NOTAE NUMISMATICAE
ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XIV

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

Kraków 2019

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Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) during archaeological excavation in Egypt (1960/1961)
From the Center of Visual Documentation of Polish Science (Pedagogical University of Cracow)

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIV *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Polskojęzyczne wersje tekstów odnoszących się w większym stopniu do zainteresowań czytelnika polskiego są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1). W podobny sposób udostępniamy cały obecny tom oraz tomy archiwalne. Na stronie internetowej dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

11 czerwca 2019 r. w wieku 91 lat odszedł prof. dr hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), nestor polskiej numizmatyki, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, wybitny znawca numizmatyki antycznej, wykładowca i pracownik Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, wykładowca Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, członek wielu towarzystw i organizacji naukowych, w tym członek honorowy Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie.

Jego pamięci poświęcamy XIV tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*, czasopisma, które mocno wspierał jako autor i członek Komitetu Naukowego.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The Polish-language versions of the texts that are more relevant to the interests of the Polish reader can be found as PDFs on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1). Similarly, the whole of the present volume is available online, as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

Prof. Dr. Hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), the doyen of Polish numismatics, died on June 11, 2019, at the age of 91. For many years, he worked as an employee – and then as head – of the Numismatic Cabinet at the National Museum of Krakow. He was also a lecturer and employee of the Pedagogical University of Krakow, a lecturer at the Jagiellonian University, and a member of numerous scientific societies and organizations, having honorary membership status at the Krakow branch of the Numismatic Section of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Commission on Archaeology.

It is to his enduring memory that we dedicate volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, a journal that he helped to support as both an author and as a member of the Scientific Committee.

The Editors

Tom XIV
Kraków 2019
NOTAE NUMISMATICAE
ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

MICHAŁ ZAWADZKI
The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Remarks on Changes in the Iconography of Jagiellonian Crown Coins*

ABSTRACT: This article presents a number of issues connected to the iconography of Jagiellonian Crown coins. Up until the reform introduced by Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), only three motives were in use: the Eagle, the crown, and a Two-Barred Cross. The Two-Barred Cross appears on Crown coinage at the beginning of Vladislaus Jagiełło's (1386–1434) reign (later, only after the reform introduced by Sigismund I), on ternarii that were probably briefly struck, according to a later account by Justus Decjusz (c. 1485–1545), to differentiate this denomination from half-groschen. This symbol also appears on half-groschen that, besides having the Two-Barred Cross, have the letters F and W, which indicate the royal mintmasters, Mikołaj Falkinberg and Mikołaj Ungir. Here, however, its function was different: it is a symbol confirming that the mint was managed directly by the king. The reformed coinage of Sigismund I the Old introduced new motives: a monogram and the bust of the ruler, which would then dominate the appearance of Polish coins up until the end of the existence of the First Polish Republic.

KEY WORDS: Jagiellonian dynasty, Two-Barred Cross, half-groschen, ternarii

ABSTRAKT: *Uwagi o zmianach w ikonografii koronnych monet jagiellońskich*

Artykuł przedstawia kilka zagadnień związanych z ikonografią koronnych monet jagiellońskich. Aż do reformy Zygmunta Starego (1506–1548) operuje ona jedynie trzema motywami – Orłem, koroną i Podwójnym Krzyżem. Ten ostatni symbol pojawia się w mennictwie koronnym na początku panowania Władysława Jagiełły (1386–1434) (później dopiero po reformie Zygmunta I) na krótko bitych trzeciakach,

* The text below is a revised version of a speech of the same name given during a conference in Wrocław titled *Coin-Sign-Message* (May 13 to May 15, 2014).

prawdopodobnie, w myśl późniejszych słów Justa Decjusza (ok. 1485–1545), by jednoznacznie odróżnić ten nominał od półgroszy. Pojawia się również na półgroszach sygnowanych oprócz Podwójnego Krzyża także literami F i W, oznaczającymi królewskich mincerzy – Mikołaja Falkinberga i Mikołaja Ungira. Występuje tam jednak w innym charakterze – jako znak poświadczający administrację mennicy bezpośrednio przez króla. Zreformowane mennictwo Zygmunta Starego wprowadza nowe motywy: monogram oraz popiersie władcy, które zdominują wygląd monet polskich aż do końca istnienia Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Jagiellonowie, Podwójny Krzyż, półgrosze, trzeciaki

