

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVIII

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

Kraków 2023

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Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarow, 1880

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XVIII *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.

W roku 2023 przypada 120. rocznica Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Jego autorką była Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916) i jej synowie Jerzy (1861–1930) i Karol (1860–1904) Hutten-Czapscy. Dar hrabiego Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego (1828–1896), obejmujący znakomitą kolekcję numizmatów polskich i z Polską związanych oraz zaprojektowany według jego życzeń i dokończony przez wdowę pawilon muzealny, złożony na rzecz Gminy Miasta Kraków, czyli de facto Narodu Polskiego, miał olbrzymie znaczenie nie tylko dla jakości kolekcji numizmatycznej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, ale także dla rozwoju całościowo pojmowanej numizmatyki polskiej. Ponad 11 tysięcy polskich monet, medali i pieniędzy papierowych, wśród nich wiele unikatów lub rzadkości, stanowiło, stanowi i będzie stanowić podstawę dla organizowanych przez Muzeum wystaw, dla edukacji numizmatycznej i ekonomicznej szerokiej rzesz publiczności i wreszcie dla badań naukowych nad różnymi zagadnieniami z zakresu numizmatyki polskiej i nie tylko. Nie należy również zapominać o społecznym znaczeniu Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Poczynając od 1903 roku, do dziś całe pokolenia zainspirowanych nim darczyńców wzbogacały i wzbogacają kolekcję numizmatyczną Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie w pragnieniu nawiązania do czynu Czapskich czy też chęci uzupełnienia muzealnych zbiorów o obiekty, których hrabia nie posiadał. Zapatrzeni w jakość zbioru zbudowanego przez Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego nie możemy jednak zapomnieć o rzeczywistej ofiarodawczyni, wdowie po kolekcjonerze – Elżbiecie. Bez niej i jej decyzji fantastyczna, unikatowa kolekcja zapewne uległaby rozproszeniu, jak wiele innych zbiorów, a w każdym razie nie byłaby dostępna dla wszystkich zainteresowanych polską i światową numizmatyką. Dzięki jej decyzji o ofiarowaniu zbiorów męża Narodowi możemy dzisiaj podziwiać zbiory hrabiego w Muzeum jego imienia przy ulicy Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12 w Krakowie. Elżbieta poprzez dar realizowała plan zachowania kolekcjonerskiego dziedzictwa męża. Wspierała go zresztą w jego pasji już wcześniej. Pomagała mu przy pracach nad zbiorem, wykonując precyzyjne rysunki monet i medali. Pamięci hrabiny Elżbiety Hutten-Czapskiej pragniemy zadekować obecny tom naszego czasopisma.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 18 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 the 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.

The year 2023 marked the 120th anniversary of the Czapski Family Donation. The donation was made by Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska, née Meyendorff (1833–1916), and her sons Jerzy (1861–1930) and Karol Hutten-Czapski (1860–1904), and comprised Count Emeric Hutten Czapski's (1828–1896) magnificent collection of numismatic items from Poland and connected with Poland, as well as a museum pavilion designed according to his wishes and completed by his widow. It was given to the Municipal Commune of Krakow, i.e. de facto to the Polish Nation, and was of enormous significance not only for the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow, but also for the development of Polish numismatics in general. Including many rare and unique pieces, the more than 11,000 Polish coins, medals, and paper money that comprise the collection have been, and will continue to be, the basis for exhibitions organised by the Museum for the numismatic and economic education of the general public, as well as research into various problems in Polish numismatics and beyond. The social significance of the Czapski Family Donation should not be forgotten either. Since 1903, generations of donors inspired by this act have contributed to the enrichment of the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow in their desire to follow in the footsteps of the Czapski family or to supplement the museum's holdings with objects that the Count did not have. While admiring the quality of the collection assembled by Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, however, we cannot forget the actual donor, his widow Elżbieta. Without her and her decision, this fantastic, unique collection would probably have been dispersed, like many other collections, and in any case would not have been accessible to all those interested in Polish and world numismatics. Thanks to her decision to donate her husband's holdings to the nation, today we can admire the Count's collection in the eponymous museum at 12 Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego Street in Krakow. Through the donation, Elżbieta pursued a plan to preserve her husband's collecting heritage. In fact, she had already supported her husband in his passion previously, assisting him in his work on the collection by making precise drawings of coins and medals. We would like to dedicate the present volume of our journal to the memory of Countess Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska.

The Editors

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Rogowiec (Hornsberg/Hornschloss) Castle. A New Look at the History of the Stronghold on the Silesian-Bohemian Borderland in Light of Numismatic Material

ABSTRACT: The article presents the results of archaeological excavations carried out in the years 1988–1992, 2005–2010 and 2012–2015 in the area of Rogowiec Castle (Grzmiąca village, Głuszycza municipality, Wałbrzych district, Lower Silesia province), in the context of the discovered numismatic material dating back to the late 13th as well as 14th and 15th centuries. The discovered specimens made it possible to revise previous findings concerning the chronology of the stronghold's various development stages and the cultural and social context of its functioning as well as allowing for the determination of the exact time of its destruction.

KEY WORDS: Rogowiec, development stages, coins from castle excavation, heller, Prague groschen

ABSTRAKT: *Zamek Rogowiec (Hornsberg/Hornschloss). Nowe spojrzenie na dzieje warowni ze śląsko-czeskiego pogranicza z perspektywy materiałów numizmatycznych*

Artykuł prezentuje wyniki archeologicznych badań wykopaliskowych przeprowadzonych w latach 1988–1992 oraz 2005–2010 i 2012–2015 na terenie zamku Rogowiec (Grzmiąca, gm. Głuszycza, woj. dolnośląskie) w kontekście odnalezionych materiałów numizmatycznych pochodzących ze schyłku XIII oraz XIV i XV wieku. Pozyskane zabytki pozwoliły zrewidować dotychczasowe ustalenia dotyczące chro-

nologii poszczególnych faz rozwoju warowni, kontekstu kulturowego i społecznego jej funkcjonowania, a także pozwoliły na dokładne określenie czasu jej zniszczenia.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Rogowiec, fazy rozwoju, monety z wykopalisk zamkowych, halerze, grosze praskie

Almost two hundred years of the history of Rogowiec Castle (Hornsberg/Hornschloss) was closely connected with the political history of Silesia, and the beginning and end of its existence were marked by events that were significant for the region. The structure was erected at the end of the 13th century as one of the castellanies in the growing domain of Bolko I (1278–1301) – from 1291/3 lord of Książ Castle (Fürstenberg/Fürstenstein) – and marked the southern range of the ruler’s state, on the border with the Kingdom of Bohemia. The destruction and ultimate abandonment of the stronghold took place at the end of the 15th century, as a consequence of the war for the Silesian succession that the kings of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Casimir of Poland and Vladislaus II of Bohemia, fought against Matthias Corvinus, the ruler of Hungary.

Archaeological works in Rogowiec Castle were conducted by the University of Wrocław in 1988–1992, 2005–2010 and 2012–2015. The effects of the research have been discussed in a number of publications that focus primarily on the presentation of architectural relics.¹ The results also inspired a discussion on the function of castles in the war of the Silesian succession.² Some categories of movable historical artefacts discovered at the site were also analysed, including metal products and coins.³ Announcements on some numismatic discoveries were also published⁴ and materials from the first years of the research appeared in the Inventory of Polish Coin Finds from the years 1146–1500.⁵

Due to the environmental conditions at Rogowiec Castle, no organic materials have survived that would allow for precise dating, e.g. such as those based on dendrochronology. Therefore, apart from a rather limited amount of written information on the castle’s history, the only source that allows a reasonably precise dating of the stronghold’s stages of development are coins discovered within its walls. The relatively numerous finds from research conducted in 2005–2015 allow us to revise the chronology of the development stages to date and formulate new proposals regarding the cultural and social context of its functioning.

¹ BOGUSZEWICZ, DWOJAK and ZIÓŁKOWSKI 1990; EIDEM 1991; BOGUSZEWICZ 1993; IDEM 2010b: 172–173, 179, 216–219.

² BOGUSZEWICZ 2010a; IDEM 2018.

³ DWOJAK 1992.

⁴ SUCHODOLSKI and JENSEN 1992: no. 8; PIEŃKOWSKI 1993: 198–199; BUTENT-STEFANIAK 2010: 278–279.

⁵ KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.

LOCATION

Rogowiec Castle is located in the village of Grzmiąca (Donnerau), municipality of Głuszyca (Wüstegiersdorf), Wałbrzych (Waldenburg) district, Lower Silesia Province, approximately 3 km from the present-day border between Poland and the Czech Republic. It should be emphasized that this is one of the few places where the borderline between Silesia and Bohemia has not changed since the end of the 13th century, when it was determined based on the watersheds.⁶ The stronghold is located in the Suche Mountains, a range of the Stone Mountains in the Central Sudetes. The defensive structure occupies the massif of Rogowiec, rising to 864 m above sea level, which makes it the highest situated castle in Poland (Fig. 1).

The top of the mountain is occupied by the upper castle, while the outer ward, the lower castle and additional structures are located on the slopes. The structures include a quarry, a dry moat in the pass separating the Rogowiec massif from the neighbouring Jeleniec (Lange-Berg) peak (902 m.a.s.l) and a drainless depression – a pond used as a water intake for the castle. There is also a network of roads surrounding the Rogowiec massif, some of which are undoubtedly of medieval origin (Fig. 2).

OUTLINE OF THE CASTLE'S HISTORY

The first two references to Rogowiec Castle date back to 1292 and 1299, when *Reinskocastellanus in Hornsberch* was mentioned as a witness in Bolko I's documents establishing the Cistercian monastery in Krzeszów (Grüssau).⁷ The next piece of information about the stronghold comes from the *Chronica principum Poloniae*. According to this source, in 1316 Rogowiec Castle became a base for Duke Władysław of Legnica (Liegnitz), who – together with a local knight (name unknown) – was reported to raid the lands of his brother, Bolesław of Brzeg (Brieg).⁸ Despite the incident, however, the stronghold remained in the hands of the Świdnica/Fürstenberg (Schweidnitz/Fürstenberg) Piasts and played an important role as a ducal administration centre and a stronghold on the Silesian-Bohemian border.⁹ In 1353, in a settlement concluded between Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg and Duke Bolko II of Świdnica, Rogowiec Castle was mentioned among the most important fortresses of the Świdnica-Jawor Duchy.¹⁰ The stronghold was also mentioned on the diploma of Charles IV from 1364, enumerating the possessions to be inherited by Wenceslaus IV, the emperor's son by his marriage to Anna of Świdnica.¹¹

⁶ BARCIAK 1992: 66–67.

⁷ SUB 6: nos. 65, 418.

⁸ MPH 3: 518; BOGUSZEWICZ 2010b: 142–143.

⁹ BOGUSZEWICZ 2010b: 149–152.

¹⁰ RŚ 2: nos. 888–889.

¹¹ LUB 1: 508, no. 20.

