

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIII

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

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Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017). Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, September 1995. Photo: I. Feldblum

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31 grudnia 2017 roku zmarła Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017), emerytowany, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, znawczyni mennictwa średniowiecznego i gdańskiego, zastępca redaktora i członek komitetu redakcyjnego *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. Była osobą mocno zaangażowaną w działalność społeczną: reaktywowała w 1989 roku w Muzeum Narodowym Związek Zawodowy „Solidarność”, działała w Towarzystwie Przyjaciół Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego, zakładała Stowarzyszenie Muzealników Polskich, najważniejszą dziś organizację skupiającą pracowników polskich muzeów. Niezwykle pracowita, świadoma odpowiedzialności wynikającej ze sprawowanych przez siebie funkcji, całą sobą oddana była Gabinetowi Numizmatycznemu.

Jej pamięci poświęcamy XIII tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, nie mając wątpliwości, że czasopismo to nie powstałoby bez jej zaangażowania.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present to you Volume XIII of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. In accordance with our customary practice, all the texts concerned with subjects of international interest or significance have been published in the conference languages, while those of more relevance to Polish readers – in Polish. Information for prospective authors as well as previously published volumes of our journal can be found at www.mnk.pl.

A worker of many years at the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow and then the cabinet's director before she retired, Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017) passed away on December 31, 2017. An expert on medieval coinage and coinage from Gdańsk, Haczewska was deputy editor and a member of the editorial committee of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. Whether she was reactivating the Solidarity labor union at the National Museum in 1989 or busy doing work for the Association of Benefactors of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum or else putting together the Association of Polish Museologists, the most important organization for employees at Polish museums, Haczewska was heavily engaged in doing social work. An exceptionally hard worker, Haczewska was conscious of the responsibility resulting from the offices she held, giving her whole self to the Numismatic Cabinet.

It is in memory of Bogumiła Haczewska that we dedicate the 13th volume of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, there being no doubt that the journal would never have been created without her full commitment.

The Editors

ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI

University of Warsaw

Pseudo-Ancient Pseudo-Coins from Gdańsk. Remarks in the Margins of the Catalog of Finds of Ancient Coins in Medieval and Modern Contexts in Poland

ABSTRACT: For the city of Gdańsk, we have a very large source database that includes thousands of finds of coins and coin-like objects. This database includes coin-like objects modeled on ancient Roman or Greek coins. These are as follows: an alleged as of Nero, found at Łagiewniki Street in 2006 together with 47 other coins and coin-like objects from the late medieval and early modern periods; a similar object found without any context, also in 2006, in Kielpino Górne, now a suburb of Gdańsk; a lead artifact of indeterminate use modeled on a Greek stater from Velia; and what would appear to be a livery button showing a helmeted Athena or Minerva looking left. The two latter artifacts were found at two different, unspecified locations in Gdańsk before 2009. All of these examples show that great care needs to be exercised when it comes to describing objects resembling ancient coins found in early modern contexts or ones that are suspected of being associated with the early modern period. At least since the Renaissance, following on a wave of interest in antiquity, there appeared a great number of coin-like objects modeled on Greek or Roman coins. We can only guess at the use to which some of these were put. While it is easy to identify as reproductions objects made of lead or some other material that was not used when ancient coins were struck as part of regular issues, it is much more difficult to identify a piece as having been made in the early modern era when it is reminiscent of an ancient coin in terms of the material used, the size of the coin, and the images depicted on it.

KEY WORDS: coin finds, coin-like objects, modern period, Roman coins, Greek coins

ABSTRAKT: *Pseudoantyczne obiekty monetopodobne z Gdańska. Uwagi na marginesie katalogu znalezisk monet antycznych z kontekstów średniowiecznych i nowożytnych z terenu Polski*