The iconography of the Crown coins of the Jagiellonian dynasty up until the monetary reform of Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548) is characterized by a rather limited set of motives. These were the Eagle, the crown, and a Two-Barred Cross. The arrangement of the two principle symbols – the Eagle and the crown – was partially drawn, with the lion obviously being replaced by an eagle, from Bohemian coins.[1] The symbolism of these three representations has been the subject of many studies, the newest and most complete being that by Zenon Piech, who presents them against a backdrop of other iconographical items – both seals and coats of arms.[2] The interpretation that he puts forward for the meaning of each of the particular symbols is to a large extent convincing, and while it is necessary for the sake of clarity to briefly mention certain parts of it, I will concentrate on a few select issues that up until now have not been brought up or definitively explained but which are important with regard to the origin of certain images, as well as the chronology and attribution of certain coins.

The Two-Barred Cross, in combination with the Eagle, is the earliest symbol to appear on the Crown coins of the Jagiellonian dynasty, and it is also the fastest to disappear, although it appears ephemerally on the ternarii of Sigismund I the Old. There is no doubt that on the earliest coins of Vladislaus Jagiełło (1386–1434), including the Lithuanian ones, the Two-Barred Cross appears as his personal coat of arms, reinforced with an additional letter W over the shield.[3] This scheme repeats the composition known from the Angevin coins of Louis the Hungarian (1342–1382) in a rather direct way;[4] at the present moment, however, I would like to concentrate

[1] PASZKIEWICZ 1995: 70–71; PIECH 2003: 118.

[2] PIECH 2003.

[3] *Ibidem*: 117, 122.

[4] Ryszard Kiersnowski (1998: 23) assumed that Jagiełło's Two-Barred Cross was a reproduction of the cross of the Hungarian Angevines. This opinion was supported by Borys Paszkiewicz (1995: 74), who added another interpretation, one that is not in conflict with Kiersnowski's: tied as it was to the symbolism of the relic of the Tree of the Holy Cross, the Two-Barred Cross was the sign of the abbey at Łysa Góra, the most important religious shrine during the age of Jagiełło, the result being that it was treated with particular deference by the king.

on two selected aspects concerning the appearance of the Two-Barred Cross, those that are tied to the coins that were introduced after the reform of Vladislaus Jagiełło, these being ternarii, half-groschen, and the reformed pennies.

As one of the three denominations in the monetary system reorganized by Vladislaus Jagiełło, ternarii, also known as small kwartniks, were first struck in 1393. That this is the case is indicated by the letter M, which denotes Monald, who did not add his initial to half-groschen (these coins were struck later). The question that could be posed here concerns the reason as to why it was decided that the obverse of these coins would have a Two-Barred Cross, since a different scheme was used on the pennies and half-groschen, that is, the crown and the Eagle. The way the most suggestive interpretation has it is that the Two-Barred Cross is directly related to the combination of the Two-Barred Cross and the Eagle on the earliest pennies. However, before commenting on this matter in more detail, it is necessary to move forward in time to the minting reform of 1526.

For the Two-Barred Cross makes a return on the coins of Sigismund I the Old, including on ternarii. These coins reproduce the scheme that was changed on half-groschen during the reign of Casimir Jagiellon (1447–1492), and thus, instead of it being on the obverse, as was the case during Jagiełło, the Two-Barred Cross ended up on the reverse, with the legend REGIS POLONIE. However, on the left we can see the letter S, and on the right, the letter P (SIGISMUNDUS PRIMUS); these letters clearly indicate the meaning of this emblem while at the same time reproducing the content of the legend on the obverse, which also refers to the ruler.[5] As noted by Piech,[6] this combination is rather strange, for the Two-Barred Cross would fit better with the royal name; he sets this atypical combination down to the need to bring together opposing legends and emblems. This partial lack of consistency as concerns the creation of this symbolism can also be seen on the Crown coins of other denominations, ones that were struck after the reform of Sigismund I the Old, in which the Eagle once again returns to the reverse of the coins while the crown is combined with the royal name. As mentioned above, certain formal changes were introduced to the die after Casimir Jagiellon began production of half-groschen once again. Namely, the legend on the obverse (during the reign of Vladislaus, a crown and MONETA WLADISLAI – now the Eagle and MONETA KAZIMIRI) changed places with the legend on the reverse (during the reign of Vladislaus, the Eagle and REGIS POLONIE – now, the crown and REGIS POLONIE), which was of rather large significance for the images – with regard to the Eagle, it became the chief

