii początków wydobycia miedzi występującej w marglach miedzionośnych niecki leszczyńskiej.

Badania wykopaliskowe pozwoliły na rozpoznanie zapadlisk wyrobisk górniczych, dostarczyły także szeregu nowych zabytków metalowych — narzędzi górniczych, podków, plomb ołowianych, guzików (zarówno cywilnych, jak i wojskowych), okuć, żużli i wytopków oraz innych kategorii znalezisk. Najważniejszymi znaleziskami odkrytymi na terenie stanowiska były niewątpliwie monety. Ich dokładna analiza pozwala na nowo spojrzeć na historię eksploatacji miejscowych złóż, przynosi jednocześnie ważne dowody w sprawie początków wydobycia miedzi i srebra oraz innych surowców eksploatowanych w tym rejonie we wczesnym średniowieczu.

Położona na terenie Pogórza Kaczawskiego miejscowość pojawia się w źródłach pisanych w XIV w. — dokument z 1389 r. wymienia Hasilow zu districtus Jauor. Stanowisko związane jest z eksploatacją rud miedzi i srebra oraz surowców skalnych (piaskowce, wapienie). Pewne wzmianki na temat prac górniczych prowadzonych w Leszczynie i sąsiednich Prusicach pochodzą jednak dopiero z lat 1569–1570.

W czasie badań z wykorzystaniem wykrywaczy metali z terenu stanowiska udało się pozyskać piętnaście monet datowanych od XI–XII stulecia do początków XX w. W promieniu około 150–200 m w obrębie stanowiska wystąpiły obok siebie numizmaty z różnych zakątków średniowiecznej i nowożytnej Europy, ale także monety z początków XX w. Najstarsze monety bizantyjskie czy węgierskie można łączyć — na podstawie podjętych w ostatnim czasie przez dr. W. Bartza oraz A. Stasińską analiz — z obecnością na tym terenie kamieniarzy pozyskujących surowiec (czerwony piaskowiec subarkozowy) do budowy opactwa benedyktynów Najświętszej Marii Panny i św. Wincentego na Ołbinie. Powstało ono w latach trzydziestych XII w. z inicjatywy Piotra Włostowica, zapewne za zgodą Bolesława Krzywoustego. Chronologia monet — te o pewnej datacji pochodzą z okresu rządów Beli II Ślepego (1131–1141) — odpowiada temu właśnie wydarzeniu. Obecność monety bizantyńskiej (tetarteron?) może zaskakiwać, jeśli chodzi o kontekst odkrycia, jednak należy pamiętać o ścisłych związkach Piastów w tym okresie z księstwami ruskimi – żoną Krzywoustego była wszak Zbysława, córka kijowskiego księcia Świętopełka.

Pozostałe znaleziska numizmatyczne potwierdzają zarówno prowadzone wcześniej badania archeologiczne, jak i informacje źródeł pisanych. Obecność aż trzech kwartingów Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w rejonie sztolni „Charakter" potwierdzać może wzmiankę dotyczącą wytopu miedzi w sąsiedztwie Złotoryi w 1429 r. W tym samym niemal rejonie na terenie leszczyńskiego stanowiska odkryto w czasie prac w latach 2008–2009 puginał nożowy, datowany na XV–początek XVI w. Działalność górników w XVI w., a w jeszcze większym stopniu w kolejnych stuleciach, poświadczona jest relacjami i dokumentami z lat dwudziestych i sześćdziesiątych XVII w. Numizmaty pozyskane w trakcie badań z lat 2019–2020 to w większości bardzo powszechne monety obiegowe takie jak trójkrajcarówki czy grosze. Spośród nich na uwagę zasługuje XVII-wieczne grosetto z mennicy w Dubrowniku, moneta znajdowana na ziemiach polskich jedynie sporadycznie. Wraz z szelągiem Jana Kazimierza wyznaczać może próby wznowienia eksploatacji górniczej w Leszczynie przez ostatnich Piastów legnicko-brzeskich. Wyrobiska górnicze – zarówno sztolnię „Charakter", jak i wyrobiska udostępniane na lewym brzegu Prusickiego Potoku – odwiedził sam książę Ludwik IV (1639-1663).

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Beginnings and forms of dynastic propaganda on Roman Coins

Generally speaking, the dynastic coinage is understood to be an important part of a wider and complex propaganda, intended to legitimize the status of a ruling family and declare the right of its members to the succession to power through the specific symbols and other images presented on coins.

The contribution summarises the beginnings of this phenomenon during the time of the Principate and reminds of less systematic, but no less creative imagery used on Roman Republican silver coinage with the same intention – to legitimatise of presence through the past. The members of prominent Roman families quite commonly accentuated their long and grand past on their coins whenever it was possible. While, naturally, mortal ancestors were portrayed not so often, the alleged divine ones appeared quite frequently, Venus being the most notorious, besides others, on the coins of Sulla, Pompey and Caesar.

It was the very turn of the late Republic and the Principate when this perspective underwent a shift, extending its scope also into the future and presenting more recent kinship ties as a promise of continuity and stability. Various ways were used.

A dynasty cannot do without a successor; however, a female counterpart of a ruler who gives the birth to the successors is no less important. Strikingly, despite Augustus can be considered the first presenting his (adoptive) sons as his heirs and future principes, it was his rival Marc Antony who brought earlier his female counterparts the on the coins – an act that was not followed so quickly. Actually, it seems that portraying of mortal female relatives on coins was considered a delicate or even controversial act for Augustus and Tiberius. In fact, Caligula was the first one to honour the female members of his family on coins in directly and not in a divine disguise. It is even more strange that the portraits of the women from the family were apparently quite normal and frequent in the public space.

The contribution explores the process and phases of the phenomenon which emerged during the final years of the Roman Republic to become an indispensable ideological instrument used by the Roman emperors as well as all later rulers throughout the world.

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In unity is strength: Kinship relations in the light of monetary policy

In most of the examples of monetary integration the standardization and establishment of ideal conditions for business cooperation are the main reasons for creation or introduction of common currency. A little bit less often were the examples of common currency based on the kinship relations. Beside the issuing of coins bearing the names of rulers and members of their family, which appeared sometimes during the late ancient times and early medieval period, there are cases of a common coinage produced by heirs of former territorial rulers. In these cases it is possible to divide the joint or shared coinage in three main subcategories: (1) a joint coin production of heirs to the throne in parallel with their independent coin production, (2) strictly shared coin production of rulers and their heirs, and (3) a new, common coin production by more distant relatives. All of these three kinds of common coin production could be described as a specific example of monetary unification or integration based primarily on the different bases and ties than more traditional monetary conventions based clearly on the economic or political ideas.