After Bolko II's death in 1368, Rogowiec Castle still retained its status of a ducal stronghold under the administration of burgraves. In 1369 and 1388 this function was performed by *Nickel Bolz*, who was also a steward at the court of Duchess Agnes of Austria (d. 1392).¹² After her death, when the Świdnica-Jawor Duchy was incorporated into the Bohemian Crown, in 1404 King Wenceslaus IV granted the castle and its adjacent areas to Jan Krušina of Lichtenburk, the starost of the Świdnica Duchy.¹³ After the death of the Bohemian magnate in 1407, the castle returned to the royal domain, which is evidenced by the speeches made during Świdnica court proceedings by burgrave *Franzke von Adelingspach* in 1409¹⁴ and two other statements by an unnamed burgrave in 1423.¹⁵

Despite the location of the stronghold on the Silesian-Bohemian border, written sources are silent about its role in the battles of the Hussite wars. After 1423, the castle was taken over by members of the Schellendorf family.¹⁶ Their connections with Rogowiec Castle are confirmed by a 1429 mention of *Herr Wentzel von Schellendorff dem Hornisberge gessen*.¹⁷ After his death, the estate was taken over by his sons Hans and Nikolaus. In 1466, they expanded their paternal estate by the pledged estate of the castle Książ/Fürstenstein.¹⁸ At that time Rogowiec became part of the Książ estate and disappeared from the Schellendorfs' titulary in favour of the more prominent Książ. Soon, the Schellendorfs divided their property, and Książ with Rogowiec most probably remained with Hans.¹⁹ Both brothers belonged to the party supporting the interests of Bohemian kings in Silesia, first George of Poděbrady and then Vladislaus Jagiellon. Consequently, he found himself in opposition to the city of Wrocław (Breslau), which had its own politics, and then to Wrocław's ally, the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus.²⁰

It was during the war for the Silesian succession in the second half of the 15th century that Rogowiec Castle was besieged, captured, destroyed, and finally abandoned. In all probability, it took place during the expedition of Silesian and Lusatian estates to Książ, led in 1482 by the Silesian starost Georg Steine.²¹ Archaeological excavation uncovered traces of a battlefield within the castle area as well as coins, the chronology of which confirms the date of the stronghold's

¹² *Ibidem*: 513, no. 23; GOLIŃSKI 2020: no. 83.

¹³ Lbch 3: no. A 48.

¹⁴ HÄUFLER 1932: 2.59–60, no. 27.

¹⁵ GOLIŃSKI 2020: no. 308–309.

¹⁶ KERBER 1885: 140.

¹⁷ SOMMERSBERG 1732: 102–103.

¹⁸ CGD: 1517–1518, no. 403.

¹⁹ KERBER 1885: 13–14.

²⁰ BOGUSZEWICZ 2010a.

²¹ KERBER 1885: 19–20.

capture. An additional argument supporting this claim is Georg Stein's letter to King Matthias Corvinus dated 25th April 1483, which mentions depriving the Schellendorfs of the castles of Książ and Rogowiec and them being taken over by the Bohemian Crown.²² The reference to Rogowiec Castle as *burgstal Hornstein* indicates that the castle was already in ruins.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTLE

Stage I

The onset of the first stage of the castle's development can be associated with its foundation by Duke Bolko I and the construction by castellan Reinsko in 1292–1299 (Fig. 3). Built of local quarry stone, it had a triangle-like outline and an area of about 700 m², limited on the eastern side by a vertically descending rock wall. In its northeast corner, a cylindrical bergfried (a fighting-tower not designed for permanent habitation) with a diameter of about 10 m was erected, embedded in the defensive perimeter. Along the eastern section of the defensive perimeter, a palace building measuring about 7 × 25 m was erected over a rocky fault. The upper castle was accompanied by an outer rampart enclosing the area of the later "outer ward" and limiting the narrow space of the "bailey", i.e. the original form of the "lower castle".

Stage II

The second stage of development is hypothetically dated to the second half of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century and associated with the complete reconstruction of the upper castle and the creation of a masonry defensive perimeter of the outer ward (Fig. 4). The works may have been necessitated by the damage caused by mass movements of unstable ground and the war John and Charles of Luxembourg's fought against Bolko II of Świdnica in 1345.²³ After the tower broke into three parts, it was reduced to the height of the perimeter wall, its foundation strengthened, and the defensive perimeter of the upper castle was rebuilt. The palace building was removed and replaced by a new residential structure in the northeast corner of the upper castle. Its lower storey consisted of a cellar carved in the rock and covered with a stone barrel vault. The cellar was accessed by a ramp from the southeast. On the southern and western sides, the walls of the aboveground part of the building were probably built as a half-timbered structure. In the north-eastern corner of the building and at the same time of the perimeter wall, a spiral

²² LUB 1: 532–533, no. 42.

²³ KASPRZAK et AL. 2016; BOGUSZEWICZ 2010b: 149–152.

staircase within a cylindrical bay led from the ground to the first floor. During this time, the perimeter wall of the outer ward was also erected, which surrounded the upper castle from southwest to northeast. The space between the walls was closed by a gate leading to the “bailey” and fortified by a horseshoe-shaped tower. There was also a perimeter wall reaching the gate that ran along the edge of the rock cliff and connected this structure with the south corner of the upper castle.

Stage III

The third stage of the castle’s development was connected with the great reconstruction carried out in the 15th century of the entire castle area, whose most spectacular effect was the creation of an extensive lower castle (Fig. 5). The broad scope of the construction works had probably been anticipated from the beginning of the project, which is evidenced by the building of a lime kiln below the outer ward gate. In addition, a quarry was opened for construction purposes on the southern slope of the castle hill.

In the upper castle, a small courtyard replaced the destroyed cellared building, and a new building was constructed on the top of the hill, which may have taken the form of a residential tower with a quadrilateral outline. Additionally, the higher parts of the wall were added and the outer ward gate building wall was extended.

The former castle’s “bailey” area was considerably expanded, contributing to the extension of the lower castle, thanks to the erection of the peripheral wall on the hillside, which at the same time served as a retaining wall. The difference in ground level within the defensive perimeter was levelled with a variety of loose material from the stronghold area. The lower castle’s main gate was located on its northern edge. The interior buildings of the lower castle consisted of a house adjacent to the southeast corner of the peripheral wall, measuring 6 × 12 m, probably with a tie beam structure. To the west, there was a smithy, standing partially over the buried remains of the lime kiln. By the northern wall of the half-timbered building on the courtyard side there were a hearth and a shelter supported by pillars. At this time, a kitchen building with an extensive quadrangle hearth operated on the opposite, north side of the lower castle.

COIN FINDS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE CASTLE’S STRATIGRAPHY

Stage I

The first stage of the stronghold, dated from the end of the 13th century to about the middle of the 14th century, coincides with the chronology of several coin finds. Unfortunately, the extensive transformation of the upper castle resulting

from numerous rebuilds, natural erosional processes and exploratory excavation conducted since the mid-19th century render the stratigraphic position of some specimens uncertain, postponing the discussion of such coins to the section devoted to Stage II of the castle's development.

The stratigraphic position of two coins discovered during the research conducted in the lower castle much less problematic, as they were deposited before the expansion of this part of the stronghold (Fig. 3). The coins lay in the cultural layer forming on the eastern slope of the hill from the garbage thrown outside the castle in the period spanning from the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 15th century. An exceptional find among these was a Danish pfennig (Cat. no. 10) dated to the first half of the 14th century, discovered in material excavated during test excavations 1/88. It can be assumed that the coin arrived at Rogowiec Castle as a result of personal contacts of the stronghold's resident with the territory of the Kingdom of Denmark.²⁴ In the immediate vicinity of this find, in trench II/14, an Upper Silesian bracteate of Lichynia (*Lichinia*) type II (Cat. no. 33) was discovered. The coin, with an unspecified representation, was dated to the beginning of the 14th century.

Stage II

Within the buildings, in the cultural layers formed during the second stage of the upper castle development, several numismatic items were found in a secondary deposit (Fig. 4). They include one of the oldest coins discovered, the Opole (Oppeln) bracteate (Cat. no. 1) of Bolesław I (1280/2–1313). The specimen lay in the rubble of the upper castle perimeter wall, which was in operation from the second half of the 14th century to the end of the 15th century. However, having taken the stages of the castle's development described above into consideration, one may assume that it was abandoned within the perimeter wall during the first stage of the construction at the end of the 13th century and was only then transferred to the new, Stage II wall, built from the stone from the demolished walls of older structures.

A similar stratigraphic position was that of a button-shaped bracteate (Cat. no. 11) (Duchy of Opole?) referring to the Lichynia II/12 type from the first half of the 14th century, which was discovered within the eastern section of the perimeter wall of the upper castle. In light of the ongoing discussion concerning the chronology of this type of bracteates, we should side with researchers dating them to the early 14th century.²⁵

Within trench VIII, covering the area of the cellared building from the second stage of the development of the upper castle, several coins were discovered, some

²⁴ PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 26, fn. 14.

²⁵ IDEM 2021: 470.

of which had undoubtedly found their way to a secondary deposit. This is certainly the case of the Wenceslaus II's parvus (Cat. no. 12) dated 1300–1305, found in the ruins of a basement vault of a building erected in the second half of the 14th century. The discrepancy between the dating of the coin and the chronology of the building can be easily explained by the presence of older artefacts in the fill of the haunch, containing loose material from cultural layers previously formed on the castle grounds. Given such a background, the Wrocław heller of Charles I (IV) (Cat. no. 15), discovered on the north-eastern plot and dated 1360–1378, fits much better into the chronology of the cellared building.

Wenceslaus IV's Wrocław heller (Cat. no. 4) from the years 1417–1420 may be connected with the end of the second stage of the stronghold's existence. It was discovered in trench VI, which covered the coping of the perimeter wall at its junction with the cylindrical bergfried and the adjacent outer ward area. Given the fact that the coin was discovered in a layer made of stone rubble and formed during the demolition of the castle at the end of the 15th century, it may be assumed that the specimen lay in a secondary deposit. If one were to take for granted the deposition of the heller in the wall during the reconstruction of the defensive perimeter, then the time of the coin's issue would constitute the *terminus post quem* for Stage III of the expansion of the upper castle.

Stage III

In the upper castle (Fig. 5), in the south-eastern part of the courtyard that replaced the collapsed cellar, a Świdnica bracteate with a boar's head (Cat. no. 6) was discovered in a layer of stone rubble (Fig. 4). The chronology of the coins dated 1414–1448 corresponds with the proposed periodization of the development stages of this part of the stronghold. Two more coin finds can also be attributed to this stage, but rather owing to their accepted chronology than their stratigraphic position, which was uncertain. On the top of the hill from the heap of trench I, a heller of the Oleśnica (Oels) Duke Konrad V (Cat. no. 5) issued in Wołów (Wohlau) between 1432–1439 was excavated. Nearby, inside a building identified as a residential tower, a bracteate heller of the Duchy of Głogów-Koźuchów (Glogau-Freystadt) (Cat. no. 2) minted in Koźuchów (Freystadt) around 1430–1440 was found in a mixed layer.

In the lower castle, due to the large-scale engineering works carried out, in several cases the stratigraphic position of some of the finds may indicate that they were deposited even before the expansion in the 15th century or that they lay in a secondary deposit. This explanation may be correct in the case of John of Luxembourg's Prague groschen (Cat. no. 39) found in plot 1 of trench IV, in the bottom of level 35 as well as Charles I's (IV) heller (Cat. no. 31) dated 1346–1350, discovered within a layer created during the backfilling of a sinkhole that had formed

as a result of the subsidence of the usable level along the perimeter wall. It should be added, however, that much younger coins were discovered in the top of the same layer, which can be identified with the period of use of the lower castle courtyard. These included a heller issued by the Dukes of Racibórz (Ratibor) Nicolaus VI and Wenceslaus III (Cat. no. 32) in 1428–1456, and an Oleśnica heller issued by Konrad V or Konrad VII (Cat. no. 23) from ca. 1430–1449.