[5] MONETA SIGISMVNDI.

[6] PIECH 2003: 256.

symbol of the ruler and the state;[7] at the same time, the crown was "degraded" to the symbol of royalty.

Let us return, however, to the ternarii and the Two-Barred Cross. In the treatise *De monete cussione ratio (On the Striking of Coins)*, Decjusz (c. 1485–1545) lists as one of the seventeen kinds of coins circulating in Poland the old ternarii of Vladislaus Jagiełło, acknowledging that this coin, with regard to its weight and the alloy used, was very good, which is why most of them had already been melted down.[8] Decjusz devotes a great deal of attention to the emblems on the newly designed ternarii mentioned above; it is worth citing these comments in their entirety (based on the Polish translation by Dmochowski[9]):

> Trojaks[10] could have an Eagle on one side and a two-barred cross on the other. It is true that there are many kings and princes who use an eagle, but on coats of arms they are set against various colors, whereas on coins they are all white and easy to imitate, and even if one were to place a crown or a two-barred cross on the other side, it would not be possible to prevent them from being used in the Kingdom of Hungary or that of Bohemia. If one were to make use of an eagle and a crown, then, because they would be rather big and beautiful, it could happen that the poor would be deceived and trojaks would be used in place of half-groschen and among half-groschen. Thus, in my opinion, it would be safer to use a crowned S and on the other side a two-barred cross in order to differentiate trojaks from half-groschen and to make it hard for others to imitate them. This will depend on the judgment of His Majesty and on those who understand these things better.

As we can see, whether or not a particular denomination had a certain selection of images had as much to do with symbolism as it did with considerations of a utilitarian nature. The first of these considerations was a fear of foreign counterfeiting;[11] the second was the need to differentiate between ternarii and half-groschen. The recommendations of Decjusz mentioned above were only introduced in part – it was decided that the ternarii of Sigismund I the Old would copy, with only small modifications, the iconography of the same denomination of Vladislaus Jagiełło, and it made no difference that the symbol of a Two-Barred Cross as the coat of arms of the Jagiellonian dynasty had a different significance – one that was much stronger – during the age of Jagiełło.

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[7] PIECH 2003: 121. See also S. KUBIAK 1998: 121, footnote 2.

[8] DMOCHOWSKI 1923: 148.

[9] *Ibidem*: 152.

[10] In the original, Decjusz used the word *"ternarii"*; "trojaki" is a faulty translation by Dmochowski.

[11] In the Duchy of Teschen, the ternarii of Sigismund I the Old were imitated in a very interesting way: in a shield that was shaped in a similarly specific way, instead of a two-barred cross, a letter "T" was used, which is to say, half of such a cross. See PASZKIEWICZ 2012: 69.

