NOTAE NUMISMATICAE
ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XVIII

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

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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 numizmtyczne-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 szerokich 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 zadedykować 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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Indian *Putalis* as the Key to Understanding Some Aspects of the Manufacture and Use of Barbarian Imitations of Roman Gold Coins. Some Preliminary Remarks

ABSTRACT: For a number of reasons, the use of Venetian ducats and their imitations in India in the modern period has parallels in the use of Roman gold coins and their imitations in central, eastern and northern Europe (outside the Roman Empire) in antiquity. The observations presented in this paper should be seen primarily as an indication of the potential for in-depth comparative studies.

KEY WORDS: Venetian ducats, Indian imitations of Venetian ducats, Roman coins, barbarian imitations of Roman coins, coins used as ornaments

ABSTRAKT: *Indyjskie putali jako klucz do zrozumienia niektórych aspektów wytwarzania i użytkowania barbarzyńskich naśladownictw złotych monet rzymskich. Kilka uwag wstępnych*

Użytkowanie weneckich dukatów i ich naśladownictw w Indiach w okresie nowożytnym wykazuje liczne podobieństwa do użytkowania rzymskich monet złotych i ich naśladownictw w Europie Środkowej, Wschodniej i Północnej (poza terenem Imperium Rzymskiego) w starożytności. Obserwacje przedstawione w prezentowanym artykule powinny być postrzegane przede wszystkim jako wskazanie potencjału do pogłębionych badań porównawczych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: weneckie dukaty, indyjskie naśladownictwa weneckich dukatów, monety rzymskie, barbarzyńskie naśladownictwa monet rzymskich, monety użytkowane jako ozdoby

As a result of long-distance trade, a large number of late medieval and especially early modern period gold coins from Europe reached India.[1] This phenomenon has been repeatedly raised and analysed in the literature.[2] In particular, Venetian ducats from the 14th to 18th centuries arrived there in large numbers (Fig. 1), although Dutch, Hungarian and other gold coins, including Polish ones, were flowing in as well.[3] While it is not entirely clear whether these coins were considered bullion or money there, the latter seems very likely given the structure of coin hoards, and in light of written accounts.[4] Among the Indian finds, European gold coins from official issues are accompanied by imitations, especially local ones, almost exclusively of Venetian ducats.[5]

India has a long and rich tradition of using gold coins in making jewellery.[6] First and foremost in this context are necklaces with pendants made from coins. Venetian ducats and their imitations – from India and from other regions – have also been used in this way.[7] They have different local names in different parts of India. In Maharashtra and in some neighbouring areas (western and central India), Venetian ducats and their imitations used as pieces of ornaments are called *putalis*, which literally means effigies or statuettes.[8] Initially, *putalis* were produced by adapting (attaching a loop to) original and imitated ducats, but over time they came to be predominantly produced as coin-like ornaments (gold, gilded, or brass),[9] fitted with loops from the outset. In the following paragraphs, the term *putali* refers exclusively to Indian imitations of Venetian ducats produced as ornaments.

The manufacture and use of imitated ducats in India remains a vast and poorly researched issue. Studies of *putalis* focus on, among other things, their typology, dating, and attribution of individual types to specific manufacturing centres (e.g. research by Ben Bell and K.K. Maheshwari), and on ethnographic documentation of the customs associated with the manufacture and use of ornaments of which *putalis* are elements (e.g. research by Ben Bell and, currently, Riza Abbas, INHCRF).

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[1] I acknowledge with gratitude the valuable consultation given by Dr K.K. Maheshwari and Dr Riza Abbas from the Indian Numismatic, Historical and Cultural Research Foundation (INHCRF). I would also like to thank Dr Emilia Smagur and Dr Kyrylo Myzgin, both from the University of Warsaw, for their valuable comments.

[2] See e.g. POL 1982; MAYHEW 1992; IDEM 1998; GARG 1995; GOPAL 1995; STAHL 1995; RADHAKRISHNAN 1998; ARAVAMUTHAN 1999; GUPTA 2007.

[3] GLAMANN 1981: 50–72; POL 1982: 136; ARAVAMUTHAN 1999: 41; GUPTA 2007: 127.

[4] GARG 1995: 107.

[5] *Ibidem*: 108; RADHAKRISHNAN 1998: 371; ARAVAMUTHAN 1999: 42.

[6] BHANDARE 1995: 111–113.

[7] BELL 1999: 20–28.

[8] BHANDARE 1995: 112–113; RADHAKRISHNAN 1998: 369–370.

