

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIX

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2024

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Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie

ul. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12, 31-109 Kraków

tel. (+48) 12 433 58 50, e-mail: notae@mnk.pl

<http://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>

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Lech Kokociński. Photo by Piotr Idem
Lech Kokociński. Fot. Piotr Idem

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIX *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

Bieżący Tom naszego czasopisma chcielibyśmy zadedykować Panu Mecenasowi Lechowi Kokocińskiemu, obchodzącemu w 2024 roku swoje 80-te urodziny. Lech Kokociński (ur. 1944), prawnik, sędzia i wieloletni pracownik Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki, z numizmatyką związany jest w zasadzie od zawsze. Przede wszystkim należy do grona najwybitniejszych kolekcjonerów numizmatów drugiej połowy XX i pierwszych dziesięcioleci XXI wieku. Jego zainteresowania kolekcjonerskie nie ograniczały się przy tym do wąskiego zakresu, lecz obejmowały szerokie spektrum obiektów: od monet antycznych poczynawszy, poprzez pieniądź papierowy, medale, aż po fałszerstwa monet i banknotów. Ważną część jego zbiorów stanowią starodruki i rękopisy numizmatyczne oraz inne obiekty o charakterze bibliofilskim, szczególnie *Lwowiana*. Mecenas Kokociński przez całe życie aktywnie włączał się w animowanie ruchu numizmatycznego. Od 1962 roku był członkiem Polskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego, od 1984 roku przewodniczył Sekcji Numizmatycznej Polskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego i Numizmatycznego, a w 1987 roku został Prezesem tej organizacji. W 1991 roku należał do założycieli Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego i był jego pierwszym Prezesem, a następnie Prezesem Honorowym. Bliskie związki mecenasa Kokocińskiego z Gabinetem Numizmatycznym Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie sięgają XX wieku. Jest członkiem Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego (od 1996 r.), a w latach 2011–2015 pełnił funkcję członka Rady Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Wszedł też w skład Komitetu Honorowego projektu *Europejskie Centrum Numizmatyki Polskiej*, w ramach realizacji którego udało się otworzyć Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego w obecnym kształcie. Przede wszystkim jednak jest jednym z najważniejszych i najbardziej hojnych darczyńców na rzecz Muzeum. Wzbogacił zbiory Gabinetu Numizmatycznego o niemal 11 000 obiektów, w tym monety antyczne, bezprecedensową kolekcję pieniądza fałszywego, pieniądź papierowy i medale. Dodatkowo ofiarował do biblioteki Muzeum ponad 1000 pozycji różnych publikacji, starodruków i znakomite archiwalia związane z życiem i działalnością wybitnych numizmatyków czy towarzystw numizmatycznych, jak np. Związku Numizmatyków Lwowskich czy Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego w Krakowie. Z okazji Jubileuszu życzymy Lechowi Kokocińskiemu, naszemu Drogiemu Przyjacielowi, co najmniej 100 lat!

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 19 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. As is our policy, we publish all texts in the congress languages, with English and Polish abstracts. The contents of current volume and archive numbers are available as PDF files on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). The website also provides all general information about the journal, along with guidelines for authors and reviewers.

We would like to dedicate the current volume of our journal to Mr Lech Kokociński, who celebrated his 80th birthday in 2024. Lech Kokociński (born in 1944), lawyer, judge and long-time employee of the Ministry of Culture and Art, has been involved in numismatics for practically all his life. Above all, he is one of the most outstanding numismatic collectors of the second half of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century. His collecting interests were not limited to a narrow range, but covered a wide spectrum of objects, starting with the ancient coins, through paper money and medals, to counterfeits of coins and banknotes. An important part of his collection consists of antique prints and numismatic manuscripts as well as other bibliophile objects, especially *Lvoviana*. Throughout his life, Kokociński has actively participated in promoting the numismatic movement. He was a member of the Polish Archaeological Society from 1962, chaired the Numismatic Section of the Polish Archaeological and Numismatic Society from 1984 and became its president in 1987. In 1991, he was one of the founders and first president of the Polish Numismatic Society, later becoming Honorary President. The close relationship between Mr Kokociński and the Numismatic Department of the National Museum in Krakow dates back to the 20th century. He is a member of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum Friends Society (since 1996), and in the years between 2011–2015 he was a member of the Council of the National Museum in Krakow. He also became a member of the Honorary *European Center of Polish Numismatics* project, which led to the opening of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum its present form. Above all, however, he is one of the most important and generous donors to the Museum. He enriched the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet with almost 11,000 objects, including ancient coins, an unprecedented collection of counterfeit money, paper money and medals. In addition, he donated more than 1,000 items to the museum library, including various publications, antique books, and valuable archive material related to the life and work of prominent numismatists or numismatic societies, such as the Union of Lviv Numismatists and the Numismatic Society in Krakow. On the occasion of this milestone birthday, we wish Lech Kokociński, our dear friend, at least 100 years!