The majority of coin finds from the lower castle do not raise similar doubts, resulting from discrepancies between the chronology of the cultural layers and the dating of coins. This is the case of the Świdnica bracteate heller with a boar's head (Cat. no. 8) which was discovered in trench XI on the level of the Lower castle main gate, in a layer below the level of the gate passage road. The beginning of the coins' issues, dated 1414–1448, should be assumed as the *terminus post quem* for the erection of the gate, which meant the expansion of the lower castle. This corresponds with the finding of another coin in trench XI, an Austrian pfennig (Cat. no. 9), of a type issued from the end of the 14th to the first half of the 15th century, which was deposited in a layer forming the stone-paved surface of the gate passage. Both finds indicate that a major expansion of the lower castle took place as late as the first half of the 15th century.

Most of the coin finds from the lower castle come from its south-eastern area. One of the first coins discovered there was a Świdnica bracteate heller (Cat. no. 3), which was found in a layer of stone rubble coming from the ruins of the perimeter wall, scattered on the surface of the courtyard. The formation of this layer is linked to the destruction of the castle at the end of the 15th century, but one may assume that the coin was found in a secondary deposit, having been originally deposited in the wall during its construction in the first half of the 15th century.

On the level of the building identified as a smithy, two Prague groschen of Wenceslaus IV from the beginning of the 15th century (Cat. nos. 13–14) were discovered in the humus layer. On the same level above the smithy's remains, a Legnica heller (Cat. no. 16) issued between 1425 and 1448 was found. After the lime kiln was demolished, perhaps at the time of land levelling, an Austrian pfennig of Albrecht V (1411–1439) (Cat. no. 17), minted after 1427 was deposited in the ground. Inside the vast building located in the south-eastern corner of the lower castle, only one coin was discovered, a Moravian penny – peníz (Cat. no. 21) probably issued in Jihlava around 1450.

Further coin finds from the southern part of the lower castle occurred within the extensive courtyard, where a single usable layer (Fig. 2) was created. Within its confines, in front of the smithy shed, a Wenceslaus IV heller (Cat. no. 24) dated 1417–1420 was found near a Bohemian heller (Cat. no. 22) which may date to 1453–1471. In the top of the same usable layer in the courtyard adjacent to the

smithy to the northeast, a 15th century Saxon pfennig from Altenburg (Cat. no. 30) was discovered. In the southern corner of the courtyard a small group of four coins was found (Cat. nos. 25–28): three Legnica hellers with St Peter, dated 1425–1448, and a Wrocław heller issued by Sigismund of Luxembourg or his successors, struck in the years 1420–1448. Nearby, another Legnica heller (Cat. no. 29) was discovered. In the south-western part of the courtyard, in the humus level, a Prague groschen of Wenceslaus IV (Cat. no. 40), dated 1380–1400, was discovered. Owing to the long circulation of these coins, its stratigraphic position is rather unquestionable. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that it occurred here in a secondary deposit, as it was found at the base of a talus cone formed from material dumped from the upper castle.

In the northern part of the lower castle, at the back of the kitchen on the western side, a group of three small Silesian coins was discovered within a layer formed during the last stage of the castle's use (No. 2), consisting of a Legnica heller (Cat. no. 34) with St. Peter, a Wrocław heller (Cat. no. 35) dating from 1430–1448, and an Oleśnica heller belonging to Konrad V Kantner or Konrad VII the White (Cat. no. 36) minted in ca. 1430–1449. Nearby, but on the humus level, a heller attributed to Duke Jan I of Racibórz (Cat. no. 37) and dated to ca. 1377–1381 was discovered. The coin probably found its way there with the debris of the upper castle, lying under the rock cliff and forming a talus cone, whose base also overlapped with the edge of trench III, where the coin was discovered.

Numismatic finds made in the lower castle courtyard on the level of the south-eastern section of the peripheral wall are of fundamental importance for the dating of the end of the stronghold's functioning. From the humus level a Matthias Corvinus Wrocław groschen (Cat. no. 41) was excavated, dated to around 1483.²⁶ In the same plot, a Wrocław half-groschen of Matthias Corvinus (Cat. no. 42), dated ca. 1470/1, was found in the usable layer. The chronology of Matthias Corvinus's groschen clearly indicates that the siege, capture and destruction of Rogowiec Castle took place in 1482 during the military expedition of Silesian and Lusatian estates to the castle of Książ. In view of the fact that the above-mentioned document indicating that the castle remained in ruins (*burgstal Horrnstein*) is dated to April 25, 1483,²⁷ one can only suggest postponing the beginning of the issue of this type of groschen to at least 1482.

Not less important is the discovery of a whole assemblage of coins within the lower castle, on the basis of which it is possible to propose a new dating of the construction of this part of the stronghold, which opens the third stage of the defensive structure's functioning. Among the coins identified with the period of use of this part of the castle, the oldest ones are Prague groschen of Wenceslaus IV,

²⁶ *Ibidem*: 268, 1.20.

²⁷ LUB 1: 532–533, no. 42.

discovered inside the smithy and in the courtyard, dated 1380–1400 and after 1410 (Cat. nos. 13, 14, 40). However, due to the long period of their circulation, these finds are not useful for determining when this section of the stronghold was erected. A more precise date for the great expansion can be established based on change coins. The oldest of these is the Wenceslaus IV's Wrocław heller (Cat. no. 24), dating from 1417–1420, followed by hellers (Cat. nos. 28, 35) from 1430–1448. Similarly dated and the most common in the castle (6 specimens discovered) were Legnica hellers with St. Peter, issued in 1425–1448. The specimens represent the oldest horizon of coins lost in the lower castle area, the beginning of their issue coinciding with the period in which its expansion began. It seems that the completion of the construction works within the stronghold took place no earlier than at the beginning of the issue of two coins discovered in the levelling layer no. 23 near the perimeter wall, dated 1428–1456 and 1430–1449. Therefore, it seems most appropriate to date the great expansion of the castle to the end of the 1420 and beginning of the 1430. Perhaps we should also connect the completion of the stronghold with the financial settlements of its owner Wenzel von Schellendorf. In this case, the *terminus ante quem* could be January 22, 1438, when he made a financial settlement with Lazar the Jew before the Świdnica city council and the latter acknowledged the receipt of a certain sum of money.²⁸

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COINS DISCOVERED DURING ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT ROGOWIEC CASTLE

During the archaeological excavation carried out within the castle of Rogowiec, a total of 40 various coins and two round, small coin-like plates without a trace of a die – probably blanks – were discovered. The coins' state of preservation varies, most of them were badly damaged, covered with patina and chipped; some were preserved only in fragments or in a few pieces, which is typical for numismatic specimens from archaeological finds. After conservation, most of the coins are well or nearly well legible. Almost all the specimens have been identified, although a few may raise some doubts, and only one, due to its poor state of preservation – most likely a 15th century Silesian heller – remains unidentified.

As mentioned above, the coin finds from Rogowiec Castle have already been partially published. In this paper we present the entire material collected, although we must add that some of it (coins acquired between 1988 and 1992) is unavailable for research today and we rely solely on earlier publications and the highly incomplete photographic material (Fig. 6). The remaining coins are currently stored at the Ossolineum.

²⁸ KERBER 1885: 141.

The coins from Rogowiec Castle form a chronologically relatively compact group, commencing with specimens dated to the end of the 13th century. The assemblage begins with coins dated to the end of the 13th century (type Fbg 1021 Opole bracteate, Cat. no. 1) and ends with the youngest coins of Matthias Corvinus, issued in the 1470s and 1480s. By far the most dominant of these are various Silesian issues, comprising at least 26 specimens in total. Out of these, 6 coins are very common Legnica hellers with St. Peter, from the first half of the 15th century (Cat. nos. 16, 25–27, 29, 34), and five others are Wrocław hellers, minted during the reign of the Bohemian kings: Charles I, Wenceslaus IV and Sigismund of Luxembourg between 1362 and 1448 (Cat. nos. 4, 15, 24, 28, 35). Also from Wrocław came the groschen and half-groschen of Matthias Corvinus (Cat. nos. 41–42). There are also three Świdnica bracteate pfennigs with a boar's head, issued in the early 15th century (Cat. nos. 3, 6, 8); two Oleśnica hellers from ca. 1430–1449 (Cat. nos. 23, 36) and single specimens of hellers from Wołów (Cat. no. 5), Głogów (Cat. no. 2) and Racibórz (Cat. nos. 32, 37), almost all of them date to the first half or around the mid-15th century and only the Racibórz coin numbered 37 is older and comes from the late 14th century. The Opole and Upper Silesia coinage is represented by three bracteates from the period between the end of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century (Cat. nos. 1, 11, 33).

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Relatively numerous (7 specimens) were also Bohemian coins issued in the 14th and 15th centuries, constituting an interesting assemblage, although with a predominance of common Prague groschen of Wenceslaus IV (Cat. nos. 13, 14, 40) and John of Luxembourg (Cat. no. 39). Apart from these, coins relatively rare in Silesia were found within the castle: a Prague parvus of Wenceslaus II from the early 14th century (Cat. no. 12) and a two-sided heller of Charles I dating to 1346–1350 (Cat. no. 31), as well as a badly damaged one-sided heller from around the middle of the 15th century (Cat. no. 22). There was also a small coin identified as a one-sided Moravian coin, minted around the middle of the 15th century in the Jihlava mint (Cat. no. 21).

Foreign coins in the Rogowiec finds are represented by a few more specimens: two Austrian pfennigs from the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century and the first half of the 15th century (Cat. nos. 9, 17), one 15th-century damaged Saxon Altenburg pfennig (Cat. no. 30) and one early 14th-century Danish copper coin (Cat. no. 10). In addition, two common modern times German coins from the first half of the 19th century from Brunswick and Prussia were also discovered (Cat. nos. 18, 19) – undoubtedly accidental losses from that period, probably left behind by tourists visiting Rogowiec Castle at the time.