Dla miasta Gdańska dysponujemy bardzo bogatą bazą źródłową obejmującą opublikowane znaleziska tysięcy monet i obiektów monetopodobnych. Baza ta obejmuje między innymi obiekty monetopodobne wzorowane na monetach antycznych, rzymskich i greckich. Są to: rzekomy as Nerona znaleziony w 2006 roku razem z 47 innymi, późnośredniowiecznymi i nowożytnymi monetami oraz obiektami monetopodobnymi przy ul. Łagiewniki; podobny obiekt pozbawiony kontekstu, odkryty również w 2006 roku w Kiełpinie Górnym, obecnie podmiejskiej dzielnicy Gdańska; ołowiany artefakt o nieokreślonym przeznaczeniu wzorowany na greckim staterze z Elei oraz metalowy guzik, tzw. liberyjny, na którym przedstawiono Atenę lub Minerwę w hełmie zwróconym w lewo. Dwa ostatnie artefakty znaleziono w dwóch różnych, nieokreślonych miejscach na terenie Gdańska przed 2009 roku. Wszystkie one pokazują, że przy opisywaniu obiektów wyglądających na monety antyczne, znalezionych w kontekstach nowożytnych, lub co do których istnieje podejrzenie, że wiążą się z kontekstem nowożytnym, należy zachować szczególną ostrożność. Co najmniej od okresu odrodzenia na fali zainteresowania antykiem powstawały liczne zabytki monetopodobne wzorowane na monetach greckich lub rzymskich. Przeznaczenia niektórych z nich możemy się tylko domyślać. Obiekty z ołowiu lub innego materiału nie wykorzystywanego przy wybijaniu monet antycznych z regularnych emisji są łatwe do wychwycenia. Dużo trudniej jest w sposób pewny określić jako nowożytny obiekt, który przypomina monetę antyczną pod względem użytego materiału, wymiarów i przedstawień.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: znaleziska monet, obiekty monetopodobne, okres nowożytny, monety rzymskie, monety greckie

Mateusz Bogucki, Grzegorz Śnieżko, and myself took it upon ourselves to draw up a list of the ancient coins discovered in lands presently belonging to Poland in contexts dating to the medieval and early modern periods (from the 7th to the 18th century).¹ This list should serve as a source database for future studies of an analytic-interpretive character in relation to the use of ancient coins in the medieval and early modern periods in Central and Eastern Europe. Obviously, when it came to preparing this catalog of monetary finds, it was of key importance to critique the sources. While the medieval or early modern contexts of ancient coins found

¹ The present publication reports on the results of research completed as part of the project titled *Use of Ancient Coins in East-Central Europe in the Medieval and Modern Periods*, project no. 2016/23/B/HS3/00173. Conducted at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, this project was financed by the National Science Centre in Poland.

in hoards or in graves do not arouse suspicion, a number of difficulties oftentimes present themselves when it comes to giving a precise interpretation of the contexts of stray finds from areas belonging to encampments, settlements, and cities.² This is also true with regard to ancient coins from the late medieval and early modern layers within Gdańsk.³ When it comes to drawing up a list of the ancient coin finds from medieval and especially early modern contexts, one other possibility must be taken into account: it may be the case that an object that looks like an ancient coin is not actually an ancient coin. Before I come to this issue, however, at least a rough sketch of Gdańsk's rich history will need to be provided in order to indicate the factors that can make it difficult to interpret the coins found here.

Archaeological sites dated to the Roman period have been recorded in Gdańsk's current city center, which to a large extent coincides with the area inside of the city's fortifications in the early modern age.⁴ In the early medieval period, settlements in this area were functioning as of at least the 930s.⁵ The early stages of an urban agglomeration – or agglomerations – developed here as of at least the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries,⁶ and in the late medieval period this turned into a large urban agglomeration. When it was flourishing, during the 16th and 17th centuries, Gdańsk was the largest city in terms of population in the Polish-Lithuanian state and a center of trade to far-off places on a European scale. It is important to add that the historical center of the city was almost completely destroyed in 1945 because of warfare. The multiple layers of settlements, oftentimes tied to the destruction of older layers, and the transfer of earth and debris connected to the devastation caused by World War II and to the removal of the war's ruins make it extremely difficult to date the archaeological context of coin finds, even those that are discovered as part of systematic archaeological research. As Borys Paszkiewicz has rightly pointed out, ancient coins discovered in Gdańsk in medieval and early modern contexts could have flowed into the lands of Pomerania and gotten stuck in the land in antiquity, after which they could have been deprived of their original context as a result of post-deposit processes (for example the construction of earthen fortifications) or as a result of finds made in the medieval or modern periods. It may also be that these

² See BOGUCKI, DYMOWSKI and ŚNIEŻKO 2017: 278–286.