There is no reason why Decjusz's opinion concerning the distinction between ternarii and half-groschen cannot be used in relation to the earlier coins of Vladislaus Jagiełło – the image of a Two-Barred Cross was placed exclusively on one denomination. Abolishing once and for all the incorrect hypothesis which held that Jagiełło's early pennies came from the Wschowa mint,[12] Borys Paszkiewicz called attention to the fact that they contain less silver than the new pennies with the images of the crown and the Eagle. It occurred to him that there was a need to differentiate between the old "bad" coins and the new "good" ones.[13] What thus emerges is a sequence in which the crown and the Two-Barred Cross are used to distinguish certain coins from others. The Two-Barred Cross is replaced by the crown for the first time in order to distinguish between issues of pennies of various value in terms of the metal content only to then find its way, a few years later, onto ternarii in order to differentiate them from half-groschen. Were this not to have been done, ternarii for the average user would have been somewhat smaller replicas of half-groschen, which would have made it harder to quickly distinguish between them, as Decjusz mentioned. With regard to the relation between half-groschen and pennies, there was no need to change the established scheme, that of the crown and the Eagle, for these coins were quite different with regard to both their diameter and their appearance – for there is no legend on the pennies. In the neighboring states at this time, these sorts of problems were settled in various ways depending on the monetary systems that were in place. It seems that they were not left to chance. During the period of Winrich von Kniprode's (1351–1382) reform of numerous denominations, diverse images with a complicated provenance were introduced (the images on halbscoters were a compilation of French and Meissen coins, whereas those on firling-firchens were a combination of coins from Flanders[14]). Such considerations are pointless with regard to coins from Bohemia – the differences in size were too great, and anyway peníze were already different from hellers (with regard to uniface coins, peníze had the Lion, while hellers had a crown).

Nor was it the case that Decjusz's suggestions were taken up when it came to the other crown denominations adopted in the standard of 1526, which is to say, pennies and groschen. Decjusz had proposed that two new elements be introduced: a crowned monogram and the ruler's bust.[15] *De facto* it was only on the pennies that a monogram was introduced; the bust was introduced on coins of a higher denomination somewhat later. A decision was made to forgo the striking of half-groschen, which Decjusz also wanted to provide with a monogram. The point of both of these elements, which is

[12] Thus, Piekosiński's attribution of these denarii to the Krakow mint (1878: 293). At the end of her career as an academic, S. Kubiak also agreed with this view. See KUBIAK 1998: 134, footnote 1; EADEM 2002: 464.

[13] PASZKIEWICZ 2010: 110–111.

[14] IDEM 2009: 219–221.

[15] DMOCHOWSKI 1923: 152.

to say, the monogram[16] and the bust, was to clearly identify the person of the king, a role that was not fulfilled very well by either the Two-Barred Cross or the Eagle. We should also interpret as fulfilling the same role the crowned legend in horizontal linear form which appeared on Crown groschen and on Prussian three groschen, where it completed the reverse and complemented the royal bust on the obverse. Prussian three groschen were used as a model for the three groschen – which would become very popular later on – of Stephan Báthory (1575–1586) and those of the Vasa kings.

Where were the designs taken from? The monogram appears earlier on the popular Bohemian coinage of Vladislaus II of Bohemia (1471–1516) – on pfennigs and hellers, though of course it could have been drawn from other objects associated with Sigismund I the Old. The origin of the bust, which appears on Crown and Prussian coins in 1528, is a little bit harder to identify. It is true, especially on large denominations, that rulers appear on numerous coins from the end of the 15th century, but they are shown from the waist up. Busts appear on French coins, but the inspiration should almost certainly be sought elsewhere. A similar image was found on the Austrian pfundners of Ferdinand I (1521–1564); although they first appeared in 1524, the issues from 1527 were definitely more numerous. It may be then that it was this particular coin that was used as the design for the bust on Prussian coins and Crown coins, though Witold Garbaczewski suggests that yet another coin was the prototype – the Saxon guldiner of Frederick III (1486–1525), i.e. Frederick the Wise.[17] It is worth noting, however, that it is not only foreign coins that shaped the iconography of the Polish coins that were reformed. The reign of Sigismund I was the beginning of new currents in the art of the individual portrait: the appearance of Renaissance forms displaying the realism of portrait art,[18] as well as – which, for the subject at hand, is important – the beginning of medals, works that are morphologically very similar to coins. It would seem that the five oldest works with images of Sigismund I – at one point attributed by Gumowski to Hans Schwarz (1492–c. 1521)[19] – are of particular importance.