The oldest of the coins found in Rogowiec is an Opole bracteate featuring a cross with trefoil-ended arms, which can be dated to the end of the 13th century or to the

years 1280/2–1313 and the reign of Duke Bolesław I (Cat. no. 1). This specimen belongs to a very rare type known mainly from the poorly identified Upper Silesian second hoard from Lichynia. The bracteate from Rogowiec is unfortunately not available for research today. It is known only from a poor quality photograph, in which the radial rim around the cross ending with leaves is clearly visible. Similar coins occurred in the Lichynia II hoard, as type Lichynia II/20.²⁹ Borys Paszkiewicz classified this coin as type Lichynia II/19, differing only slightly from type II/20 in the plain rim and a point placed in the middle of the cross.³⁰

There is also a slightly younger coin, dating probably to the early 14th century. This is an unspecified, small, probably also Upper Silesian bracteate (Cat. no. 33), similar to coins of the Lichynia group, especially the type Lich II/22.³¹ This specimen is characterized by a plain margin bulge, inside of which there is a triangular figure similar to a stirrup, gate or a rafter. Another button-shaped bracteate, with an eagle (Cat. no. 11), is similar in type to another specimen from the Lichynia II/12 hoard; it also has some analogies among the finds from Wrocław – Nowy Targ square. This specimen can be classified as the coinage of the first half of the 14th century.³² A similar time horizon is also represented by an interesting artefact, rarely found at archaeological sites – a Bohemian parvus of Wenceslaus II (Cat. no. 12), minted around 1300–1305. Coins of this type were also found in the Lichynia II and Wrocław-Nowy Targ hoards.³³

Also dated to the first half of the 14th century is a Danish copper coin issued between 1319 and 1332 by the Roskilde mint during the reign of Christopher II (1320–1333) (Cat. no. 10).³⁴ This find is a completely exotic phenomenon not only for Silesia, but also for almost entire Poland. Small Danish coins from the 14th century are sporadically found in Pomerania, e.g. in Gdańsk (Danzig)³⁵ and Kołobrzeg (Kolberg).³⁶ Slightly more common in Poland are 15th-century Danish coins, found also in significant numbers in hoards from Łódź (Lodz), Kostrzyn nad

²⁹ HUFNAGEL 1941: Fig. 1.20.

³⁰ PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 149.

³¹ HUFNAGEL 1941: Fig. 1.22; PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 275, Fig. 14.102.

³² The chronology of the eagle bracteate may provoke some debate. The coin is not available for research and the only photograph, taken before the conservation, is of poor quality. What prevents precise attribution is also the fact that all the dukes of the Opole line used the eagle in various forms in the 14th and 15th centuries, differing little from each other. However, the similarity to bracteates from Lichynia may indicate an older date, and the presence of an analogous coin in the material from Wrocław-Nowy Targ confirms its dating to the first half of the 14th century (DUMA and PASZKIEWICZ 2018: 470).

³³ HUFNAGEL 1941: 135, Fig. 2.1; DUMA and PASZKIEWICZ 2018: 473, no. 2.2.2.

³⁴ MANSFELD-BÜLLNER 1964: no. 556.

³⁵ PASZKIEWICZ 2013: 127, 132, 135–136, nos. 37, 60, 102, 107.

³⁶ KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: 137, no. 12.

Odrą (Küstrin) and Przytoń (Pritten).³⁷ The Prague groschen of John of Luxembourg (Cat. no. 39), minted between 1311 and 1327, representing a type of coin common in Silesia in the 14th century, may also be dated to the first half of the 14th century.

Among the oldest coins found at the castle of Rogowiec, an interesting phenomenon can be observed, namely, the predominance of Upper Silesian coins, including the presence of relatively poorly identified and rare specimens, with those analogous to coins known from the lost hoard from Lichynia, as well as the appearance of very rare numismatic items, such as a Danish copper coin or a Bohemian parvus of Wenceslaus II.

Among the discussed artefacts, the mid- to late-14th century period is represented by two hellers minted by Charles I (IV): Cat. no. 31, a Bohemian heller from 1346–1350 and a slightly younger Wrocław heller from 1360–1378 (Cat. no. 15). The typical two-sided hellers of Charles I (IV) of this type (Bohemian lion/St. Wenceslaus with a beaded halo) from Kutná Hora are rare and interesting coins, minted for a relatively short time at the beginning of Charles's rule, just for 4 years (1346–1350).³⁸ In Silesia, heller finds of this type have so far only been discovered sporadically,³⁹ they are also not often found in Bohemia.⁴⁰ Wrocław hellers of emperor Charles IV, minted after 1360, are among the coins that occur somewhat more frequently at archaeological sites in Silesia, but they are not common finds either. They are known, among others, for Gromnik (Rummelsberg) Castle, Legnica-Old Town or Ryczyn (Ritschen).⁴¹

Particularly noteworthy among the 14th-century coins found at Rogowiec Castle is an Upper Silesian heller, probably issued by Duke John I (1365–1381) in the mint in Racibórz around 1377–1381 (Cat. no. 37). It is an extremely rare coin; it was unknown to Ferdinand Friedensburg, and Boris Paszkiewicz only described it for the first time in 2017.⁴² The coin also appears in his most recent work, titled “Silesiorum Moneta”, where it was attributed to the minting of Duke John I of Racibórz and dated to the second half of the 14th century. The coin has no archaeological context, as it appeared in the antiquarian trade in late 2016.⁴³ Thus, the heller from Rogowiec is the first artefact of this type to come from planned excavation; although not the best preserved, it has fairly legible obverse and reverse legends. The obverse

³⁷ *Ibidem*: 419.2; 492.III.21; 634.2.

³⁸ CASTELIN 1953: 74–76.

³⁹ Gliwice (Gleiwitz), PIENKOWSKI 2002: 196; 2 unpublished finds from the Bytom-Małgorzatka (Beuthen) site. The authors thank Mr. Paweł Milejski for the information.

⁴⁰ HÁNA 2005: 111–115.

⁴¹ PASZKIEWICZ 2008: 143–145, Fig. 1a; PIENKOWSKI 2002: 195–196; BUTENT-STEFANIAK and BARAN 2017: 209–224, nos. 31–32.

⁴² PASZKIEWICZ 2017: 216.

⁴³ IDEM 2021: 376, 12A.2.

features a faintly legible image of a small helmet with buffalo horns in a continuous rim and the letters on the margin: MONETA:DV.[NP.?.]OP. On the reverse, there is a beautiful eagle with a margin inscription reading: MONETA:DV.[IO.OI](?).

The late 14th and early 15th centuries are represented in the Rogowiec material by very common Prague groschen of Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), minted around 1380–1400 (Cat. no. 40) and slightly later, after 1407 (Cat. nos. 13, 14) as well as relatively rare Wrocław hellers with a square frame, the so called “pseudo quadruple strike” (Fbg 553/97), featuring the Bohemian lion and the Lower Silesian eagle and belonging to the youngest issues of this ruler from ca. 1417–1420 (Cat. nos. 4, 24).⁴⁴ Finds of this type of coins are known from excavation at Stare Kolnie (Alt Köln) Castle, district of Opole, from Ryczyn, Wrocław, Środa Śląska (Neumarkt) and Zielona Góra (Grünberg) and three hoards.⁴⁵ Rare 15th-century heller types have appeared somewhat more frequently in recent years as a result of carefully conducted excavation of late medieval and modern sites where metal detectors were used.

Similarly dated to the first half of the 15th century may be two Austrian pfennigs, one issued after 1427 in the Vienna mint (Cat. no. 17) and the other probably slightly older, even from the end of the 14th century or the first half of the 15th century (Cat. no. 9). Finds of Austrian coins from that period in Silesia are only sporadic, as their circulation was rather typical for Moravia.⁴⁶ On the other hand, a one-sided Moravian coin (Cat. no. 21), representing a similar horizon of occurrence and use, may be dated to around 1450.

Most of the coins discovered in Rogowiec castle represent the first half of the 15th century, as this is the period the group’s most numerous components – Silesian hellers – come from. The most common among them are the issues of Legnica with St. Peter from the years 1425–1448 (Cat. nos. 16, 25–27, 29, 34), Świdnica bracteates with a boar’s head (Cat. nos. 3, 6, 8) and the so-called *Rempelhellers*, i.e. common Wrocław hellers with the head of St. John (Cat. nos. 28, 35) from the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg or his successors, minted from 1430 onwards,⁴⁷ as well as two relatively well-preserved Oleśnica hellers from 1430–1449 (Cat. nos. 23, 36), both of the same type, with a walking eagle on the obverse and an eagle with a band in a shield on the reverse.⁴⁸

Among the more interesting and rarer types of 15th-century coins from this site are the relatively rare Wenceslaus IV hellers from Wrocław with a square frame of the Lion/Eagle type (Fbg 553/97) (Cat. no. 24) and the Głogów bracteate heller

⁴⁴ IDEM 2000a: 78, 12; LECH and PASZKIEWICZ 2012: 262, 263.

⁴⁵ LECH and PASZKIEWICZ 2012: 263; BUTENT-STEFANIAK and BARAN 2017: nos. 35–38.

⁴⁶ PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 83.

⁴⁷ IDEM 2000a: 8–10; IDEM 2008: 148–149.

⁴⁸ FRIEDENSBURG 1931: 307.

from the mint in Koźuchów with a Gothic letter M (Cat. no. 2), once attributed by researchers to Ziębice (Münsterberg)⁴⁹ and today, following a sensational discovery of a die in Głogów, identified as the product of the mint in Koźuchów.⁵⁰ Bracteates of this type were issued by Duke Henry IX (1423–1467) in the period ca. 1430–1440. Other interesting coins from the 15th century include the relatively popular city heller of Wołów with an ox head (Cat. no. 5), attributed to the issue of Conrad V (1412–1439) from the years 1432–1439 and a beautiful Upper Silesian heller with a frog-mouth helm with buffalo horns from the mint in Racibórz (Cat. no. 32), minted in ca. 1428–1456. The latter heller represents a type relatively common both in hoards and as single finds.⁵¹ It is known from collections of several Polish museums (e.g. in Chorzów), 13 copies of this type were owned before the war by the Silesian Crafts Museum in Wrocław, others were in various private and public collections abroad, e.g. Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. Another 10 specimens were found in a recently discovered Silesian hoard from an unknown locality.⁵²

The youngest coins from Rogowiec include the relatively well preserved and rarely found in excavation sites Wrocław groschen and half-groschen of Matthias Corvinus, issued in the 1570s and 1580s (Cat. nos. 41, 42). The former, minted ca. 1483, being the youngest variety of the Wrocław groschen struck by Matthias Corvinus, features a representation of St. John the Baptist with a shawl and the Paschal Lamb, on the left of which there is a letter W and a trefoil (clover) is the youngest coin discovered at the site.⁵³

Undoubtedly, also noteworthy is the discovery within the lower castle area, in the courtyard by the wall of the residential building, of a small group of coins consisting of four very common Silesian hellers stuck together: three Legnica coins with St. Peter and a Wrocław *Rempelheller* of Sigismund of Luxembourg (Cat. nos. 25–28). This find confirms both the chronology of both coin types and their co-occurrence in the monetary circulation in Silesia in the first half of the 15th century.

Another interesting phenomenon observed during the research at Rogowiec castle is the invariable presence of a large group of Upper Silesian coins that appear among the oldest bracteates minted as early as the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century and the youngest hellers dating from the mid-15th century, including at least two very rare types. This would be indicative of (political and economic?) permanent relationships of the castle inhabitants with the Upper Silesian area for a longer period of time, at least of 150 years. The occurrence of foreign coins,

⁴⁹ IDEM: 337.

⁵⁰ GROCHOWSKA-JASNOS 2016: 25–40.

⁵¹ PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 214–215, no. 61.

⁵² IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 30.