³ PASZKIEWICZ 2013: 212. Borys Paszkiewicz lists five ancient coins (all of them Roman) found as a result of archaeological research on land closed off by Gdańsk's modern city walls: an as of Nero, from Łagiewniki Street; a sestertius of Antoninus Pius, from Sieroca Street; an Ae2 of Gallus Caesar, from the site known as Lastadia; an indeterminate denarius from the Butchers' Stands; and a denarius of Antoninus Pius, from the site known as Monopol.

⁴ For example the site known as Monopol, at Wały Piastowskie Street, where a burial ground of the Wielbark culture was discovered (see: *Ibidem*).

⁵ PANER 2015: 152.

⁶ BUKO 2006: 228–231; PANER 2015: *passim*.

coins come from early modern collections.⁷ It is worth adding that earth and debris were carried away to the city's outskirts following World War II. This has also been practiced in recent years when terrain is cleared in preparation for new construction investments. The result is that the things from long ago that are sometimes discovered at present at the city's periphery and in its suburbs could actually come from its historical center.

With regard to Gdańsk's city center, we have a very large source database that includes thousands of finds of coins and coin-like objects.⁸ In this context, it is necessary to mention, above all, the many articles written by Jarosław Dutkowski⁹ and the numerous studies provided by Borys Paszkiewicz,¹⁰ especially the latter's outstanding monograph published in 2013.¹¹ This database includes a Roman coin – an as of Nero (he reigned in 54–68)¹² found at Łagiewniki Street in 2006 together with forty-seven other coins and coin-like objects from the late medieval and modern periods (from the 14th to the 20th century). This coin was found during archaeological research conducted by Katarzyna Kaczyńska and Aleksander Kwapiński from the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, and to be precise it was discovered in sector 30/40, in structure 208, though the research documents lack information on the dating of structure 208. Other artifacts taken from this structure come from the period between the 16th and 19th century. The as of Nero mentioned here (Pl. 1, Fig. 1) is at present in the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk (inventory no. MAG/GN/3686).¹³ This coin, with a diameter of 26.3–27 mm and a weight of 4.48 g, is made of copper or bronze, but its state of preservation is very bad: both the obverse and the reverse are highly corroded. The obverse has a barely decipherable laureate head turned left. No doubt this is a portrait of Nero. It is not possible to decipher the surrounding legend on the obverse. The reverse is completely indecipherable.

Taking into account the size and appearance of this coin and the context in which it was discovered, we should consider whether it is similar – or perhaps even identical – to a coin-like object (Pl. 1, Fig. 2) found, also in 2006, in an arable field in Kiełpino Górne, now a suburb of Gdańsk.¹⁴ This artifact is made of bronze or copper, and it has a diameter of 27 mm and a weight of 4.46 g. Modeled on the

⁷ PASZKIEWICZ 2013: 212.

⁸ A list of the most important publications can be found in: IDEM 2013: 14–15, footnotes 16 and 17.

⁹ E.g.: DUTKOWSKI 1990; IDEM 1996; IDEM 2003.

¹⁰ E.g.: PASZKIEWICZ 2006; IDEM 2007; IDEM 2009.

¹¹ IDEM 2013.

¹² *Ibidem*: 91, 95 (no. 32), 212, 365.

¹³ I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Ms. Beata Ceynowa, the vice director of the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, for her help in attaining access to the item and for allowing it to be photographed.

¹⁴ DYMOWSKI 2006: 15–16; CIOŁEK 2007: 54; DYMOWSKI 2011: 232 (no. N7); IDEM 2017: 130, 211.

obverse of a Roman coin, almost certainly a dupondius,¹⁵ it has a portrait of Nero facing left and a legend that reads IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX TR P P P on the obverse.¹⁶ The reverse is a sunken impression of the obverse.¹⁷ In contrast to the coin found at Łagiewniki Street, the artifact from Kiełpino Górne is well preserved. On the reverse, we can see traces of something having been fixed to a spot near the middle of this circular piece; this likely took the form of a soldered pin or wire. Similar objects, also modeled after ancient coins, have been found in various parts of Poland, but – and this may be important – they have only been found in lands that were part of the Prussian state in the 19th and 20th centuries and which then became part of the German state.¹⁸ Unfortunately, it is very difficult to determine what these artifacts were used for and when exactly they were made. It may be that they were metallic articles for decorating clothing or leather products. They can be dated intuitively to the 19th or early 20th century – at the latest, to the interwar period. At the present moment it is difficult to decide with any degree of certainty whether the item discovered at Łagiewniki Street is a Roman coin or an early modern coin-like object. It may be that a metallographic exam would help resolve our doubts with regard to this piece.