Let us now turn to a discussion of the reverses of coins of large denominations. Thus, on three groschen we can see an Eagle – an element that is already well known. Ducats have a shield divided into five fields, and thus another new element.[20] Next to the Eagle in one field, we can see the Pahonia, as well as the Rus' coat of arms

[16] PIECH 2003: 326.

[17] GARBACZEWSKI 2016: 60.

[18] More in: MROZOWSKI 1997.

[19] GUMOWSKI 1917: 7, nos. 1–5. See also WIĘCEK 1989: 14–17; MORKA 2008.

[20] The quadripartite Eagle with Pahonia appears already in the 15th century; however, it did not spread until the beginning of the next century; this is almost certainly tied to the aim to introduce a real union of the Crown and Lithuania. See PIECH 2003: 235–236.

and that of Royal Prussia. What would seem to be the most interesting is the origin of the set of five coats of arms on szóstaks. Two of these coats of arms show coats of arms of houses: one, the coat of arms of the Habsburgs; the other, the Pahonia; and below an Eagle placed in the center is the Ruthenian Lion and the coat of arms of Royal Prussia. This composition was copied almost exactly from the opposite side of the medal attributed earlier to Hans Schwarz,[21] which is sometimes described as having been struck on the occasion of the king's sixtieth birthday.[22] The composition, however, has one exception – instead of the coat of arms of Royal Prussia, what we see on the medal is the coat of arms of the already non-existent Teutonic Order. Some of the first thalers must have served as an inspiration for the medalist – these would have been the guldengroschen of Maximilian I, struck in the Hall Mint in Tyrol.[23] The legend on the szóstaks – DEVS IN VIRTVTE TVA LETABITVR REX (O Lord, the king rejoices in Your strength) – is drawn from Psalm 20 in the Vulgate. The Psalms were closely tied to the ceremony of the coronation, but Psalm 20 (Vulgate) was intoned during the coronation of Charlemagne (768–814), which added to the symbolism of power on the szóstaks of Sigismund I.[24]

* * *

Following the last issue of the ternarii of Vladislaus Jagiełło, the Two-Barred Cross appeared on half-groschen – not, however, as the main symbol but as an image under the crown. To this day, the attribution and chronology of half-groschen with a Two-Barred Cross with the letters F or W under the crown has been the subject of numerous hypotheses (a rare version of these coins exists in which there is only a two-barred cross without any letters). In the literature there are two currents that offer an explanation. The first assumes that the letters F and W indicate the minters in various configurations. This is how the letters were interpreted by Gumowski[25] (an F for Mikołaj Follisfessil or Mikołaj Falkinberg; a Two-Barred Cross for Andrzej Czarnysza; a W for Hanusz Wenke), Piekosiński[26] (an F for Mikołaj Falkinberg; a W for Hanusz Wenke), and, more recently, Pawlikowski[27] (an F for Mikołaj Falkinberg; a W for Hanusz Wenke). The other current says that the letters F and W

[21] This is what Gumowski (1906: 60; 1917: 7, no. 5) says. At present, this attribution is not regarded as accurate – there is no evidence that Schwarz created the medal. See KASTENHOLZ 2006: 365. See also ZACHER, ŚNIEŻKO and ZAWADZKI 2019: 14–15.

[22] MORKA 2006: 318, 329; PIECH 2003: 306.

[23] MORKA 2006: 329, 335.

[24] *Ibidem*: 330.

[25] GUMOWSKI 1914: 273, 279.

[26] PIEKOSIŃSKI 1878: 70.

[27] PAWLIKOWSKI 2018: 184, 192.

indicate Wschowa written either in Polish or in German (Fraustadt), while the Two-Barred Cross is the coat of arms of Wschowa.[28]