⁵³ IDEM 2021: 99, 268.

including some very rare ones, also testifies to the existence of permanent, various, far-reaching, international contacts of the area of the Duchy of Jawor-Świdnica not only with other Silesian territories but also with foreign countries, such as Austria, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia or even as distant and exotic as Denmark. One could also assume the presence of mercenaries, for example from Saxony or Denmark, in the castle garrison. The numismatic material from Rogowiec seems to confirm Borys Paszkiewicz's hypothesis concerning the particular character of castle finds, among which one can find unique and even exotic pieces.⁵⁴ Surprising in this context is the lack of Polish coins, especially the Jagiellonian pennies, commonly found at that time in Silesia, either in hoards (e.g. in Wrocław, Kazimierz Wielki Street) or in castles, e.g. Gromnik.⁵⁵

The historic numismatic material excavated at Rogowiec Castle has many similarities with the set of coins discovered at Gromnik Castle in Lower Silesia, discovered in 2005–2008. At least 16 coins were found in the castle, mainly Silesian hellers from the 14th and 15th centuries, most of which have their counterparts in the numismatic material from Rogowiec: these are Legnica hellers with St. Peter, a bracteate heller from Głogów and Żagań (Sagan) with the letter M, Wrocław hellers of Charles I and Sigismund of Luxembourg and an Opole bracteate heller with an eagle. Similarly to Rogowiec, the youngest finds from this site are two modern, this time 20th-century, German coins.⁵⁶

A similar assemblage of finds can also be identified in the numismatic material recovered from the archaeological excavation carried out on the grounds of the castle in Vizmburk, Trutnov district in the Czech Republic, where a total of 55 coins dating from the 14th to the first half of the 15th century were found. Among them, apart from dominant Bohemian issues (Prague groschen, hellers, peníze), as many as 13 Silesian hellers were found (mainly Świdnica hellers with a boar's head, two *rempellhellers*, Wrocław hellers of Wenceslaus IV, one specimen from Cieszyn and one unspecified Silesian heller). Also found were pfennigs from Lower Austria and Styria, as well as small Bavarian, Saxon, and Moravian coins.⁵⁷

Analogies are also provided by coins discovered in a cemetery in Ryczyn, containing a large number of 15th century Silesian hellers and including many types known also from Rogowiec (Wrocław hellers of Charles I, Sigismund of Luxembourg or Wenceslaus IV, Legnica hellers with St. Peter or Świdnica hellers with a boar's head) and 15th century Bohemian hellers.⁵⁸ Those numerous numismatic

⁵⁴ IDEM 2000b: 104; IDEM 2008: 153.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*: 155–156.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*: 143–159.

⁵⁷ NEMEŠKALOVÁ-JIROUDKOVÁ 2007: 11–27.

⁵⁸ BUTENT-STEFANIAK and BARAN 2017.

finds from another late-medieval archaeological site in Silesia constitute new research material for studies on the chronology and range of occurrence of particular coin types as well as on the issues related to money circulation in Silesia in that period. The finds from the castles of Gromnik and Vízmburk and the cemetery in Ryczyn allow us to define the set of coins commonly used in everyday trade and monetary circulation in the 14th and 15th centuries in Silesia and eastern Bohemia, which can be used for further comparative studies on the monetary circulation of various regions of Central and East-Central Europe.

The analysis of the coin finds from Rogowiec castle also made it possible to clarify the dating of various stages of the stronghold's development. On this basis, the proposal that the construction of the castle began in the early 1290s was confirmed. In this case, there is full agreement with the written records and the archaeological material discovered during the excavations, which make it possible to date the first stage of the castle's functioning to the period from the end of the 13th century to the middle of the 14th century. The dating of the beginning of the second stage of the castle's expansion poses certain problems. The intensive transformations of the upper castle taking place as early as in the Middle Ages as well as the excavation works conducted here since the second half of the 19th century that disturbed the original stratigraphy of the structure make it impossible to date the development of this part of the stronghold more accurately. However, based on archaeological findings including the coin collection and, to a lesser extent, indirect information from written records, the second stage of castle development can be dated to the second half of the 14th – early 15th centuries. Against this background, the analysis of the coins discovered in the lower castle area brought sensational results. It allowed us to propose that the great expansion of the stronghold, identified with the third stage of its functioning, took place in the late 1420s and early 1430s. The finds also allowed us to establish the date of the siege and destruction of the stronghold as the year 1482. The determination of the year of the destruction and abandonment of Rogowiec Castle plays an important role in dating the artefacts discovered there, and due to the numerous traces of the siege, it is also of paramount importance for reconstructing the military technology in Silesia in the second half of the 14th century.

In light of the new proposal regarding the date of the last reconstruction of the stronghold to the late 1420s/30s, the reason for the implementation of the conservative form of fortification during its development, relying on the use of the natural defensive qualities of the terrain and the multiplication of successive fortification lines, becomes understandable. This would confirm the already well-established idea that defensive structures adapted to the use of firearms began to

be built in Silesia only after the Hussite wars.⁵⁹ This type of weaponry appears in this region in strongholds built around the mid-15th century, as was in the case of Edelštejn Castle.⁶⁰ A similar phenomenon can also be associated with Gromnik Castle, where defensive structures adapted to the use of firearms were probably only created during its reconstruction in 1446.⁶¹

CATALOGUE OF COINS FROM ROGOWIEC CASTLE

EXCAVATION FROM 1988–1990

Silesia

1. Upper castle, trench II, second meter of the ramp corridor leading to the basement – C 1, layer B, depth 0.7 m. scattered perimeter wall, 1988; Rg. Inv. no. 14/88a, Figs. 6f, 7

Duchy of Opole, Bolesław I (1280/2–1313), type Lich. II/19–20 bracteate, mint in Opole

Obv.: a cross with trefoil-ended arms in a radial rim, with a ball at the arms' intersection
AR; 16.9 mm; weight (?); edge chipped

Ref.: Fbg 1021; PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 97, 149; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 45; BOGUSZEWICZ, DWOJAK and ZIÓŁKOWSKI 1990: 350; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 1

2. Upper castle, trench IV, quarter D, mixed layer, 13.07.1988; Rg. Inv. no. 10/88c, Figs. 6d, 8
Głogów and Żagań Duchy, Henry IX the Elder (1423–1467), bracteate heller, mint in Koźuchów, ca. 1430–1440

Obv.: wide capital letter M, plain margin bulge

AR; 15.0 mm; weight (?)

Ref.: Fbg 725/377; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.7; BOGUSZEWICZ, DWOJAK and ZIÓŁKOWSKI 1990: 346, 349; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 2; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: 41–52, no. 7; IDEM 2008: 145–150; GROCHOWSKA-JASNOS 2016: 34–36; PASZKIEWICZ 2021: 303, 4A.12

3. Lower castle, perimeter wall, demolition layer, humus, 08.08.1988; Rg. Inv. no. 35/88t, Figs. 6c, 9
Świdnica-Jawor Duchy (Fürstenberg), bracteate heller, mint in Świdnica, 1414–1448

Obv.: boar head to the right

AR; 13.0 mm; weight (?)

Ref.: Fbg 704/358; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.4; BOGUSZEWICZ, DWOJAK and ZIÓŁKOWSKI 1990: 356; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 4; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: no. 32; IDEM 2021: 285, no. 2.8

⁵⁹ ROZPĘDOWSKI 1975; GOLIŃSKI 1995; BOGUSZEWICZ 2010a: 23, 33.

⁶⁰ KOUŘIL, PRIX and WIHODA 2000: 76–78.

⁶¹ GOLIŃSKI 2007. This episode is most probably connected with the creation of a system of earthen defensive works with corner bastions on a circular plan (<http://www.odgrodudozamku.pl/stanowisko/zamek-gromnik-zamek>, accessed on 10 September 2021).

4. Upper castle, trench VI, layer 2 (c), 06.08.1991; Rg. Inv. no. 91/89b, Figs. 6a, 10
Duchy of Wrocław, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), heller, mint in Wrocław, 1417–1420
Obv.: Bohemian lion in a square frame, outside letters: [W R] W [R]
Rev.: eagle in a square frame, outside letters: [M] W – M – W
AR; 12.5 mm; weight (?)
Ref.: Fbg 553/97; BOGUSZEWICZ, DWOJAK and ZIÓŁKOWSKI 1991: 292; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.6; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 9; PASZKIEWICZ 2000a: 7–16; IDEM 2016: no. 33; IDEM 2021: 260, no. 1.6
5. Upper castle, trench I, heap, 09.07.1989; Rg. Inv. no. 113/89b, Figs. 6e, 11
Duchy of Oleśnica, Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439), heller, mint in Wołów, 1432–1439
Obv.: ox head in a rim
Rev.: eagle with a band on a shield in a rim
AR; 12.0 mm; weight (?)
Ref.: Fbg 674/309; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.3; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 8; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: no. 20; IDEM 2021: 324, no. 5.3
6. Upper castle, trench VIII, layer 4 (c), 08.08.1990; Rg. Inv. no. 32/90d; Fig. 6b
Świdnica-Jawor Duchy (Fürstenberg), bracteate heller, mint in Świdnica, 1414–1448
Obv.: boar head to the right
AR; 14.0 mm; weight (?)
Ref.: Fbg 704/358; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.4; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 5; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: no. 32; IDEM 2021: 285, no. 2.8
7. Lower castle, architectural test excavations at rock spur (outside the defensive perimeter of the lower castle, west slope of the hill), humus and demolition layer, 09.08.1990; Rg. Inv. no. 64/90c, 1990
Silesia (?), heller (?), probably 15th century
Obv.: illegible
Rev.: as above
AR; 12.3 mm; weight (?); corroded; chipped
Ref.: KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.9; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 3

EXCAVATION FROM 1991

Silesia

8. Lower castle, trench XI, layer 3a, road surface, or its foundation within the gate, 15.08.1991; Rg. Inv. no. 23/91e, Fig. 6i
Świdnica-Jawor Duchy (Fürstenberg), bracteate heller, mint in Świdnica, 1414–1448 (?) or Ladislaus the Posthumous (1439–1447)
Obv.: barbarised boar head to the right
AR; 13.0 mm; weight (?); chipped
Ref.: Fbg 704/358; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.5; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 6; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: no. 32; IDEM 2021: 285, no. 2.8 or 2.9

Austria

9. Lower castle, trench XI, layer 3a, road surface, or its foundation within the gate, 1991; Rg. Inv. no. 23/91e, Figs. 6h, 12

Austria, from Albrecht III (1365–1395) to Albrecht V (1411–1439), one-sided pfennig, mint in Vienna, 14th/15th or the first half of 15th century⁶²

Obv.: shield of arms of Austria in a trefoil (horizontal stripe), letters AL – B (?) around, leaves outside

AR (?); 15.0 × 16.0 mm; hardly legible coin

Ref.: KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.2; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 7; SAURMA-JELTSCH 1892: nos. 250–253; RADOMĚRSKÝ 1967: 131–133; ALRAM, WINTER and METLICH 1997: nos. 2–3, 6–10

Denmark

10. Lower castle, survey 1/88-91, heap with material excavated from the lowest layer, 30.07.1991; Rg. Inv. no. 37/91d; Fig. 6g

Denmark, Christopher II (1320–1333), pfennig, mint in Roskilde, 1319–1332

Obv.: letter S, 2 pellets (balls)? on the sides

Rev.: stylised crown and 2 pellets? (balls?)