Keywords: kinship relations, monetary integration, economic cooperation.

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V jednotě je síla – Příbuzenské vztahy ve světle měnové politiky

Ve většině příkladů měnové integrace jsou hlavními důvody pro vytvoření nebo zavedení společné měny standardizace a vytvoření ideálních podmínek pro obchodní spolupráci. Poněkud méně časté byly příklady společné měny založené na příbuzenských vztazích. Kromě ražby mincí nesoucích jména panovníků a členů jejich rodin, k níž docházelo během v pozdním starověku a raném středověku, se dochovaly důkazy o společné ražbě mincí dědici předcházejících územních vládců. V těchto případech je možné rozdělit společnou či sdílenou produkci mincí do tří hlavních podkategorií: 1.) sdílená produkce mincí dědic vlády souběžně s jejich nezávislou produkcí mincí, 2.) striktně sdílená produkce mincí panovníků a dědiců vlády a 3.) nová společná produkce mincí mezi vzdálenějšími příbuznými. Všechny tyto tři druhy společné produkce mincí by se daly popsat jako specifický případ měnového unifikace či integrace založené především na odlišných základech a vazbách než tradičnější měnové konvence založené jasně na ekonomických nebo politických myšlenkách.

Klíčová slova: příbuzenské vztahy, měnová integrace, ekonomický spolupráce.

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Dynastic features? Peculiar portraits on Roman imperial coins

In certain cases the portraits of the Roman coins depict features distinct of the persons on the coins. This phenomenon can be observed on issues of imperial families as well as on coins of succeeding rulers. The possible explanation and the technical execution is also discussed.

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Dating of the Přemyslid conquest of Moravia in the 11th century from a numismatic perspective

This paper explores whether and how current numismatic knowledge can contribute to resolving the question posed in its title: when was Moravia reintegrated into the Přemyslid Czech state after a period of approximately two decades, or possibly longer, during which it was part of the Polish realm of Bolesław I the Brave (992–1025)? According to the chronicler Kosmas, this period began after the death of Boleslav II (972-999), before 1003, when Bolesław the Brave briefly seized power in Bohemia (Kosmas, Book I, chapter XL).

Historians continue to debate the exact date of Moravia's return to Přemyslid rule, with no definitive consensus. Key works on the topic include G. Labuda's study (1960), which favours a later date of 1031, and B. Krzemieńska's study (1986), which argues for an earlier reintegration around 1018/19. Most recently, M. Wihoda (2010, pp. 119–120) has suggested that the most plausible timeframe is after the death of Bolesław the Brave, likely before 1029. There is no space here to fully examine or critique these historians' arguments, so we will instead focus on the evidence provided by the coins themselves.

Coinage in Moravia at the end of the 10th century

To begin, it should be noted that recent analyses of coin finds from Moravia, particularly those from the last two decades, have confirmed that Moravian coin production dates back to the late 10th century. The most significant group consists of anonymous obols from the Cach 165–184 series. The minting of these obols ceased shortly after 1000, likely due to disruptions in long-distance trade during the German-Polish Wars of 1003–1018. From 1018 to *c.* 1055, Hungarian coins of Stephen I (997-1038) and Andrew I (1046-1060) dominate Moravian finds. However, by the second half of this period, they were joint by domestic coin issues of Duke Břetislav I (1034-1055), confirming Moravia's reintegration into the Přemyslid state.

Chronology and dating of the Moravian large-flan denars of Břetislav I

According to certain basic criteria, we can divide domestic mints into several groups.

Denars Cach 297 and 301: Břetislav's name without the ducal title DVX, legends with the names of St. Peter and St. Clement, *c.* 1025–1030.

The first group of Břetislav I's Moravian denars reflects the situation in the years immediately following the incorporation of Moravia into Přemyslid Bohemia. Unfortunately, for this period, we do not have a database of hoards sufficient to reliably answer the key questions. Of particular interest are hoards deposited before 1034, during the years when Břetislav was entrusted with the administration of Moravia, before his accession to the Prague ducal throne.

The only Moravian denar of Břetislav's father Oldřich (1012-1034), minted in the same period, Cach 289, cannot be reliably dated basing on its presence in hoards. Therefore, its dating to the brief period in 1034, when Břetislav was ousted from Bohemia (and Moravia) and Oldřich temporarily resumed power there, remains possible.

In hoards deposited before 1034, which are the Cortnitz hoard, *tpq* 1025 (?), Ląd I, *tpq* 1027, and the hoard from the vicinity of Konin, *tpq* 1028, only two types of Břetislav's denars occurred: Cach 297 and Cach 301. These two denars can be considered Břetislav's first Moravian coins, as suggested not only by the lack of the title DVX, but also by their exceptional iconography and inscriptions. On both denars, we find the anchor symbol, executed identically to that on Oldřich's denarius. There is no doubt that this anchor is the attribute of St. Clement, and thus a reference to the Great Moravian tradition. On denar Cach 301, the Saint's name is placed directly in the legend. On denar Cach 297 we see the name of St. Peter in the reverse legend, and a feathered diadem is placed in the field above the anchor, whose symbolic meaning was the subject of discussion in the 1950s and 1960s.

Both denar types exhibit higher metrological parameters than Břetislav's later Moravian issues, particularly a flan diameter of 20.5–21 mm. We may assume that they were minted immediately after the Přemyslid annexation of Moravia and that their production was temporally limited, too. If we consider the earliest possible dates of deposition of the three hoards mentioned above, the Cortnitz hoard comes first. Břetislav I's denar Cach 301, represented there by two fragments, is the youngest coin among the issues datable by a monarch's reign. However, a detailed study of the Cortnitz hoard has not yet been completed, and a more precise dating of its hiding depends largely on the significant parcel of 207 cross denars whose minting is assigned by the authors to the broader period of 1015–1060.