The Editors

DARIUSZ F. JASEK

Polish Numismatic Society, Krakow Branch

ORCID: 0009-0005-9874-8635

A Manifestation of Friesland's Distinctiveness in its Late Medieval and Early Modern Coinage

ABSTRACT: The Friesland province, located in the north of today's Netherlands, was never conquered by the Romans. It maintained its independence until the end of the 15th century and this was reflected in its coinage. In the late Middle Ages, there was a unique issue of a Frisian "freedom coin". In the later period of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces (1581–1795), coinage was repeatedly a tool for Friesland to manifest its distinctiveness. These usually short-period – one or a few years – emissions were quickly protested by the States General, which did not discourage Frisians from taking such actions until the end of the 17th century.

KEY WORDS: Frisian freedom, Reiderschans mint, Friesland, Netherlands

ABSTRAKT: *Manifestacja odmienności Fryzji w jej późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonowożytnym mennictwie*

Prowincja Fryzji, znajdująca się na północy dzisiejszych Niderlandów, już w okresie Cesarstwa Rzymskiego utrzymywała swoją niepodległość. Zachowała ją aż do końca XV w., co znalazło odzwierciedlenie w jej mennictwie. U schyłku średniowiecza miała miejsce wyjątkowa emisja tzw. monety wolności Fryzji. W późniejszym okresie Republiki Zjednoczonych Prowincji mennictwo nowożytne stanowiło wielokrotnie narzędzie do manifestowania przez Fryzję jej odmienności. Te zazwyczaj krótkie – jedno- lub kilkuletnie – emisje zostawały szybko oprotestowane przez Stany Generalne, co nie zniechęcało Fryzji do podejmowania takich działań aż do końca XVII w.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: wolność Fryzji, mennica Reiderschans, Fryzja, Niderlandy

During the heyday of the Roman Empire under Emperor Augustus, there were numerous conquests of new lands. Among the few that managed to stay out of the reach of the Romans were the Frisian lands, located north of the Rhine, where – as a result of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest – the border of the Empire ran until the beginning of the 5th century.¹ This situation allowed the Frisians living in these lands to maintain their autonomy. Nevertheless, the Frisians maintained close trade relations with the Romans in the following centuries, taking advantage of the military road networks of the time, extending to the Middle East. Moreover, unlike many other lands, the Frisians remained the main inhabitants of the lands we know today as the northern Dutch provinces of Friesland and Groningen. They cultivated the land, raised cattle, and traded extensively with other tribes.

The importance of Friesland grew during the rise of the medieval union of cities operating under the name of the Hanseatic League, bringing together trading European cities, including the Frisian town of Bolsward. From the 11th century until the loss of freedom to the Habsburgs, there was a period called “Frisian freedom” in the region’s history. It was marked, among others, by freedom from serfdom and numerous feudal levies and taxes. The granting of these privileges in Friesland is attributed to Charlemagne (768–814), but the monetary manifestation of Frisian freedom did not occur until the late medieval period and large emissions of silver pennies with the BRVN name on the reverse, struck in the name of the Brunonids.²

In the 14th century, a then-popular $\frac{2}{3}$ ruitergroot coin was minted in Friesland with a helmeted rider holding a raised sword, on a horse galloping to the right on the obverse and a cross with four moons at the corners and two legends around on the reverse (Fig. 1). The obverse inscription, beginning with an initial cross over the rider’s head, reads: MONETA FRISIE LIBERT, means Coin of Free Friesland. On the reverse, the internal legend SIGNVM CRVCIS was typical of this type of coin, but the unusual external legend IACOBVS AVRIFAB’(er) FECIT let us to identify the person who struck the coin as Jacob Goldsmith.³ The coin is informally known in the Netherlands as the Friese vrijheidsmunt, meaning the Frisian freedom coin. At that time Friesland did not mint coins at all, using foreign money in circulation, so the issue of such an atypical coin, in probably a low mintage (only one specimen known) was executed more for propaganda reasons, to remind the Friesland people’s freedom in a period of dynamic change in Europe at that time.⁴

¹ BOEKHORST 1998: 5.