We should regard the thesis which held for many years that half-groschen with a Two-Barred Cross under the crown were produced in the Wschowa mint as having been definitively refuted. There are a number of reasons for this: the character of the Wschowa mint and the fact that it belonged to the Silesian system,[29] as well as the typological analysis of the reverses of the half-groschen of Vladislaus Jagiełło. The combination of these factors clearly indicates that these coins were struck in Krakow. What then do the letters F and W mean, not to mention the Two-Barred Cross? The theory that attributes these letters to the minters is the only one that is possible to accept, although it does have its weak sides, the most important of which is the fact that before this (before 1406) the letters indicate the names of the minters and not their surnames, which is what researchers are attempting to use on the coins with a cross under a crown that come after this. Moreover, as S. Kubiak pointed out,[30] the letters P, N, S, and A indicated people who, in the sources, appeared as *magister monetae*, which cannot be said about Falkinberg, Follisfessil, or Wenke. The return to attributing the letters F and W to the minters is the correct solution; however, in order to fully explain the meaning of these letters and the image of the Two-Barred Cross we must once again interpret the written sources that are available to us and correlate them with the new findings concerning the chronology of the half-groschen. We know of two notes[31] in which two of the minters appear – Mikołaj Falkinberg and Mikołaj Ungir. It is significant that they are not described as *magistri monetae*, but the words used to describe them differ from the records concerning many other minters, who were described as *monetarius*. In the first note, which comes from 1412, Mikołaj Falkinberg was described as *monetarius domini Regis*. In the second, from 1413, the minters mentioned above appear together as *Nicolaus Ungir (...) et Nicolai Falkinberg monetarii domini nostri regis (...)*. Of fundamental importance is the fact that neither Falkinberg nor Ungir are described as regular workers at the mint (*monetarius*) but as the king's mintmasters (*domini nostri regis*). In this way, one can provide an answer to the question as to what these signs mean – the set of letters F and W and the symbol of the two-barred cross. Falkinberg and Ungir are described as the mintmasters of the ruler, Vladislaus Jagiełło, who is symbolized by the Two-Barred Cross. This symbol also indirectly confirms the fact that the mint was directly administered by the king.[32]

[28] KIRMIS 1892: 24; KUBIAK 1970: 29–32; more recently, KOZŁOWSKI 2018: 55–56.

[29] PASZKIEWICZ 2010: 118.

[30] KUBIAK 1970: 30.

[31] In *ibidem*: 233.

[32] The mint probably lost its private lease after 1406 (following the end of the production of the oldest group of half-groschen with letters), but the manner in which it functioned after this period remains unknown.

Why were the first letters of the minters' last names used on these half-groschen instead of the first letters of their first names as had been done before this? The explanation seems obvious. Not only did both of them have the name Mikołaj (*Nicolaus*), but it was also necessary to differentiate Falkinberg and Ungir from another Mikołaj, Bochner, who signed his half-groschen with the letter N. An additional complication is the existence of a small series of half-groschen, probably struck after 1407, also with the letter N. Who it was supposed to indicate – with regard to this series, we simply do not know.[33]

We have somewhat more trouble explaining why the letter W appears on half-groschen with the Two-Barred Cross and not the letter U (V) for Ungir. But even this can be explained in some way. The surname "Vngir" is an example of a toponymic surname; here, "Vngir" indicates a person from Hungary. The Polish equivalent of the surname "Vngir" is "Węgier", or rather "Węgrzyn".[34] The surname Węgrzyn appears in the sources in 1390 (Węgier *Wanger* already in 1360) as Wøgrzin or the more popular Wangrzin in 1398.

In his work, Zenon Piech noted that the process of "Jagiellonizing" the Eagle[35] – which, anyway, as a symbol of the Piast dynasty, could not have been accepted by the new ruler at once – took place already in the second half of Vladislaus Jagiełło's reign, which is evidenced by the significance of various non-monetary sources – above all, seals.[36] With regard to the half-groschen, this "Jagiellonization" of the Eagle occurred, as mentioned above, when the royal name was added to it, something that did not take place until the reign of Casimir Jagiellon. In his work, however, Piech made use of Stanisława Kubiak's attribution, and thus the theories about the Wschowa mint and the issue of half-groschen without any symbols under the crown after 1431, which led him to state that the significance of the Eagle in the symbolism of Vladislaus Jagiełło's power had an ambiguous chronology. Meanwhile, during the second half of Jagiełło's reign, half-groschen were not struck; they ended with the coins with the letters F and W. Thus, an interpretation of the iconography of non-monetary objects would be further confirmation of the thesis about an early (1414)[37] end to the issue of the half-groschen, which, after this period, would not be struck until the reign of Casimir Jagiellon.