The names of both saints, St. Clement and St. Peter, in the legends of both Moravian denar types suggest rather a diplomatic stance of the Přemyslids who were aware of the value of the Great Moravian tradition for local elites. This is confirmed by the continued mention of St. Peter as the protector of Moravia in the legends of Moravian denars until the 12th century. However, we must admit that we cannot more precisely define the minting period of these two presumably earliest Moravian coins of Břetislav I. Based on the dating of the hoards in which they were found, we may assume they were produced in the second half of the 1020s. There are no arguments for earlier datation.

Other Břetislav's Moravian denars we know only from hoards that were not hidden before he became Duke of Bohemia in early 1035. These are:

Denars Cach 298, 299, 300var., and 1032 (?): inscribed with Břetislav's name without the title DVX on both sides, c. 1030-1035;

Denar Cach 308: inscribed with Břetislav's name without DVX, and the name of St. Wenceslas, c. 1030–1040;

Denars Cach 300: inscribed with Břetislav's name without DVX, and the name of Všebor (governor of Moravia?), c. 1030–1040;

Denars Cach 318: inscribed with DVX, and the name of St. Wenceslas), c. 1035-1040;

Denars Cach 302 and 303 (Břetislav I), Cach 321 (Spytihněv II): inscribed with DVX, and the name of St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert; in the case of Spytihněv, of sole St. Adalbert, c. 1040-1045/8; it is worth noting that these three denar types already signal a decline in weight parameters compared to the stabilized standard of the previous decades; this trend can be observed not only in Bohemia but also in Moravia.

Conclusions

The presented analysis of Moravian denar production during the reign of duke Břetislav I (1034–1055) suggests that coins bearing his name were minted in Moravia continuously throughout his ducal rule in Bohemia. During this period, according to the number of documented dies, minting reached a relatively notable intensity. All Moravian denars of Břetislav I differ from his Bohemian issues in iconography, demonstrating that Moravia retained a distinct character even after its incorporation into the Bohemian Přemyslid state.

It cannot be determined with absolute certainty which of Břetislav's coins belong to the period before his accession to the Bohemian ducal throne. Some Moravian denars lacking the ducal title *DVX*, particularly the most abundant type, Cach 300, were seemingly produced after 1035, at least in part.

Only two Moravian denar types of Břetislav, Cach 297, with a feathered diadem and the name of St. Peter, and Cach 301, with an anchor and the name of St. Clement, are known from hoards buried before 1034. Both types are so far documented only in a few specimens. Their motifs and inscriptions suggest occasional issues with a proclamatory purpose, emphasizing the Great Moravian tradition.

Based on the current state of numismatic knowledge, it may be concluded that Břetislav's first Moravian denars were minted no earlier than c. 1025–1030, and that the numismatic evidence for Moravia's inclusion within the Bohemian Přemyslid state begins only within this timeframe. A more precise dating using numismatic methods, cannot be reliably established.

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Datace ovládnutí Moravy Přemyslovci pohledem mincí

Příspěvek přináší zamyšlení nad tím, zda a jak může aktuální numismatické poznání přispět k řešení otázky, položené v jeho názvu. Tedy k otázce, kdy došlo k opětovnému připojení Moravy k českému přemyslovskému státu, po přibližně dvě desetiletí a možná i déle trvajícím období, kdy Morava přináležela k polskému státu Boleslava Chrabrého (992-1025). Toto období začíná, podle výkladu zpráv kronikáře Kosmase, po smrti Boleslava II. (972-999), před rokem 1003, ve kterém se Boleslav Chrabrý nakrátko zmocnil i vlády v Čechách (*Kosmas*: I. kniha, kap. XL).

O dataci opětovného návratu Moravy k panství Přemyslovců vedou historici diskuzi, která dosud nebyla jednoznačně uzavřena. K základním pracím na dané téma patří především studie G. Labudy (*1960*), jejíž autor se kloní k pozdějšímu datu 1031. Argumenty pro ranou dataci, k přelomu let 1018/19, přináší práce B. Krzemienské (*1986*). Naposledy se k tématu souhrnně vyjádřil M. Wihoda, který spatřuje méně rozporů v dataci připojení až do období po smrti polského panovníka Boleslava Chrabrého, nejspíše před rokem 1029 (*Wihoda 2010*). Argumenty historiků zde není prostor rozvíjet a polemizovat s nimi, věnujme se svědectví, které nám přinášejí samotné mince.

Ražba mince na Moravě na konci 10. století

Na úvod je nutné alespoň stručně zmínit, že na základě analýzy nových mincovních nálezů na Moravě, zejména z posledních dvou dekád, je moravská mincovní produkce kladena již do závěru 10. století. Nejvýznamnější skupinu z tohoto okruhu představují anonymní oboly z řady Cach 165-184.

Mincovní produkce těchto obolů se zřejmě uzavřela záhy po roce 1000, snad v souvislosti s omezením dálkového obchodu v době polsko-říšského konfliktu v letech 1003-1018. V letech 1018 – cca 1055 převládají na Moravě nálezy uherských mincí Štěpána I. (997-1038) a Ondřeje I. (1046-1060). Ve druhé polovině tohoto časového úseku jsou však již doprovázeny domácími ražbami knížete Břetislava I. (1034-1055), dokládajícími opětovné připojení Moravy k českému přemyslovskému státu.

Chronologie a datace moravských denárů Oldřicha a Břetislava I. velkého střížku

Podle určitých základních kritérií můžeme rozdělit domácí ražby do několika skupin.

DENÁRY CACH 297, 301, se jménem Břetislav bez knížecího titulu DVX a se jmény sv. Petra a sv. Klimenta na rubu, z období cca 1025-1030 (?)

Nejstarší skupina moravských denárů Břetislava I. odráží situaci v letech, následujících bezprostředně po připojení Moravy k přemyslovským Čechám. Pro sledované období nemáme bohužel k dispozici bohatší databázi hromadných nálezů, která by nám klíčové otázky spolehlivě osvětlila. Zajímají nás především nálezy, uložené před rokem 1034, v letech, kdy byla Břetislavovi svěřena správa Moravy, před jeho nástupem na pražský knížecí stolec.

Jediný moravský denár Břetislavova otce Oldřicha (1012-1034), ražený v témže období, Cach 289, neumíme pomocí jeho zastoupení v nálezech spolehlivě datovat. V úvahu připadá i jeho zařazení do krátkého období roku 1034, kdy byl Břetislav z Čech i Moravy vypuzen a Oldřich se zde dočasně opět ujal vlády.