Cu; 15 × 18 mm; 0.91 g

Ref.: MANSFELD-BÜLLNER 1964: no. 556; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.1; DWOJAK 1992: Tab. 1, no. 10;⁶³ SUCHODOLSKI and JENSEN 1992: 147, no. 8

EXCAVATION FROM 1992

Silesia

11. Upper castle, trench VII/89/92, during cleaning of the central part of the perimeter wall, 27.07.1992; Rg. Inv. no. 17/92, Fig. 13

Silesia, unspecified duchy (Opole?), button-shaped bracteate, similar to Lichynia II/12 type, first half of the 14th century

Obv.: eagle without crown looking to dexter with 2 feathers in each wing, without legs, tail ending with 3 feather, plain margin bulge

AR; 14.4 × 15.5 mm; 0.323 g

Ref.: Fbg 483; PIENKOWSKI 1993: 198–199, Fig. 3; KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: no. 348.8;⁶⁴ PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 266; DUMA and PASZKIEWICZ 2018: 470, no. 50

⁶² According to KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998: 348.2 – Albrecht IV, Patient (1395–1404).

⁶³ No photograph of the coin.

⁶⁴ According to KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998 this is a type Lichynia I/5 bracteate, dated to the first half of the 14th century.

EXCAVATION FROM 2005–2007

Bohemia

12. Upper castle, trench VIII/06, plot N-W, layer 5, 17.07.2006; Rg. Inv. no. 30/06, Fig. 14
Wenceslaus II (1278–1305), parvus, mint in Kutná Hora, ca. 1300–1305

Obv.: crown in a beaded rim, on the margin: + W : I : I : R[BOE]M

Rev.: Bohemian lion in a beaded rim, on the margin: + [PRAG] PARVI

AR; 13.5 mm; 0.420 g; chipped, weakly struck, corroded

Ref.: HÁSKOVÁ 1991: 37–39; CASTELIN 1953: 34, types 1–2; BUTENT-STEFANIAK 2010: 278–279, no. 1

13. Lower castle, trench I/07, plot 2, humus, 04.07.2007; Rg. Inv. no. 10/07, Fig. 15
Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Prague groschen, mint in Kutná Hora, after 1410

Obv.: crown, around it: +W[EN]CEZLAVS::T[ER]CIVS; on the outer margin:

+DEI:GRATIA[RE]X:BOEMIE (double struck)

Rev.: Bohemian lion, on the margin: ★[+]★GROSSI★PRAGENSES

AR; 26.5 mm; 2.674 g; worn, bent coin

Ref.: HÁNA 2003: types IX–X or XIV; HÁSKOVÁ 1991: 126–129; BUTENT-STEFANIAK 2010: 278–279, no. 2

14. Lower castle, trench I/07, plot 2a, humus, 14.07.2007; Rg. Inv. no. 18/07, Fig. 16
Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Prague groschen, mint in Kutná Hora, after 1407

Obv.: crown, around it: +WE[N]EZLAVS:TERCIV[S]; on the outer margin: [RE]X:BOEMIE

Rev.: Bohemian lion, on the margin: ★+ ★GROSS[I:PRAGENSES]

AR; 27.5 mm; 2.112 g; badly struck, burned, corroded coin

Ref.: HÁNA 2003: type XIV; HÁSKOVÁ 1991: 126–129; BUTENT-STEFANIAK 2010: 278–279, no. 3

Silesia

15. Upper castle, trench VIII, Plot NE, layer (stratigraphic unit) 3, 12.07.2005; Rg. Inv. no. 4/05, Fig. 17

Duchy of Wrocław, Charles IV (1346–1378), heller, mint in Wrocław, 1360–1378

Obv.: Bohemian lion with a double tail rampant to the left on the margin: [+K]ROL'BOH'RE

Rev.: Lower Silesian eagle with a band, on the margin: MONETA[WRAT]

AR; 12.5 mm; 0.236 g; coin with patina

Ref.: Fbg 551/95; BUTENT-STEFANIAK 2010: 278–279, no. 4; PASZKIEWICZ 2021: 258, no. 1.3

16. Lower castle, trench I/07, plot 2b, humus, 17.07.2007; Rg. Inv. no. 24/07, Fig. 18
Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elizabeth (1436–1449), heller, mint in Legnica, 1425–1448

Obv.: bust of St. Peter $\frac{3}{4}$ to the right with a key; beaded rim

Rev.: eagle with a band

AR; 17.0 mm; 0.281 g; patinated

Ref.: Fbg 588/177; BUTENT-STEFANIAK 2010: 278–279, no. 5; PASZKIEWICZ 2001: 80–81; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 17; IDEM 2021: 293–294, no. 3.14

Austria

17. Lower castle, from clearing the heap of trench XII/91 (material filling the inside of the lime kiln), 16.07.2007; Rg. Inv. no. 18/07, Fig. 19

Albrecht V (1411–1439), pfennig, mint in Vienna, after 1427

Obv.: in the trilobe: Austrian coat of arms, around it letters AL – B – t, 3 stars outside

Rev.: quadruple strike

AR; 15.5 mm; 0.448 g; coin chipped

Ref.: ALRAM, WINTER and METLICH 1997: 109–185, no. 6; BUTENT-STEFAK 2010: 278–279, no. 6

Brunswick

18. Lower castle, runoff layer inside the remnants of the lime kiln (trench XII/91), 13.07.2007; Rg. Inv. no. 5/07, Fig. 20

Charles (George IV, King of Great Britain) (1815–1830), 1/12 thaler, mint in Brunswick, 1812

Obv.: a horse galloping to the left, on the margin: GEORG.IV.D.G.R.TV.T.N.CAROLI.D.BR.ET.L.

Rev.: in the field: *12* / EINEN / THALER / *1821* / C.v.c.; on the margin: CLX EINEFEINE MARK CONVENT.M.

AR; 22.0 mm; 2.780 g; coin worn, with patina

Ref.: ARNOLD, KÜTHMANN and STEINHILBER 1982: 83, no. 32; BUTENT-STEFAK 2010: 278–279, no. 7

Prussia

19. Upper castle, trench VIII, NW plot; cut fill, 05.07.2006; Rg. Inv. no. 24/06, Fig. 21

Frederick William III (1797–1840), 1 pfennig, unknown mint, 1821–1840

Obv.: crowned coat of arms of Prussia, around it: 360 EINEN THALER

Rev.: completely obliterated, illegible

Cu; 17.5 mm; 1.273 g; patina

Ref.: ARNOLD, KÜTHMANN and STEINHILBER 1982: 227, no. 35; BUTENT-STEFAK 2010: 278–279, no. 8

20. Lower castle, trench I, plot 2a, layer 2 bottom/layer 6 top, interior of building, 01.08.2007; Rg. Inv. no. 38/07, Fig. 22

Burned sheet or blank without die marks

Cu with addition of silver (?); 14.6 mm; 0.304 g

Ref.: BUTENT-STEFAK 2010: 278–279, no. 9

EXCAVATION FROM 2012

Moravia and Bohemia

21. Lower castle, trench II, plot 2, layer 2 top, 20.07.2012; Rg. Inv. no. 20/12, Fig. 23

One-sided penny, the co-called peníz, mint in Jíchlava, ca. 1450 (?)

Rev.: crowned eagle with the head turned left, with 5 feathers on wings, a shield of arms on the chest

Change coin; 14.2 mm; 0.249 g; perforated

Ref.: RADOMĚRSKÝ 1967: 125–126, no. 20

22. Lower castle, trench II, plot 2b, layer 2 top, 23.07.2012; Rg. Inv. no. 22/12, Fig. 24
One-sided Bohemian heller, Ladislaus the Posthumous (1453–1457) or George of Poděbrady (1458–1471)

Obv.: Bohemian lion with a double tail standing to the left

AR; 11.0 mm; 0.056 g; a fragment of ca. ½ coin in 3 fragments, corroded, crumbled

Ref.: CASTELIN 1953: 214–254, Figs. 61–78; IDEM 1973: 43, 46, Figs. 76–80, 82–84

Silesia

23 . Lower castle, trench II, plot 1, layer 23, 02.08.2012; Rg. Inv. no. 16/12, Fig. 25
Duchy of Oleśnica; Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439) or Konrad VII the White (1439–1450), heller, mint in Oleśnica, ca. 1430–1449

Obv.: eagle walking to the left, around it letters: M – O – L

Rev.: eagle with a band, around it letters: [M] – O – L

AR; 12.0 mm; 0.276 g

Ref.: Fbg 672/307; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: no. 18–19; IDEM 2021: 325, no. 5.4

24. Lower castle, trench II, plot 2, layer 2c bottom, 30.07.2012; Rg. Inv. no. 31/12, Fig. 26
Duchy of Wrocław, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Wrocław heller, 1417–1420

Obv.: in a square frame Bohemian lion, on the sides of the frame letters: W – [R] – [W] – R

Rev.: eagle with a headband facing left in a square frame, letters on the sides: M – W – M – W

AR; 11.6 mm; 0.329 g

Ref.: Fbg 553/97; PASZKIEWICZ 2000a: 7–8; IDEM 2016: no. 33; IDEM 2021: 260, no. 1.7

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25–28. Lower castle, trench II, plot 3a, layer 2 bottom. Outside a residential building within a courtyard, 26.07.2012; Rg. Inv. no. 32/12

An group of 4 Silesian hellers stuck together: 25–27 – Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449); Legnica hellers, 1425–1448; 28 – Duchy of Wrocław, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1419–1437), Albrecht (1437–1439), or Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–1457), ca. 1430–1448

25. *Obv.*: bust of St. Peter $\frac{3}{4}$ to the right with a key

Rev.: eagle with a band

AR; 12.5 mm; 0.125 g; corroded, chipped, Fig. 27

Ref.: Fbg 588/177; PASZKIEWICZ 2001: 80–81; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 17; IDEM 2021: 293–294, no. 3.14

26. *Obv.*: bust of St. Peter

Rev.: eagle with a band

AR; 13.2 mm; 0.208 g; corroded, Fig. 28

Ref.: Fbg 588/177; PASZKIEWICZ 2001: 80–81; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 17; IDEM 2021: 293–294, no. 3.14

27. *Obv.*: bust of St. Peter with a key

Rev.: eagle with a band

AR; 13.0 mm; 0.184 g; corroded, Fig. 29

Ref.: Fbg 588/177; PASZKIEWICZ 2001: 80–81; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 17; IDEM 2021: 293–294, no. 3.14

28. Wrocław heller; Sigismund of Luxembourg (1419–1437), Albrecht (1437–1439) or Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–1457), 1430–1448
Obv.: head of St John in a plain rim on the margin: [...]W[...]
Rev.: Bohemian lion, a circle under it
 Ag; 13.0 mm; 0.184 g; ca. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the coin; corroded, crumbled, Fig. 30
 Ref.: Fbg 554/101; PASZKIEWICZ 2000a: 8–9; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 36; IDEM 2021: 261, no. 1.9

29. Lower castle, trench II, plot IIA, top of layer II, 21.07.2013; Rg. Inv. no. 21/12, Fig. 31
 Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elizabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Obv.: bust of St. Peter $\frac{3}{4}$ to the right with a key; beaded rim
Rev.: eagle with a band
 AR; 11.1 mm; 0.122 g; chipped
 Ref.: Fbg 588/177; PASZKIEWICZ 2001: 80–81; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 17; IDEM 2021: 293–294, no. 3.14