[33] According to S. Pawlikowski (2018: 158), it indicated Mikołaj Follisfessil. But the only piece of evidence in favor of this attribution is the first letter of his name (Niclos), and in the only source note (see KUBIAK 1970: 231) about him the names of a few other minters appear in a similar manner. Thus it is unclear why Follisfessil would have put his initial on the half-groschen that were struck at that time.

[34] TASZYCKI 1983: 50 (the entry *Węgier*), 50–51 (the entry *Węgrzyn*).

[35] PIECH 2003: 121.

[36] *Ibidem*: 121, 206.

[37] See also PAWLIKOWSKI 2018: *passim*.

Analyzing the images on the coins of Jagiełło, especially the Two-Barred Cross under the crown, we can come to the conclusion that even small symbols located on coin dies had a particular origin and significance. Those that were tied to the person of the king and the symbolism of power were particularly important, and we cannot say that they were arbitrary. In this context, we need to present one more uncertain attribution, one that requires further consideration. Following Stanisława Kubiak, it is currently believed that the Jagiellonian pennies with the symbol of a double arch (principal) in the lower fields of the crown are the coins of Vladislaus III of Varna (1434–1444). In adopting this view, Kubiak assumed, as mentioned above, that Varna's predecessor, Vladislaus Jagiełło, resumed the striking of coins at the end of his life, in 1431, and that these were pennies of the group I/C, as well as certain types of half-groschen. However, the production of these coins ended in the second decade of the 15th century, and from the written sources we know, however, that coins were struck at the end of Jagiełło's life – but which ones? It would seem to be a mistake to believe that changes of this type – like the symbol in the lower fields of the crown (fleurs-de-lis in a double arch) – would be tied to the new ruler; in no way did this symbol identify the new king. It would seem that we can explain the transformation of this symbol more accurately by pointing to the need to differentiate this issue from other ones, especially if the earlier pennies had been struck almost twenty years earlier. We can see yet another argument in the large production of coins with a double arch – this had already been noticed by Piekosiński, who, however, mistakenly attributed these coins to Casimir Jagiellon.[38] In conclusion, the moment at which these pennies were struck almost certainly needs to be moved to the end of Vladislaus Jagiełło's reign.[39]

* * *

Despite the various small modifications of a utilitarian nature that were made to the 15th-century Crown coinage of the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty (the symbolic changes gradually seem to become less important), the iconographic transformations can, without a doubt, be described using the word immobilization. Immobilization is clearly visible in the coinages of the neighboring states. The Prague groschen, which was created at the beginning of the 14th century, was struck up until 1547. Teutonic schillings – despite the fact that changes were made to their appearance

[38] PIEKOSIŃSKI 1878: 105–106.

[39] It was in a similar tone that S. Pawlikowski (2018: 40) expressed his opinion. However, the attribution that he makes – that of Kubiak I/27 – to the final period of Vladislaus Jagiełło's reign does not, at the present moment, seem to be sufficiently justified, at least not until the order of the die reverses has been studied. These are rare coins which, when it came to the unusually intense production of coins with arches, may have been an accidental variant.

and denominations – were also produced for a long time in a similar form (but when Michał Kuchmeister (1414–1422) introduced better coins – schillings with a long cross – he somewhat improved their image in order to differentiate the good coins from the older, worse ones). There are a number of reasons for this lack of changes, but we should regard as the greatest the desire for stability and the fact that the recipients had become accustomed to an established, good currency, even if was oftentimes terribly ruined like in the case of the Prague groschen. In Poland, successive rulers did not change the appearance of the half-groschen – during the reign of Alexander (1501–1506) the image of the crown and that of the Eagle underwent cosmetic changes; Renaissance writing also gradually appeared, though initially it was only found on Lithuanian coins, beginning with the letters M and N. In turn, Sigismund I the Old placed the date on early issues of Crown half-groschen; he also introduced Renaissance lettering on them. However, the real revolution occurred with his reforms from 1526–1528, which established the canons of representations for the following decades.