V nálezech, uložených před rokem 1034, v pokladech Cortnitz, tpq. 1025 (?), Ląd I, tpq. 1027 a Konin-okolí, tpq. 1028, byly zastoupeny pouze dva Břetislavovy denárové typy: Cach 297 a Cach 301. Tyto dva denáry můžeme považovat za první Břetislavovy moravské mince, čemuž nasvědčuje nejen titulatura (jméno v opisech uvedeno bez titulu DVX), ale i výjimečná ikonografie a opisy. Na obou denárech nacházíme symbol kotvy, stejně provedené, jako na denáru Oldřichově a není pochyb, že tato kotva je atributem svatého Klimenta a tedy odkazem k velkomoravské tradici. Na denáru Cach 301 je světcovo jméno umístěno přímo v opise. Na denáru Cach 297 je v poli nad kotvou umístěna péřová čelenka, jejíž symbolický význam byl předmětem diskuze v 50. a 60. letech 20. století.

Oba denárové typy vykazují vyšší metrologické parametry, než Břetislavovy moravské ražby pozdější. Byly zřejmě raženy pouze v omezeném rozsahu, jejich význam byl nejspíše příležitostný a proklamační. Můžeme přepokládat, že byly raženy v době bezprostředně po českém záboru Moravy a že jejich ražba byla i časově omezena. Vezmeme-li v potaz nejdřívější možnou dataci uložení tří výše uvedených nálezů, je nález z Cortnitz na prvním místě. Denár Břetislava I. Cach 301, zastoupený v něm dvěma zlomky, je nejmladší mincí mezi ražbami, datovatelnými podle období vlády panovníka. Detailní zpracování nálezu však doposud nebylo uzavřeno a přesnější datace jeho uložení je vázána na významný podíl 207 ks křížových denárů, jejichž ražbu kladou autoři do širšího období let 1015-1060.

Jména obou světců, sv. Petra a sv. Klimenta v opisech moravských denárů Cach 297 a 301, nasvědčují spíše diplomatickému postoji Přemyslovců, vědomých si hodnoty velkomoravské tradice, k místním elitám. To potvrzuje i následné uvádění jména sv. Petra jako ochránce Moravy v legendách moravských denárových ražeb, přetrvávající až do 12. století. Musíme si v tuto chvíli ovšem přiznat, že dobu ražby těchto dvou zřejmě nejstarších moravských mincí Břetislava I. neumíme přesněji časově vymezit. Podle datace nálezů, v nichž byly zastoupeny, můžeme předpokládat jejich ražbu ve druhé polovině 20. let 11. století, pro dřívější dataci argumenty chybí.

Další moravské denáry Břetislava I. známe až z nálezů, uložených v době jeho knížecí vlády v Čechách, kterou nastoupil počátkem roku 1035. Jsou to:

DENÁRY CACH 298, 299, 300 var., 1032 (?), se jménem Břetislav bez knížecího titulu DVX, v opisech oboustranně, snad z období cca 1030-1035.

DENÁRY CACH 308, se jménem Břetislav bez knížecího titulu DVX a jménem sv. Václava na rubu, z období cca 1030-1040.

DENÁRY CACH 300, se jménem Všebora, správce Moravy?, cca 1030-1040.

DENÁRY CACH 318, s knížecím titulem DVX a jménem sv. Václava na rubu, z období cca 1035-1040.

DENÁRY CACH 302, 303 (Břetislav I.), 321 (Spytihněv II.), s knížecím titulem DVX, se jmény sv. Václava a sv. Vojtěcha na rubu, denár Spytihněva II. se jménem sv. Vojtěcha, z období cca 1040-1045/8. Jmenované tři denárové typy již signalizují pokles hmotnostních parametrů oproti stabilizovanému stavu předchozích dekád.

Závěr

Předložená analýza moravské denárové produkce z doby vlády knížete Břetislava I. (1034-1055) nasvědčuje tomu, že ražba mincí s jeho jménem probíhala na Moravě kontinuálně po celou dobu jeho knížecí vlády v Čechách. V tomto období dosáhla, podle počtu zdokumentovaných razidel, i poměrně významné intenzity. Všechny moravské denáry Břetislava I. se od jeho českých ražeb liší svou ikonografií, což ukazuje, že Morava si uchovala svou svébytnost i po připojení k českému přemyslovskému státu.

Nelze zcela bezpečně stanovit, které Břetislavovy mince náležejí do období před jeho nástupem na český knížecí stolec. Část moravských denárů bez knížecího titulu DVX, zejména nejhojněji raženého typu Cach 300, byla podle všeho produkována až po roce 1035.

Pouze dva Břetislavovy moravské denárové typy, Cach 297 s péřovým diadémem a se jménem sv. Petra a Cach 301 s kotvou a jménem sv. Klimenta známe z nálezů, uložených před rokem 1034. Oba tyto typy známe doposud pouze v malém počtu několika exemplářů. Svými náměty a opisy naznačují, že se jedná o příležitostné ražby, s proklamativním účelem, zdůrazňujícím velkomoravskou tradici.

Podle dnešního stavu numismatického poznání lze usuzovat, že první moravské denáry Břetislava byly raženy nejdříve v období cca 1025-1030 a že numismaticky je tak doložena příslušnost Moravy k českému přemyslovskému státu až v tomto časovém úseku. Přesnější dataci numismatickými metodami spolehlivě stanovit nelze.

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Dissolution of the monetary union of the Habsburg monarchy at the height of the credit crisis 1615-1618

Since the establishment of the personal union of Ferdinand I (1526), the Habsburgs tried in vain to unify the monetary systems in the Bohemian, Austrian, and Hungarian lands. This was only achieved in the case of trade coins (ducats and thalers), whose metrological parameters were identical in all countries of the monarchy from 1547. The metrological parameters of common silver and small coins were not unified before the Thirty Years' War.

King and Emperor Ferdinand I came close to achieving this goal when he succeeded in pushing through the adoption of the Third Imperial Coinage Act in the Holy Roman Empire in 1559, which was based on the Austrian monetary system. According to the same metrological parameters, silver coins began to be produced in 1561 in the Kingdom of Bohemia (after approval by the Bohemian Diet) and also in government and some ducal mints in Silesia.