Saxony

30. Lower castle, trench II, plot 2c, layer 2 top, 21.07.2012; Rg. Inv. no. 24/12, Fig. 32
 Altenburg, one-sided pfennig 15th century
Obv.: a lion standing to the left in a shield of arms on a cross
Rev.: a hand with 5 fingers pointing upwards
 AR; 12.6 mm; 0.161 g; ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the coin
 Ref.: SAURMA-JELTSCH 1892: Taf. CIV, 3161

EXCAVATION FROM 2013

Bohemia

31. Lower castle, trench II, plot 1, layer 23 “level with debris by the wall”, 22.07.2013; Rg. Inv. no. 4/13, Fig. 33
 Bohemia, Charles I (1346–1378), heller, mint in Kutná Hora, 1346–1350
Obv.: Bohemian lion in a beaded rim, on the margin: [+KAR] OLV [S. PRIMVS]
Rev.: a half-figure of a saint with a beaded halo in a continuous rim, a banner in his right hand; on the margin: [+ S WENCE] ZLAVS
 AR; 15.2 mm; 0.265 g; corroded; cracked
 Ref.: CASTELIN 1953: 74–76, no. 20; HÁSKOVÁ 1991: 103; HÁNA 2005: 109–126, no. 1a

Silesia

32. Lower castle, trench II, plot 1, layer 23, 05/07/2013; Rg. Inv. no. 2/13, Fig. 34
 Duchy of Racibórz, Nicolaus VI (1428–1452) and Wenceslaus III (1428–1456), heller, mint in Racibórz, 1428–1456
Obv.: in the border: a frog-mouth helm with buffalo horns entering the margin, on the margin: M[O].NETA
Rev.: eagle in a rim, on the margin: +R[ATIB]ORIE
 AR; 12.5 mm; 0.230 g; ca. $\frac{3}{4}$ of the coin
 Ref.: Fbg 823/522; PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 214–215, Tab. 8.61; IDEM 2016: 41–52, no. 30; IDEM 2021: 378, no. 12A.6

EXCAVATION FROM 2014

Silesia

33. Lower castle, trench II, plot 1, layer 32, 14.07.2014; Rg. Inv. no. 8/14, Fig. 35
Upper Silesian button-shaped bracteate; Lichynia group, similar to type Lichynia II/22, mint not located, early 14th century

Obv.: plain margin bulge, inside an indistinct triangular shape – rafter?, gate?, stirrup?

AR; 16.5 mm; 0.394 g

Ref.: HUFNAGEL 1941: Taf. 19.2; Abb. 1:22; PASZKIEWICZ 2000b: 275, Tab. 14.102

34. Lower castle, trench III, plot 3, layer 2 bottom, 17.07.2014; Rg. Inv. no. 25/14, Fig. 36
Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elizabeth (1436–1449), heller, mint in Legnica, 1425–1448 (?)

Obv.: bust of St. Peter $\frac{3}{4}$ to the right with a key; beaded rim

Rev.: eagle with a band

AR; 11.0 mm; 0.278 g; well preserved

Ref.: Fbg 588/177; PASZKIEWICZ 2001: 80–81; MAKUCH 2016: 14–21; PASZKIEWICZ 2021: 293–294, no. 3.14

35. Lower castle, trench III, plot 3, layer 2, 18.07.2014; Rg. Inv. no. 24/14, Fig. 37
Duchy of Wrocław, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1419–1437), Albrecht (1437–1439), or Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–1457), heller, ca. 1430–1448

Obv.: head of St. John in a rim, on the margin letters: M*WM*[W]

Rev.: Bohemian lion with a double tail, walking to the left, a star between the paws

AR; 12.0 mm; 0.144 g; coin slightly chipped

Ref.: Fbg 554c/100c; PASZKIEWICZ 2000a: 8–9; IDEM 2021: 261, no. 1.9.fl

36. Lower castle, trench III, plot 3, layer 2, 18.0.2014; Rg. Inv. no. 24/14, Fig. 38
Duchy of Oleśnica, Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439) or Konrad VII the White (1439–1450), heller, mint in Oleśnica, ca. 1430–1449

Obv.: eagle advancing left, with a ribbon in the claws; next to the eagle letters: [M]O – L

Rev.: Lower Silesia eagle on a shield, letters illegible

AR; 11.5 mm; 0.138 g; coin chipped

Ref.: Fbg 672/307; PASZKIEWICZ 2016: no. 18–19; IDEM 2021: 325, no. 5.4

37. Lower castle, trench III, plot 4, humus, 08.07.2014; Rg. Inv. no. 26/14, Fig. 39
Duchy of Racibórz, John I (1365–1381), heller, mint in Racibórz, ca. 1377–1381

Obv.: a hardly legible image of a small pot helm with buffalo horns in a continuous rim, on the margin: [M]ONETA:DV.[NP?].OP

Rev.: eagle looking to dexter and 3 feathers in wings in a continuous rim, on the margin: MONETA : DV.IO.OI (?)

AR; 13.3 mm; 0.192 g; coin bent, cracked, worn and corroded

Ref.: Fbg – ; PASZKIEWICZ 2017b: 257–273; IDEM 2021: 376, no. 12A.2

38. Lower castle, trench III, plot 4, layer 2/35, 28.07.2014; Rg. Inv. no. 35/14, Fig. 40
Round tin without die marks with edges folded inward;

11.5 mm; 0.130 g

EXCAVATION FROM 2015

Bohemia

39. Lower castle, trench IV, plot 1, layer 35 bottom, 31.07.2015; Rg. Inv. no. 58/15, Fig. 41

John of Luxembourg (1310–1346), Prague groschen, mint in Kutná Hora, 1311–1327

Obv.: +IOhANNES:PRIMVS; +DEI : GRATIA [REX] : BOEMIE

Rev.: ★+★GROSSI : PRAGENS[ES]

AR; 26.5 mm; 2.428 g

Ref.: HÁSKOVÁ 1991: 42; SMOLÍK 1971: 1; CASTELIN 1973: 1

40. Lower castle, trench IV, plot 2c, humus, 04.07.2015; Rg. Inv. no. 8/15, Fig. 42

Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Prague groschen, mint in Kutná Hora, 1380–1400

Obv.: crown, around it: [W]EN[CEZLAVS]: [TE]RCIV[S]; [DE]I I[:]GRA [TIA REX B]OEMIE

Rev.: Lion, around it: [★+★]GROSS [I PRA] GENSES

AR; 27.5 mm; 2.430 g; burned, chipped

Ref.: HÁSKOVÁ 1991: 121–123; HÁNA 2003: types IV–V

Silesia

41. Lower castle, trench IV, plot 2, humus, 08.07.2015; Rg. Inv. no. 5/15, Fig. 43

Wrocław, Matthias Corvinus (1469–1490), groschen, mint in Wrocław, ca. 1483

Obv.: in a beaded rim a 5-field coat of arms shield (Hungary – rivers, Bohemia – lion, Lusatian bull, Silesian eagle with a band, in the heart field a Hunyadi raven). On the margin: [M]ATHIASPRIMVS•REX•BOEMI[E]

Rev.: John the Baptist with nimbus standing, with a shawl and the Paschal Lamb, on the left there is a letter W and a trefoil (clover). On the margin: GROSSVS•VRA-[T]ISLAVIENSIS. Beaded rims

AR; 26.3 mm; 1.949 g; damaged, chipped and perforated

Ref.: Fbg 560/120; SAURMA-JELTSCH 1883: Taf. XXXXI, 8; PASZKIEWICZ 2021: 268, no. 1.20

42. Lower castle, trench IV, plot 2, layer 2, 14.07.2015; Rg. Inv. no. 23/15, Fig. 44

Wrocław, Matthias Corvinus (1469–1490), half-groschen, mint in Wrocław, 1470–1471

Obv.: as above, inscription on the margin: [MATH]IAS•PRIMVS•D•G•R•BOHEM[I]

Rev.: as above, but St John standing en face with the Paschal Lamb without a shawl and without a letter in the field. Inscription on the margin: [G]ROSSVS.WRA-TISLAVIENSIS

AR; 21.5 mm; 1.121 g; corroded

Ref.: Fbg 558a-c/115; SAURMA-JELTSCH 1883: Taf. XXXXI, 9; PASZKIEWICZ 2021: 266, no. 1.15

ABBREVIATIONS

CGD = J.Ch. LÜNIG (ed.) 1732–1733. *Codex Germaniae Diplomaticus (...)*, vols. 1–2, Frankfurt–Leipzig.

Fbg = F. FRIEDENSBURG (ed.) 1887–1904. *Schlesiens Münzgeschichte im Mittelalter*, Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae, vols. 12, 13, 23, Breslau / F. FRIEDENSBURG 1931. *Die schlesischen Münzen des Mittelalters*, Breslau.

Lbch. = T. JUREK (ed.) 2007. *Landbuch księstw świdnickiego i jaworskiego*, vol. 3: 1396–1407, Poznań.

LUB = C. GRÜNHAGEN and H. MARKGRAF (eds.) 1965. *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter*, vols. 1–2, Publikationen aus den k. preußischen Staatsarchiven 7 und 16, Osnabrück.

MPH = Z. WĘCŁAWSKI (ed.) 1961. *Kronika książąt polskich*, Monumenta Poloniae historica, vol. 3, Warszawa.

RŚ = K. BOBOWSKI, M. CETWIŃSKI, J. GILEWSKA-DUBIS, A. SKOWROŃSKA and B. TUROŃ (eds.) 1983. *Regesty Śląskie*, vol. 2: 1349–1354, Prace Komisji Nauk Humanistycznych 11, Wrocław.

SUB = H. APPELT and W. IRGANG (eds.) 1971–1998. *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vols. 1–6, Köln–Graz–Weimar–Wien.

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- PLATE 1 Fig. 1. Massif of Rogowiec from the west (photo by Artur Boguszewicz)
Fig. 2. Rogowiec Castle and its infrastructure: a – upper castle, b – outer ward, c – lower castle, d – quarry, e – dry moat on the pass between Rogowiec and Jeleniec massifs, f – water intake
Worked out by Artur Boguszewicz and Paweł Rajski
- PLATE 2 Fig. 3. Rogowiec Castle, the first stage of development – the end of the 13th century
Worked out by Artur Boguszewicz and Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 4. Rogowiec Castle, the second stage of development, the second half of the 14th century
Worked out by Artur Boguszewicz and Nicole Lenkow
- PLATE 3 Fig. 5. Rogowiec Castle, third stage of development, 1420s–1482
Worked out by Artur Boguszewicz and Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 6. Archival photograph of coins (currently unavailable) discovered in the Rogowiec castle: a – Silesia, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1416), heller; b – Silesia, Świdnica-Jawor Duchy, 1414–1448, bracteate heller; c – Silesia, Świdnica-Jawor Duchy, 1414–1448, bracteate heller; d – Silesia, Głogów and Żagań Duchy, Henry IX the Elder (1423–1467), bracteate heller; e – Silesia, Duchy of Oleśnica, Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439), heller; f – Silesia, Duchy of Opole, Bolesław I (1280/2–1313), bracteate; g – Denmark, Christopher II (1320–1333), pfennig; h – Austria, Albrecht III (1365–1395) to Albrecht V (1411–1439), pfennig; i – Silesia, Świdnica-Jawor Duchy, 1414–1448 (?), bracteate heller
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
- PLATE 4 Fig. 7. Silesia, Duchy of Opole, Bolesław I (1280/2–1313), bracteate
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 8. Silesia, Głogów and Żagań Duchy, Henry IX the Elder (1423–1467), bracteate heller
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 9. Silesia, Świdnica-Jawor Duchy, bracteate heller, 1414–1448
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 10. Silesia, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), heller, 1417–1420
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 11. Silesia, Duchy of Oleśnica, Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439), heller, 1432–1439
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 12. Austria, Albrecht III (1365–1395) to Albrecht V (1411–1439), pfennig
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 13. Silesia, unspecified duchy (Opole?), bracteate, first half of the 14th century
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 14. Bohemia, Wenceslaus II (1278–1305), parvus, ca. 1300–1305
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 15. Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Prague groschen, after 1410
Photo by Leszek Kuźma, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 16. Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Prague groschen, after 1407
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 17. Silesia, Duchy of Wrocław, Charles IV (1346–1378), heller, 1360–1378
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 18. Silesia, Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow
Fig. 19. Austria, Albrecht V (1411–1439), pfennig, after 1427
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 20. Brunswick, Charles (George IV, king of Great Britain) (1815–1830), 1/12 thaler, 1812
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 21. Prussia, Frederick William III (1797–1840), pfennig, 1821–1840
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 22. Burned sheet or blank
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