With regard to archaeological research, I know of no direct analogies for two other objects from Gdańsk that are reminiscent of ancient coins. Both were found before 2009 in unspecified locations within the city's limits. The first object is a lead artifact of indeterminate use (Pl. 1, Fig. 3), with a diameter of 26 mm and a weight of 10.14 g.¹⁹ This coin-like object, which can provisionally be described as a medal or token, depicts, on the obverse, the helmeted head of Athena looking right; on the reverse, it shows a lion turned to the right. It is clearly modeled on an ancient Greek coin – specifically, a stater from Velia²⁰ – but the obverse has the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, which refers to some ruler named Alexander and thus does not match the original. It may be that the artifact's producer had access to a stater from Velia or an imitation of one – at the same time, he may, for some reason, have wanted to come up with a “coin” of Alexander the Great, the king of Macedonia, but was unable to attain a coin of this ruler that could have served him as a model. In this way, a kind of hybrid was produced, one that combined elements of Greek coins – in this case ones with legends that do not match the images presented on

¹⁵ No asses with an analogous type of portrait and legend were struck.

¹⁶ *RIC I* 521 or similar.

¹⁷ We are led to conclude that this circular piece is not a Roman coin with a minting flaw (a so-called brockage) by virtue of its very smooth and sharp edges – indicating that it was almost certainly made with a punching tool – but also by virtue of its weight (which is much less than a Roman as or a dupondius from the reign of Nero).

¹⁸ DYMOWSKI 2017: 130–131.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*: 84–85, 194.

²⁰ MIELCZAREK 2006: 167.

them – issued in various parts of the ancient Greek world. This artifact is somewhat larger than an original stater from Velia, as a result of which we can conclude that we are not dealing with a cast copy made from a die attained by way of pressing an ancient coin. The second object, which has a diameter of 20 mm and a weight of 1.38 g, is a corroded metallic button – a so-called livery button (Pl. 1, Fig. 4) – whose eyes are missing. Probably embossed in steel, it is dated to the first three decades of the 20th century. The button shows a helmeted Athena or Minerva looking left.²¹ It may be that the model for the button was one of the many Greek coins showing, usually on the obverse, the image of Athena. This goddess was readily shown on coins by the Greeks, with the most well known issues being those from Athens²² and Corinth.²³ Minerva was also depicted in a similar type on the obverses of coins from the Roman Republic.²⁴

All of the examples cited above show that great care needs to be exercised when it comes to describing objects resembling ancient coins found in early modern contexts or ones that are suspected of being associated with the early modern period. At least since the Renaissance, following on a wave of interest in antiquity, there appeared a great number of coin-like objects modeled after Greek or Roman coins. We can only guess at the use to which some of these were put. It is easy to identify as reproductions objects made of lead or some other material that was not made use of when ancient coins were struck as part of regular issues, but it is much more difficult to identify a piece as having been made in the early modern era when it is reminiscent of an ancient coin in terms of the material used, the size of the coin, and the images depicted on it. This is especially true when we are dealing with a piece that is in a decrepit state, as is the case with the object discovered at Łagiewniki Street.

ABBREVIATIONS

RIC I = Sutherland, C.H.V. 1984. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. I (revised edition), London.

RRC = Crawford, M.H. 1974. *The Roman Republican Coinage*, vols. 1–2, Cambridge.

²¹ The same type of button – though better preserved – has been described in: DYMOWSKI 2016: 385–386, 389; IDEM 2017: 121–122.

²² MIELCZAREK 2006: 70.

²³ *Ibidem*: 60–62.

²⁴ E.g. on a denarius of the moneyer L. Rustius, from 76 BC (*RRC* 389/1).

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Roman coin of Nero or early modern coin-like object modeled on a coin of Nero, Collections of the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk.

Photo: A. Dymowski

Fig. 2. Early modern coin-like object modeled on a Roman coin of Nero, current location unknown.

Photo: A. Dymowski

Fig. 3. Early modern coin-like object modeled on Greek stater from Velia, current location unknown.

Photo: A. Dymowski

Fig. 4. Button modeled on ancient coin, current location unknown.

Photo: A. Dymowski



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