In Germany itself, however, this imperial coinage system did not take hold, and in the lands of the Bohemian Crown, the attempt at broad monetary integration only caused confusion in the circulation of money and an influx of foreign small coins of inferior quality. In 1575, a fundamental monetary reform was carried out in the Kingdom of Bohemia, which meant a return to an independent groschen currency: independent of the Austrian and imperial monetary systems. After half a century of existence of the Austrian-Bohemian-Hungarian Monarchy, all parts of this personal union returned to producing their own common coins with completely different metrological parameters.

The monetary integration of the Habsburg Monarchy continued, but in a different way than the unification of the metrological parameters of common coins, which Ferdinand I had attempted in vain. A significant impetus was the transfer of the permanent seat of the imperial court to Prague in 1583. This was accompanied by the relocation of the main court accounting chamber, which also became based in Prague during the reign of Emperor Rudolf II. This was logical, as the main revenues of the central court treasury at that time came from the Kingdom of Bohemia and Silesia (since the time of Maximilian II, the Styrian and Tyrolean parts of the Habsburg hereditary lands no longer belonged to this union).

In the Prague court chamber, its officials had to cope with the fact that the monarch's income, paid in cash, came in various physical forms. Land and consumption taxes, in particular, were paid almost exclusively in common coins used in the monetary circulation of individual countries. In order to convert these amounts from different countries, permanent internal exchange rates were established in the central court chamber for common coins used to pay amounts in the Austrian, Bohemian, Hungarian, Moravian, and Silesian monetary systems. These were primarily virtual monetary units, but they had direct equivalents in the individual national currencies at the level of small coins.

These monetary units could also be used to express the current market price of commercial coins, which were predominantly the silver imperial thaler and the gold Hungarian ducat within the Habsburg Monarchy. The following fixed conversion rates applied to domestic monetary systems:

1 Schock (60) groschen Bohemian = 140 kreuzers
1 Thaler Silesian = 36 groschen Silesian = 72 kreuzers
1 Schock (60) groschen Meissen = 30 groschen Bohemian = 70 kreuzers
1 Thaler (accounting unit) = 70 kreuzers = 100 denars Hungarian
1 Gulden Moravian = 70 kreuzers = 100 denars Hungarian
1 Gulden Rhine = 60 kreuzers

Physically minted coins also had a fixed exchange rate, so as long as they were valid, their use in different parts of the empire did not cause any major problems:

6 gr. Bohemian = 7 gr. Silesian = 12 gr. Meissen = 14 kreuzers = 20 denars Hungarian

For practical reasons, most payments in the court chamber were converted into kreutzers. The smallest monetary unit in this system was the *Meissen haller*, i.e. real minted Bohemian coin *malý peníz* ('small penny'). This was quite practical because it was suitable as a small denomination for all of the above-mentioned monetary systems:

1 groschen Bohemian = 14 hallers
1 groschen Silesian = 12 hallers
1 groschen Meissen = 7 hallers
1 kreuzer = 6 hallers
10 denars Hungarian = 42 hallers = 7 kreuzers = 6 gr. Meissen = 3½ gr. Silesian = 3 gr. Bohemian

After Matthias Habsburg ascended to the Czech throne (1611), credit problems worsened significantly. The declaration of bankruptcy of the royal credit in Bohemia (1615) led to the rapid disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy, not only at the fiscal and tax level, but also in monetary policy.

The most striking feature of this development was the different value of the monetary unit 'kreuzer' in Prague and Vienna. Until 1615, the 'kreuzer' was an integrating monetary element, because this unit of account expressed the common purchasing power of commercial coins (thalers and ducats) for the entire empire in the same amount (in 1608, silver thaler = 74 kreuzers; gold ducat = 135 kreuzers; in June 1616: silver thaler = 90 kreuzers, gold ducat = 150 kreuzers).

However, after the main accounting office of the court chamber was moved back to Vienna (1613), imperial officials were unable to ensure the payment of receivables in domestic current silver coins (Bohemian and Austrian) and opened the money market to imported foreign coins, especially Swiss ones. Italian and Jewish merchants were formally accused of these activities (i.e., importing foreign kreuzer coins of lower quality and exporting domestic currency with a higher silver content), but the main flows of money passed through the court chamber, which negotiated large foreign loans for the monarch's needs, including money from Swiss and Italian moneylenders.

The Bohemian estates responded to this development not only with fundamental tax and credit reforms in 1615, but also with an official restriction on the purchasing power of all 'foreign' three-kreuzer coins at a ratio of 9:7. This also applied to all three-kreuzer coins from Silesia and Poland at that time. The Vienna court chamber was unable to respond to this development. In the course of 1616, a distinction began to be made in the accounting records between Austrian kreuzers and Bohemian kreuzers, which was most evident in the official exchange rates of commercial coins (in Bohemia, one thaler = 150 kreuzers; in Austria, one thaler = 151 kreuzers). This apparent anomaly in the development of the previously common monetary and accounting system of the Habsburg Monarchy was related to the fact that in 1615, the Bohemian estates took full control of the domestic tax and credit system and in 1615-1617 they were able to maintain both the established repayment schedule for government bonds to domestic creditors and the strong exchange rate of the Bohemian currency in which these government bonds were denominated. It was a very effective defense against the devaluation of domestic credit assets through rapid inflation, which had already affected most of Central Europe at that time (several years before the Thirty Years' War). This entire credit system collapsed in the spring of 1618, which led (alongside concurrent religious conflicts) to a significant radicalization of society.

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Images on 12th-century Bohemian denars and their transfer in Central Europe

Recent discussions about knowledge transfer among die-sinkers in medieval Europe (A. Hylla *et al.*) have highlighted the exceptional quality of coin design and the wide array of new compositions and iconographic motifs produced in the mints of 12th-century Bohemia and Central Germany. Coins from this period display a notable variety of types, mainly due to the common practice of periodic recoinages (*renovatio monetae*). The marked improvement in the quality of coin dies, which boosted the prestige of the Přemyslid dynasty, was influenced by increasing political and trade links with Byzantium during the Crusades to the Holy Land.

A significant temporal link exists between the return from the first victorious expedition in 1099 and the start of high-quality coin minting at the Prague Mint in the same year. This connection becomes clear when comparing coin types Cach 388 and Cach 390 with Cach 389, minted at the end of Duke Břetislav II's reign (1092–1100). Notably, high-quality dies of this type were only produced in Constantinople and southern Italy at the time, suggesting that the creator of these coins likely came to Prague from one of those regions.