² JASEK 2019: 18.

³ JACOBI and VEEN 1999: 172, 176–177.

⁴ JASEK 2019: 19.

Until the modern era in the period of the Republic of the United Netherlands, there are no further references by Friesland to its former glory or its greatness on coins. The Frisian freedom ceased in 1498 when Friesland came under the rule of the Dukes of Saxony. Following the usual practice in similar issues – also in other regions – on the first monetary issues of the period from the Friesland mint in Sneek, the engraver remembered the essential elements to be placed on local coinage, and a large Friesland arms of the Lordship of Friesland can be seen on one side of both types, a single and double stiver.⁵

In the second half of the 16th century, there were numerous battles between Dutch forces and Spanish troops, during the Eighty Year's War of 1568–1648. In January 1579, the States of Friesland were one of the signatories of the Union of Utrecht, the premise of which – in addition to rebellion against Spanish rule – included measures to stop the minting of undervalued coins in the Netherlands. As a result of the Act of Abjuration signed in 1581,⁶ each region gained self-determination.

The States of Friesland declared formal independence and took over the capital Leeuwarden in February 1580. Taking advantage of the precedent in Zeeland, which in 1579 became the first province to establish its own mint, the Frisians followed its example. Immediately after regaining control of the city, they began efforts to open their own independent mint as early as February 1580, appointing Lodewijk Alewijn as its first mintmaster. Although the opening of another mint was protested by the States of Holland, the local Friesland population strongly supported the initiative.

Among the assumptions of the newly formed Dutch Republic was the unification of its coinage, extremely important for the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, due to their need for widely accepted, good quality coins for international trade.⁷ This was particularly related to gold ducats, intended at the time for large transactions, especially with the Baltic countries, and thick silver pieces, i.e. various types of talers, including rijksdaalders for trade with cities of the Holy Roman Empire and lion talers minted for payment in the countries of the Levant.⁸

The types of coins minted by all provinces and their images were precisely defined by the Mint Ordinance of August 4, 1586. The assumption of the States General was to standardize production, so that the indication of the province in which coin was minted was discrete, usually limited to changing a part of the inscription in the legend and/or inserting the province's coat of arms in the space provided. As a result, the different types of coins from different provinces were visually very

⁵ BOEKHORST 1998: 15.

⁶ The lordship of Friesland was one of the signatories of this document, along with the duchies of Brabant and Gelderland, the counties of Flanders, Holland and Zeeland as well as the lordships of Mechelen and Utrecht.

⁷ JASEK 2015: 29.

⁸ GELDER 1980: 109.

similar to each other. Importantly, supervision of the appearance and quality of dies for minting the first coins in the Republic was centralized and effective at this time.

Because of the Eighty Year's War, the situation changed after only a few years and some of the first deviations were seen in among others the Frisian mint, whose engraver was commissioned to prepare dies for Friesland coins that looked quite different from those of other mints.⁹ One of the most distinctive was the arendsrijksdaalder, also minted i.e. in the Zeeland provincial mint as well as the city mints in Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle and Nijmegen; each of them was struck with an eagle on one side and a coat of arms on the other. The Friesland arendsrijksdaalder looked quite different at first glance (Fig. 2): on the obverse it depicted a Friesland nobleman with a sword, wearing characteristic fur cap with earmuffs. The legend on the obverse reads *MONETA ORDIFRISIVALIMPE DAL* (in 1580–1586) or *MONETA NOVA ORDINVM FRISIAE* (1591–1603).¹⁰ Similar coins with a Friesland nobleman were also minted by the West Friesland mint.