Despite the fact that the minting reforms of Sigismund I the Old brought about a ground-breaking convention to the iconography, it is difficult to resist the impression that 15th-century coinage lost a great deal of its function as propaganda. In the 16th century, this role was partially taken up by other media, such as, for example, medals, as well as printed materials, which were becoming more widespread. Of course, the representations on coins continued to fit within a certain canon of symbols, but they took on a secondary function, and it is utilitarianism that began to dominate. This viewpoint is not changed by beautiful "medal-like" coins like Sigismund I the Old's trojaks, szóstaks, and thalers – which, anyway, were struck in small numbers. It is no accident that this peculiar immobilization of the die coincides with what is in reality the first mass production in the history of Polish coinage. The chief task of a coin die is that the coin be easy to identify: its denomination, the issuer, and the country that it comes from; the beauty of the coin is of secondary importance.

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Bohemia, Wenceslaus II (1278–1305), Prague groschen, 1300–1305.
Photo: A. Ring and L. Sandzewicz, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 2. Poland, Casimir the Great (1333–1370), Krakow groschen, after 1360.
© The Warsaw Numismatic Center, Auction 71, no. 161

Fig. 3. Poland, Louis I of Hungary (1370–1382), penny, Krakow, n.d.
© The Warsaw Numismatic Center, Auction 59, no. 104

Fig. 4. Poland, Vladislaus Jagiełło (1386–1434), Crown penny, 1387–1396, Krakow.
© The Warsaw Numismatic Center, Auction online, no. 172598

Fig. 5. Poland, Vladislaus Jagiełło (1386–1434), Crown penny, after 1410, Krakow.
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Fig. 6. Poland, Vladislaus Jagiełło (1386–1434), Crown ternarius, 1393–1394, Krakow.
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Fig. 7. Poland, Vladislaus Jagiełło (1386–1434), Crown half-groschen (with letter P), 1394–1396, Krakow. Photo: M. Zawadzki, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

PLATE 2

Fig. 8. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown ternarius, 1527, Krakow.
Photo: A. Ring and L. Sandzewicz, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 9. The Teutonic Knights, Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382), halbschoter.
Photo: M. Zawadzki, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 10. The Teutonic Knights, Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382), firchen (kwartnik).
Photo: M. Zawadzki, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 11. The Teutonic Knights, Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382), schilling.
Photo: M. Zawadzki, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 12. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown penny (with a monogram), n.d.
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Fig. 13. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown penny (no monogram), n.d.
Photo: A. Ring and L. Sandzewicz, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

PLATE 3

Fig. 14. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown groschen, 1529, Krakow.
Photo: A. Ring and L. Sandzewicz, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 15. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown three groschen, 1528, Krakow.
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Fig. 16. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), three groschen of the Prussian lands, 1532, Toruń. Photo: A. Ring and L. Sandzewicz, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 17. Bohemia, Vladislaus II Jagiellon (1471–1516), heller.
© The Warsaw Numismatic Center, Auction online, no. 105002

Fig. 18. Austria, Ferdinand I (1521–1564), pfundner (obverse), 1527, Vienna.
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Fig. 19. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown ducat, 1535, Krakow.
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Fig. 20. Poland, Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), Crown six-groschen, 1529, Krakow.
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Fig. 21. Austria, Maximilian I (1493–1519), guldiner (reverse), Hall in Tirol.
© The Warsaw Numismatic Center, Auction 19, no. 874

Fig. 22. Poland, Vladislaus Jagiello (1386–1434), Crown half-groschen (with letter F), 1412–1414, Krakow. Photo: M. Zawadzki, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

Fig. 23. Poland, Vladislaus Jagiello (1386–1434), Crown half-groschen (with letter W), 1413?–1414, Krakow. Photo: M. Zawadzki, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

PLATE 4

Fig. 24. Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548), medal (had been attributed to Hans Schwarz, 1492 – c. 1521), 1527, later cast. Photo: A. Ring and L. Sandzewicz, © The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum

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