The need to promote images reinforcing Christian identity grew during the Crusades, making coins effective tools for this purpose, given their widespread circulation. Duke Břetislav II, whom the chronicler Kosmas described as a key supporter of Christianity, presumably supported these efforts. Instead of merely featuring simple Christian symbols, new designs appeared on coins, including equestrian scenes, depictions of combat, and biblical illustrations. These coins portrayed the struggle between good and evil, threats faced by believers, and divine protection, depicting fighting knights, attacking predators, and assisting angels.

With the expanding monetary economy in the 12th century, mints became important economic institutions, employing people with diverse skills. The similar production techniques, such as engraving and hallmarking, indicate a link between minting and goldsmithing. Die-sinkers were trained in goldsmith or silversmith workshops and worked on commission with a circle of collaborators. Part of the image was created in one workshop, and the rest was completed elsewhere. This practice is documented in the 12th century by the mintmaster Luteger, who worked at eight mints across Hesse and Thuringia.

Motifs for images drew inspiration from related areas, such as ancient gems, seals, dice, and other miniature artefacts. At some point, a key master's workshop developed a new form of an older scheme, which was then imitated until a new prototype emerged. The link between coin images and seals has been repeatedly demonstrated; seal images served as templates for creating dies for specific coin issues, and the same hallmarking techniques were employed.

An intriguing question is how freely the goldsmith could design the coin image. Aside from the direct involvement of medieval rulers in the conceptual design of dies and pictures based on late Roman and Byzantine coins, examples of designs inspired by domestic tradition are also documented. For instance, both motifs on the obverse and reverse of the Cach 424 denar (bust in a frame/angel with a soul) have their prototypes in ancient minting, and the motif of the bride's abduction on the Cach 549 denar is probably the original work of the creator working at the Prague Mint.

Czech numismatists agree that until the 1080s, images and inscriptions on dies were created using punches, with engraving later replacing this technique. This shift allowed craftsmen to showcase their skills, making Bohemian denars notable examples of Romanesque metalwork on a European scale. It is also clear that this change in technique affected coin imagery, as inscriptions continued to be punched for efficiency.

Symbols on coins and seals formed part of a broader strategy aimed at identifying, controlling, and ultimately rejecting and eliminating otherness. They embodied the medieval concept of identity, characterised by the perfect interplay between the original, its image, and the repeatable form, which—according to contemporary ideas—bestowed divine qualities. Furthermore, the need to copy certain coin types had economic motivations: these denominations featured images popular in trade.

A distinctive feature of Bohemian denar iconography is the 'Bohemianisation' of their pictorial motifs: St Wenceslas, as the patron saint of the country (e.g., Cach 413), appears instead of God on Byzantine coins (e.g., Hendy 4.3). In several issues, creators deliberately omit saintly or royal attributes from the figures on the obverse and reverse sides, creating an ambiguous coin image that could relate both to the duke's life and the patron saint of the land. Therefore, I believe only some coin images can be connected to specific historical events; most primarily represent an idealised image of the ruler and his self-presentation, reflecting broader Christian ideas, which facilitated their use in other countries as well. However, the reasons for transferring pictorial motifs varied. The impulse to imitate was driven by trade connections, and the use of the same hallmarks of inner images, or modifications of hallmarks or dies at foreign mints, was based on personal ties between mints, which were interconnected on technical, artistic, and administrative levels.

Several examples document the adoption of pictorial motifs. For instance, coins minted in Prague (Cach 540), Olomouc (Cach 480), Kraków (Kopicki 49a), Regensburg (Emmerig 60), and Neunkirchen (CNA B 34) depict the ancient hero Hercules fighting the Nemean lion. The differences lie in design quality and flan size: fine features on the small die of Bohemian denars—around 15 mm in diameter—contrast with the coarser coinage from the much larger Regensburg die measuring up to 25 mm. Another example involves the pictorial motifs on the obverses of two Bohemian denars: Cach 424 from 1118–1120, and Cach 549 from 1120–1125, which appeared on both sides of a later Austrian pfennig from the 1130s.

Documented cases also exist where coin hallmarks were used to decorate non-coin artefacts. One such artefact is a headdress from České Budějovice (Budweis), crafted from thin silver sheet metal in the shape of a Byzantine stemma. One of its motifs appears on Vladislav II's denar from 1158–1172 (Cach 614).

It remains an open question why the quality of Bohemian denars declined in the latter half of the 12th century. Could this have been linked to the departure of a skilled die-sinker with the Přemyslid Adalbert III to Salzburg in 1168, as his archbishop's coins might suggest?

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Obrazy na českých denárech 12. století a jejich přenos ve střední Evropě

Nedávné diskuse o přenosu znalostí mezi tvůrci mincovních kolků ve středověké Evropě (A. Hylla et al.) zdůraznily výjimečnou kvalitu mincovních obrazů a širokou škálu nových kompozic a ikonografických motivů vzniklých ve 12. století v Čechách a ve středním Německu (Hesensko, Durynsko). Mince z tohoto období vykazují pozoruhodnou rozmanitost typů v důsledku rozšířené dobové praxe pravidelného obnovování mince (renovatio monetae). Výrazné zlepšení kvality mincovních razidel, které posílilo prestiž přemyslovské dynastie, bylo důsledkem prohlubujících se politických a obchodních kontaktů s Byzancí během křížových výprav do Svaté země.

Mezi návratem z první vítězné výpravy v roce 1099 a ražbou kvalitních mincovních obrazů v pražské mincovně ve stejném roce existuje významná časová souvislost. Tato souvislost je zřejmá při porovnání typů Cach 388 a Cach 390 s typem Cach 389, raženým ke konci vlády knížete Břetislava II. (1092–1100). Vysoce kvalitní razidla se v tehdejší Evropě vyráběla pouze v Konstantinopoli a jižní Itálii, což naznačuje, že tvůrce těchto mincí pravděpodobně přišel do Prahy z jednoho z těchto regionů.