Other large silver pieces were rijderdaalders (Fig. 3), minted in Friesland between 1582 and 1585, bearing a legend similar to those found on the 1591–1603 arendsdaalders.¹¹ The obverse of the rijderdaalder depicts a large Friesland shield with the legend *MONETA NOVA ORDINVM FRISIAE* around, which with a diameter of more than 40 mm, made it one of the most recognizable Friesland coins. The reverse of the coin featured a rider with a flag, sitting on a horse to the left. Below him was the Leeuwarden coat of arms, while all around was the typical Friesland legend: *NISI DNS NOBISCVM* and the date. Similar coins were also struck (in 1582) at the provincial mints of Gelderland.

Gold ducats,¹² lion talers¹³ (Fig. 4) and arendsrijksdaalders¹⁴ from the Friesland temporary mint at Reiderschans, minted between 1591 and 1594, are a very interesting issue. As we know from a letter dated March 1591, from Willem van Vierssen, mintmaster of the Friesland mint in Leeuwarden, to the States of Friesland, gold ducats from Reiderschans were to be identical in size, weight and alloy to gold ducats minted in Leeuwarden, with one altered detail.¹⁵ These extremely rare coins were to be marked with a rectangular sign instead of a Friesland lion. However, this marking is not due to the mint ordinance from 1586, of which they are a violation. Using such a coincidental mint designation symbol was a significant deviation from the minting rules adopted in the Republic. This unusual issue was intended

⁹ JASEK 2019: 27.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*: 66–67; BOEKHORST 1998: 25.

¹¹ JASEK 2019: 72.

¹² PUISTER 1966: 62; JASEK 2019: 57–58.

¹³ JASEK 2019: 76.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*: 68.

¹⁵ MOLTMAKER 2000: 108.

to pay soldiers stationed in the province of Groningen, a place far to the East from the borders of the province of Friesland. The establishment of a temporary mint was the only reasonable solution, and as it was said to be closed when the need to mint coins ceased. The issue of coins with a rectangular mark was not protested by other provinces. However, another aspect of this issue is the political idea of Frisian sovereignty, since the citizens of the Groninger Ommelanden region, where the temporary Friesland mint was located, were also Frisians until the 17th century. Therefore a connection between the location of the second Friesland mint precisely in Reiderschans and the idea to create the province of “Groot-Friesland” (Great Friesland) cannot be excluded.¹⁶

An anonymous Frisian nobleman, found on Friesland arendsdaalders, was also depicted on other Friesland coins: florijn of 28 stivers and its fractions, half florijn of 14 stivers (Fig. 5) and quarter florijn of 7 stivers (Fig. 6), all minted in Friesland from 1601.¹⁷ Although the florijn was a popular type of coin at the time, minted by more than a dozen mints, none of them had the look of a Friesland coin. Thus, we can consider them another issue typical only for this province. The man also appeared on small copper Friesland coins known as oords, worth a quarter stiver or 2 duits, minted from 1607 to 1649. The coin's obverse featured the province coat of arms and the legend MONE NOVA ORDINVM FRISLÆ, while the reverse featured the aforementioned nobleman, with the letters F – O (Fries Oord in Dutch or Frysk Oartsen in Frisian; both mean Frisian Oord) on both sides and the legend NISI DOMINVS NOBISCVM around.¹⁸

Friesland also tried to manifest its distinctiveness on a gold ducat of 1604 (Fig. 7).¹⁹ The dies for this issue were used again the following year, with the last digit in the date altered from 4 to 5. On the obverse of the ducat, instead of a bundle of arrows in the hand of a knight, there was a large shield with the coat of arms of Friesland. This was met with strong opposition from the States General, and in 1607 Friesland gold ducats with a knight holding a bunch of arrows were reintroduced. Interestingly, ducats with the Friesland shield were not included in the tariff of coins banned from circulation, and could therefore circulate along with typical ducats of other provinces. However, this Friesland issue contributed to the fact that in 1606 the States General called on all mintmasters to put the minting of the Republic back in order, as originally intended.²⁰ About the same time, issues of three types of lion talers also took place in Friesland between 1603 and 1606 (Fig. 8).

¹⁶ *Ibidem*: 109.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*: 119–131; BRUIJN 1990: 28–46.

¹⁸ JASEK 2019: 162–167.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*: 63.

²⁰ AERSSSEN 1606.