PLATE 5

Fig. 23. Moravia, Jichlava, one-sided penny, ca. 1450 (?)
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 24. Bohemia, Ladislaus the Posthumus (1453–1457) or George of Poděbrady (1458–1471), heller
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 25. Silesia, Duchy of Oleśnica, Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439) or Konrad VII the White (1439–1450), heller, ca. 1430–1449
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 26. Silesia, Duchy of Wrocław, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), heller, 1417–1420
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 27. Silesia, Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 28. Silesia, Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 29. Silesia, Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 30. Silesia, Duchy of Wrocław, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1419–1437), Albrecht (1437–1439) or Ladislaus the Posthumus (1440–1457), heller, 1430–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 31. Silesia, Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 32. Saxony, Altenburg, pfennig, 15th century
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 33. Bohemia, Charles I (1346–1378), heller, 1346–1350
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 34. Silesia, Duchy of Racibórz, Nicolaus VI (1428–1452) and Wenceslaus III (1428–1456), heller, 1428–1456
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 35. Silesia, Upper Silesia, bracteates, early 14th century
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 36. Silesia, Duchy of Legnica, Louis II (1419–1436) or Elisabeth (1436–1449), heller, 1425–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 37. Silesia, Duchy of Wrocław, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1419–1437), Albrecht (1437–1439) or Ladislaus the Posthumus (1440–1457), heller, ca. 1430–1448
Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 38. Silesia, Duchy of Oleśnica, Konrad V Kantner (1412–1439) or Konrad VII the White (1439–1450), heller

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 39. Silesia, Duchy of Racibórz, John I (1365–1381), heller, ca. 1377–1381

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 40. Round tin without die marks

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

PLATE 6

Fig. 41. Bohemia, John of Luxembourg (1310–1346), Prague groschen, 1311–1327

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 42. Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419), Prague groschen, 1380–1400

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 43. Silesia, Wrocław, Matthias Corvinus (1469–1490), groschen, ca. 1483

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow

Fig. 44. Silesia, Wrocław, Matthias Corvinus (1469–1490), half-groschen, 1470–1471

Photo by Artur Boguszewicz, worked out by Nicole Lenkow



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

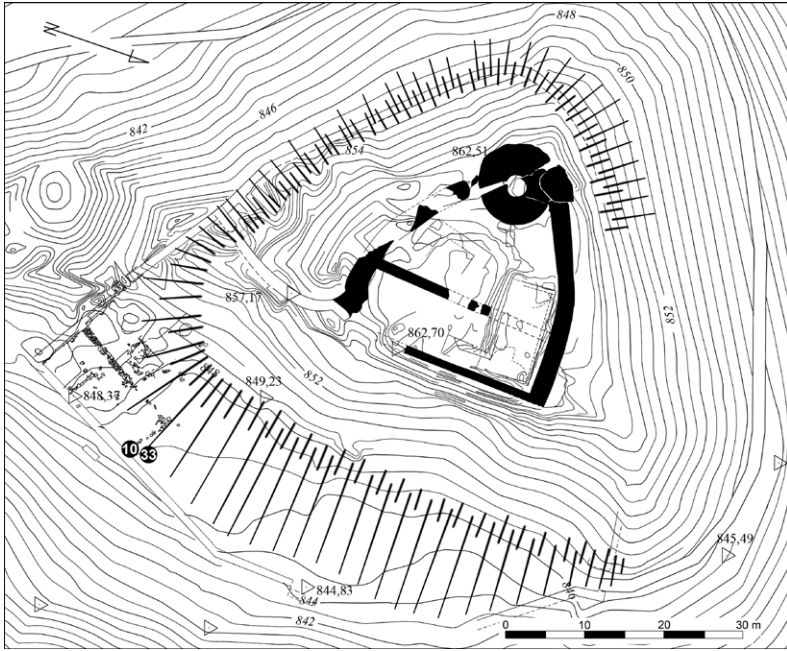


Fig. 3

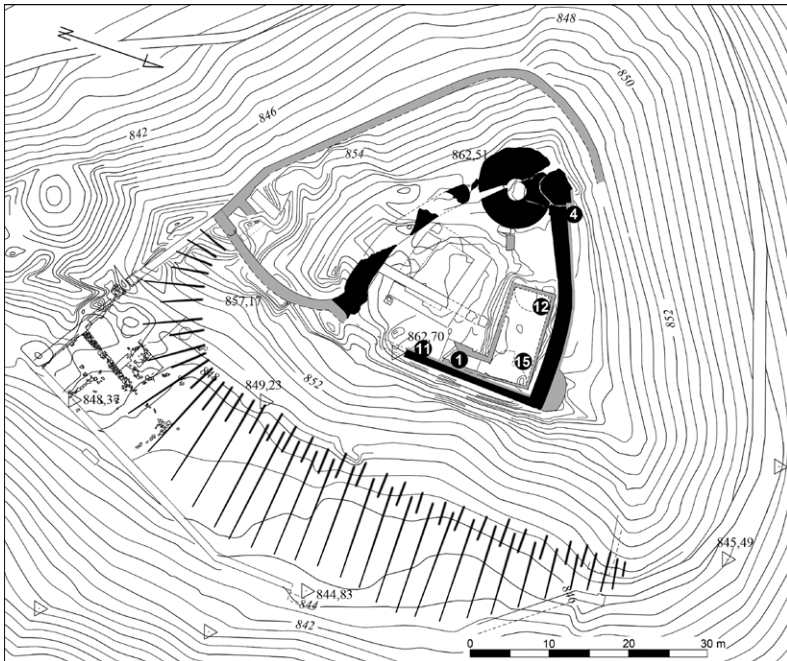


Fig. 4

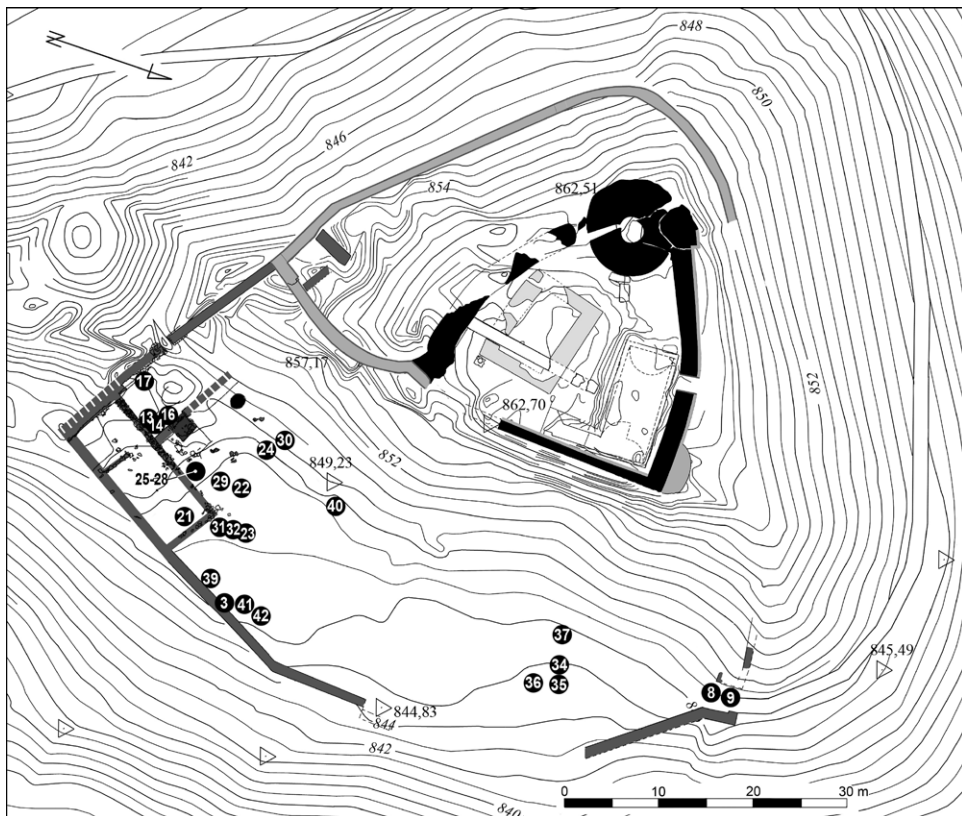


Fig. 5

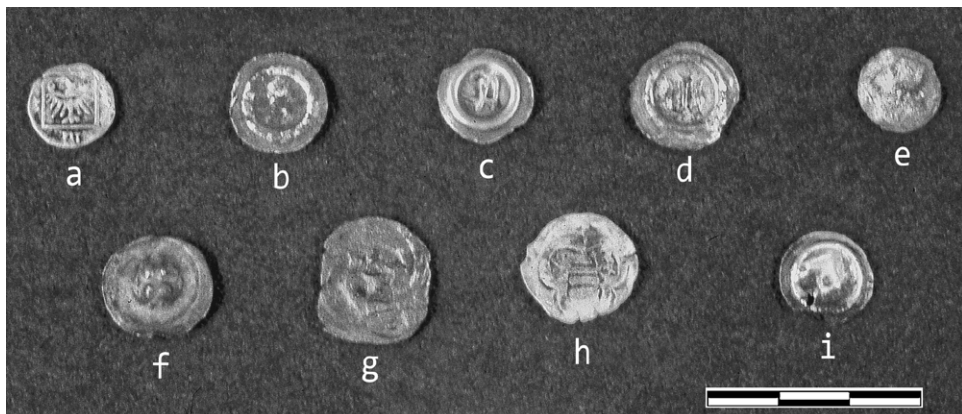


Fig. 6



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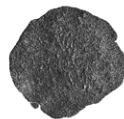
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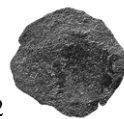
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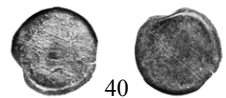
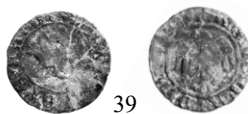
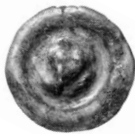
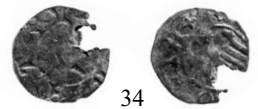


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