V období křížových výprav vzrostla potřeba šířit obrazy posilující křesťanskou identitu a právě mince se pro tento účel staly díky svému masovému charakteru účinným nástrojem. Kníže Břetislav II., kterého kronikář Kosmas označuje za významného propagátora křesťanství, toto úsilí nesporně podporoval. Místo pouhého zobrazení základních křesťanských symbolů se na mincích objevily nové motivy, včetně jezdeckých scén, zobrazení bojů a biblických ilustrací. Mincovní obrazy s bojujícími rytíři, útočícími predátory a pomáhajícími anděly symbolizujícími boj mezi dobrem a zlem předváděly hrozby, kterým jsou věřící vystaveni, a božskou ochranu, které se jim dostává.

S rozvíjející se monetární ekonomikou ve 12. století se mincovny staly důležitými ekonomickými institucemi a zaměstnávaly lidi s různými dovednostmi. Podobné výrobní techniky, jako je rytí a puncování, naznačují spojení mezi mincovnictvím a zlatnictvím. Raziči želez se učili v zlatnických nebo stříbrnických dílnách a pracovali na zakázku s okruhem spolupracovníků. Část obrazu byla vytvořena v jedné dílně a zbytek byl dokončen v druhé. Tato praxe je ve 12. století doložena u mincmistra Lutegera, který pracoval v osmi mincovnách v Hesensku a Durynsku.

Mincovní obrazy čerpaly inspiraci z antických gem, pečetí, hracích kostek ze slonoviny a dalších miniaturních artefaktů. V určitém okamžiku dílna klíčového mistra vyvinula novou formu staršího schématu, které bylo poté napodobováno, dokud se neobjevil nový prototyp. Souvislost mezi obrazy na mincích a pečetích byla opakovaně prokázána; pečetní obrazy sloužily jako šablony při výrobě razidel pomocí stejné puncovní techniky.

Zajímavou otázkou je, jak svobodně mohl zlatník navrhovat obraz mince. Kromě přímé účasti středověkých panovníků na koncepčním návrhu razidel a obrazů vzniklých podle motivů na pozdně římských a byzantských mincích jsou doloženy i příklady návrhů inspirovaných domácí tradicí. Například oba motivy na líci i rubu denáru Cach 424 (poprsí v rámu/anděl s duší) mají své předobrazy v antickém mincovnictví, kdežto motiv únosu nevěsty na denáru Cach 549 je pravděpodobně originálním dílem tvůrce působícího v pražské mincovně.

Čeští numismatici se shodují, že až do 80. let 11. století se obrazy a nápisy na razidlech vytvářely pomocí raznic a že tuto techniku poté nahradilo rytectví, které umožnilo řemeslníkům předvést své dovednosti.

Symboly na mincích a pečetích tvořily součást širší strategie zaměřené na identifikaci, kontrolu a nakonec odmítnutí a eliminaci jinakosti. Ztělesňovaly středověký koncept identity, charakterizovaný dokonalou souhrou mezi originálem, jeho obrazem a opakovatelnou formou, která – podle dobových představ – propůjčovala artefaktům božské vlastnosti. Potřeba kopírovat určité typy mincí měla navíc ekonomické motivy, vyvolané oblibou nominálů s obrazy zavedenými v obchodě.

Charakteristickým rysem ikonografie českých denárů je „bohemizace" jejich obrazových motivů: místo Boha vyobrazeného na byzantských ražbách se objevuje svatý Václav jako patron země (např. Cach 413). Na několika emisích tvůrci záměrně vynechali jak knížecí, tak světecké atributy postav, čímž vytvořili nejednoznačný obraz mince, který se může vztahovat jak k životu knížete, tak k patronovi země. Domnívám se proto, že pouze některé obrazy mincí lze spojovat s konkrétními historickými událostmi; většina z nich primárně představuje idealizovaný obraz panovníka a jeho sebeprezentace, odrážející obecné křesťanské ideje, který umožňoval jejich využití i v jiných zemích. Důvody transferu obrazových motivů se však lišily. Impuls k napodobování byl dán obchodními kontakty, zatímco používání stejných raznic vnitřních obrazů nebo úprav punců a razidel v zahraničních mincovnách bylo založeno na osobních vazbách mezi mincovnami, které byly vzájemně propojeny na technické, umělecké a administrativní úrovni.

Transfer obrazových motivů lze doložit na několika příkladech. Například mince ražené v Praze (Cach 540), Olomouci (Cach 480), Krakově (Kopicki 49a), Řezně (Emmerig 60) a Neunkirchenu (CNA B 34) zobrazují starověkého hrdinu Herkula bojujícího s nemejským lvem. Rozdíly spočívají v kvalitě obrazu a velikosti střížku: jemné provedení detailů na malé ploše českých denárů – o průměru kolem 15 mm – kontrastuje s hrubšími ražbami z mnohem větších střížků řezenských feniků, které dosahovaly až 25 mm. Jiným příkladem jsou obrazové motivy na lícních stranách dvou českých denárů, Cach 424 z let 1118–1120 a Cach 549 z let 1120–1125, které se objevují na mladším rakouském feniku z 30. let 12. století.

Existují také zdokumentované případy, kdy byly mincovní raznice použity ke zdobení nemincovních artefaktů. Patří k nim například čelenka z Českých Budějovic, vyrobená z tenkého stříbrného plechu v podobě byzantské stemmy. Jeden z jejích motivů se objevuje na denáru Vladislava II. z let 1158–1172 (Cach 614).

Zůstává otevřenou otázkou, proč se kvalita českých denárů v druhé polovině 12. století zhoršila. Mohlo to souviset se jmenováním Přemyslovce Vojtěcha III. salcburským arcibiskupem, s nímž z Prahy do Salcburku v roce 1168 odešel i zkušený tvůrce mincovních kolků, jak by mohly naznačovat ražby tohoto arcibiskupa?

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How generations remember: 'Obsolete money' as silent evidence of collective memory and identity among Gothic elites

Among the late 4th- and 5th-century solidi deposited in the hoard of Trąbki, Braniewo district (formerly Klein Tromp) and buried on the so-called Goldberg, there is a pierced aureus of Gordian III. Aleksander Bursche linked coins of Trajan Decius and his direct predecessors (i.e. Gordian III and Philip the Arab)—especially when looped—to the famous victory of coalition under Gothic leadership over Trajan Decius at Abritus in 251. The presence of a 3rd-century coin with almost no traces of wear among Late Roman solidi is puzzling, as the coin would have been nearly 200 years old at the time of deposition. This suggests that the hoard from Trąbki was most likely a kin-based treasure accumulated over several generations. In this contribution, using the framework created by Maurice Halbwachs, anthropological sources and tools typically applied in sociological studies, I will explore the reasons behind the collection of such an assemblage and propose the hypothesis that the aureus of Gordian III was deliberately included as an important element of identity, memory, and historical continuity within Gothic communities. Furthermore, I will argue that the coin played a significant role as a tool for legitimizing power among the Gothic elites.