In 1603 they were minted in all types. The first issues were following the Holland²¹ and subsequently Friesland mint standard,²² both with the typical legend CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR on the reverse. A short emission to the Friesland mint standard was followed by the minting of a completely new, third type of lion taler: with the aforementioned Frisian inscription NISI DOMINVS NOBISCVM on the reverse. In this way, Frisian lion talers were clearly distinguished from coins of this type produced by other mints in the Republic at the time. After four years of minting these coins in Friesland, as a result of the measures taken by the States General in 1606, they were replaced by lion talers with the earlier reverse legend, minted for Friesland according to the specification of the States General (Republic of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands).²³

After the 1606 mint reform, the monetary chaos was largely cleaned up. This does not mean that Friesland did not make further attempts to manifest its distinctiveness on coins minted in the Dutch Republic. In 1682 and 1687, the provincial mint in Leeuwarden struck koggerdaalders of 30 stivers (Fig. 9).²⁴ Visually they are different from all other coins of the united provinces.²⁵ These coins depicted a crowned provincial coat of arms on the obverse with the denomination on both sides and the legend ANTIQVA VIRTUTE ET FIDE along with the date around. The legend translates to “the old courage and faithfulness”, which is an obvious reference to the character traits of ancient Frisians. The reverse featured a composition of four crowned coats of arms representing the Friesland regions of Oostergo, Westergo and Sevenwolde, as well as the combined coat of arms of 11 Friesland towns. Next to each coat of arms was the designation: OG, WG, SW and ST written. In the middle of the composition were placed two joined hands holding four arrows. The legend around reads: CONCOR(DIA) FRISLÆ LIBERTAS, which translates as “Union makes Friesland free”. The coins relate their composition to the large Friesland medals known as Koggerdaalder Landagpenning, minted in 1601, 1652, 1688, 1701, 1704 and 1710.²⁶ According to Frey they had a commemorative function and were given as gifts.²⁷

The manifestations of Friesland’s distinctiveness in its modern coinage stem from the time, when the region was important in Hanseatic trade. As can be seen, the expression of this importance can be seen in Friesland’s minting almost throughout

²¹ JASEK 2019: 75; they were minted with FRISI VA HOL in the obverse legend.

²² *Ibidem*: 77; with ORDIN FRISLÆ in the obverse legend. They were also minted in 1614–1622, without a mintmark or with the provincial coat of arms (instead of the Leeuwarden city arms) in the legend on the reverse.

²³ *Ibidem*: 81; with PRO CONFOE BELG FRIS in the obverse legend. They were minted until 1663.

²⁴ *Ibidem*: 36, 115–116.

²⁵ *Ibidem*: 35. Similar picture is to be found in the Frisian daalders of 60 groot, minted in 1617 and 1618.

²⁶ *Ibidem*: 117–118.

²⁷ FREY 1917: 123–124.

its existence, although in the modern period the importance of Friesland and its minting during the period of the Dutch Republic continually declined, leading to the complete closure of the mint. The last coins from the Friesland mint were struck in 1738.

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Author's address:

Dariusz F. Jasek
Záměstní 1155/27, 710 00 Ostrava, Czechia
dariusz.jasek@gmail.com

PLATE 1

Fig. 1. $\frac{2}{3}$ ruitergroot “Friese vrijheidsmunt”; 1.683 g, diam. 23 mm

Photo: Collection Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, Inv. no. NA11560

Fig. 2. Friesland, arendsrijksdaalder 1586; 29 g, diam. 42 mm

Photo: De Nationale Numismatische Collectie, Inv. no. 1932-0177

Fig. 3. Friesland, rijderdaalder 1582; 26.572 g, diam. 42.5 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek

PLATE 2

Fig. 4. Friesland, lion taler 1591 from the temporary Reiderschans mint; 27.290 g, diam. 41.5 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek

Fig. 5. Friesland, half florijn of 14 stivers 1601; 9.221 g, diam. 34 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek

Fig. 6. Friesland, quarter florijn of 7 stivers 1684; 4.228 g, diam. 29 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek

PLATE 3

Fig. 7. Friesland, gold ducat 1604 with a Frisian shield; 3.453 g, diam. 22 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek

Fig. 8. Friesland, lion taler 1604 from the Leeuwarden mint; 27.282 g, diam. 41.5 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek

Fig. 9. Friesland, koggerdaalder of 30 stivers 1687; 18.511 g, diam. 39 mm. From the Magna Frisia collection

Photo: D.F. Jasek



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2



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