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Trzeciaks (kwartniks) of Siemowit IV – the last coins of the Mazovian Piasts

We know little about trzeciaks of Siemowit IV. Their mintage must have been limited, as only a few dozen of these coins have survived to this day. Written sources are silent about them, not even mentioning their denomination. However, there is no doubt that they imitated Władysław Jagiełło's trzeciaks (small kwartniks). Both coins feature an eagle on the reverse, but the Double Cross emblem on the main side of the Masovian coin has been replaced by the ducal monogram 'S'. The inscription on the obverse reads DVCIS SEMOVITI, while on the reverse MONETA PLOCEN[sis] which indicates the place of minting – Siemowit's capital, the city of Płock.

Siemowit's trzeciaks rarely appear in collective finds. A few are known from hoards of Gniezno, Plecka Dąbrowa, Sokółka, Ciechanów, Płock, and Uniejów. They usually accompany Władysław Jagiełło's Crown trzeciaks, which they were intended to imitate. Most of the hoards were discovered in Masovia or a short distance from its borders. The recent discovery of two loose specimens in the Kalisz area – in the Old Town and Blizanów – is noteworthy. These are two of four specimens from single finds with established provenance.

These finds do not contribute to the dating of Siemowit's trzeciak coins. As imitations, they must have been minted after the originals, whose production began in 1393. In 1413, the Duke of Masovia was accused of secretly minting coins without the king's consent and will. This undoubtedly concerned the trzeciak coins, which, being lighter than the Crown coins, could have easily competed with them. The date of the accusation constitutes the *terminus ante quem* of the issue of Masovian coins.

The distinctive features of the Siemowit's trzeciak dies indicate that they were made by a single engraver. Although they bear mint marks in the form of dots and rings, the relatively high similarity of images and fonts indicates that their production lasted for a short time. A more in-depth study of Masovian coin dies is hampered not only by the small number of surviving specimens but also by the poor quality of their production – all the coins examined are, to a greater or lesser extent, under-struck, which may be the result of poor preparation of the blanks.

Siemowit's trzeciak coins are the last coins of the Masovian Piast dynasty. The province gradually lost its autonomy, only to be incorporated into the Crown a century later.

PIENIĄDZE PIASTÓW

MUZEUM MIEDZI W LEGNICY

WYSTAWA

Konferencji towarzyszy wystawa w Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy. Pokazujemy na niej około 650 monet piastowskich, średniowiecznych i nowożytnych. Jest to pierwsza w historii przekrojowa wystawa tej wielkości. Wiele monet wystawiono po raz pierwszy, a niektóre z nich nie były dotąd nawet publikowane.

Proponujemy inne spojrzenie na mennictwo piastowskie, odmienne od podręcznikowych ujęć historycznych i od katalogów numizmatycznych. Narracja podzielona jest na dwie zasadnicze części, odzwierciedlające dwie role odegrane przez Piastów: władców Polski i lenników Korony Czeskiej. Wystawa poświęcona jest dynastii, więc jej narracja przebiega liniami dynastycznymi, a nie według chronologii czy geografii:

Część I: Władcy Polski

- Pierwsi Piastowie
- II państwo piastowskie
- Linia Władysława Wygnańca (śląska)
- Linia wrocławska (do 1329 r.)
- Linia głogowska (do 1329 r.)
- Linia fürstenberska (tzw. świdnicko-jaworska)
- Linia raciborsko-opolska (do 1329)
- Linia wielkopolska
- Linia sandomierska (pierwsi Piastowie wschodniopolscy)
- Linia mazowiecka
- Linia kujawska

Część II: Lennicy Korony Czeskiej

- Linia głogowsko-żagańska
- Linia oleśnicka
- Linia opolska
- Linia cieszyńska
- Linia legnicko-brzeska
- Koniec świata Piastów

Poza eksponatami ze zbiorów Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy i Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie obiekty na wystawę wypożyczyli kolekcjonerzy prywatni:

- Pan Tomasz Jagiełło,
- Pan Jacek Bogulski,
- kolekcjonerzy anonimowi.

oraz muzea:

- Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Głogowie
- Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu
- Muzeum Archeologiczne, oddział Muzeum Miejskiego Wrocławia

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EXHIBITION

The conference is accompanied by the exhibition 'Piast Money' at the Copper Museum in Legnica. Around 650 Piast coins, medieval and modern, are showcased. This is the first comprehensive exhibition of this size in history. Many coins are on display for the first time, and some have never even been published before.

We offer a different perspective on Piast coinage, distinct from historical textbooks and numismatic catalogues. The narrative is divided into two main parts, reflecting the two roles played by the Piasts: rulers of Poland and vassals to the Czech Crown. The exhibition is dedicated to the dynasty, so its narrative follows dynastic lines rather than chronological or geographical order:

Part I: Rulers of Poland
- The First Piasts
- The Second Piast State
- The House of Wladislas the Exile (Silesia)
- The House of Wrocław (until 1329)
- The House of Głogów (until 1329)
- The House of Fürstenberg (so-called Świdnica-Jawor)
- The House of Racibórz and Opole (until 1329)
- The House of Greater Poland
- The House of Sandomierz (first Piasts of Eastern Poland)
- The House of Masovia
- The House of Kuyavia

Part II: Vassals to the Czech Crown
- The House of Głogów and Żagań
- The House of Oleśnica
- The House of Opole
- The House of Cieszyn
- The House of Legnica and Brzeg
- The End of the Piast World

In addition to exhibits from the collections of the Copper Museum in Legnica and the National Museum in Warsaw, the following items were loaned for the exhibition by private collectors:

- Mr. Tomasz Jagiełło,
- Mr. Jacek Bogulski,
- anonymous collectors.

and museums:

- Museum of Archaeology and History, Głogów
- Princes' Lubomirski Museum, Ossoliński National Institute, Wrocław
- Museum of Archaeology, the branch of the City Museum of Wrocław

The 'Piast Money' exhibition has been supported by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage from the Culture Promotion Fund. It is open for the public from 16 September 2025 to 15 March 2026.

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