[9] BELL 1999: 23–25. *Putalis* made of silver are known, but at least some of these are specimens made in recent decades for purposes of research (documenting die impressions) or collecting. Silver jewellery styled as traditional ornaments with *putalis* is also commercially available.

Michael Mitchiner dated the beginnings of *putali* manufacture to the 17th–18th centuries,[10] while Ben Bell showed that no imitations of this type are known before the 18th century.[11] Crucially, however, in Maharashtra the tradition of making and using *putalis* is still alive, albeit slowly dying. Jewellery made from *putalis* is commercially available, and local artisans with dies for striking *putalis* (Fig. 2) know how to make them (Fig. 3).[12] *Putali* jewellery (Fig. 4a–c) is still in use but is worn almost exclusively by a gradually passing generation of older women. Gold *putalis* are often melted down to obtain valuable bullion for making new ornaments to suit current fashions,[13] so that the number of specimens potentially available for study is gradually dwindling.

Emilia Smagur[14] has pointed out some parallels between *putalis* and Indian imitations of gold Roman coins, and the resulting opportunities for exploiting – within the framework of ethno-archaeological studies – the research on *putalis* to understand the processes behind the borrowing and adaptation of patterns from foreign coins in Early Historic India. For a number of reasons described below, the use of Venetian ducats and their imitations in India has parallels in the use of Roman gold coins and their imitations in central, eastern and northern Europe (outside the Roman Empire) in antiquity. Roman gold coins were arriving in these regions in greater numbers between the mid-3rd and early 6th century AD, although specimens from the 1st to 2nd centuries AD are also known. These were first aurei, then solidi, accompanied by relatively few multiples of these two denominations, known as medallions (*multipla*). All of them, especially the aurei (Fig. 5), were imitated by local barbarian tribes. Without going into details, barbarian imitations of Roman gold coins (and medallions) were most likely produced on a larger scale from the 3rd century onwards,[15] while the latest imitations are gold bracteates from the Migration period (Fig. 6) which are often already very remote from their Roman originals.[16]

Barbarian imitations (this shorthand term is used later in the text to describe imitations of both gold coins and medallions) – much like Indian imitations of gold Roman coins[17] – were made of gold (as two-sided specimens or as bracteates) or of other, cheaper metals, usually copper alloys, and then gilded. Most barbarian imitations were provided with holes or loops,[18] and some were produced outright

[10] MITCHINER 1998: 68.
[11] BELL 1999: 18.
[12] SMAGUR 2023: 4–7.
[13] Cf. BELL 1999: 23.
[14] SMAGUR 2023: 1; cf. EADEM 2022a: 168; EADEM 2022b: 233–240.
[15] BURSCHE 2014: 323; MYZGIN, VIDA and WIĘCEK 2018: 227.
[16] BURSCHE 1998: 45–46.
[17] Cf. SMAGUR 2022b: 160.
[18] HORSNÆS 2013: 100; cf. ANOKHIN 2015: 34–69.

with holes or loops for suspension, as coin-like pendants.[19] Thus, the form and raw materials are the most obvious similarities between *putalis* and barbarian imitations. Both were used as pendants. Admittedly, we know little about how such pendants (including those made from original Roman coins or medallions) were worn by barbarians, but in some cases they may have been worn as necklaces with "separators" made of metal (Fig. 7) or organic materials.[20] Such necklaces would bear a strong formal resemblance to Indian *putali* necklaces (Fig. 4b–c). Moreover, *putalis* are elements of female jewellery, and among the very few barbarian imitations recorded in archaeological contexts we can point to specimens discovered in female graves.[21]

What is far more interesting than the form of these imitative coin pendants or coin-like pendants, however, is how the legends and representations from the original coins have been modified. On the one hand, we can observe barbarisation, i.e. a more or less gradual transformation of the shape of letters until they change into meaningless signs imitating letters, and schematisation and/or modification of representations determined by local tastes and/or the limited skills of the die maker. On the other hand, we can see the transformation of legends and representations, giving them a new local meaning. Both these phenomena are evident in *putalis* and barbarian imitations alike. The depiction of a doge kneeling before Saint Mark on the obverse of Venetian ducats and the image of Christ on the reverse are interpreted on *putalis* as representations of Indian, into whose likenesses they eventually transform (see Fig. 3).[22] Meanwhile, Latin legends from the original ducats gradually transform into strings of letter-like characters, to be ultimately replaced on some *putalis* with inscriptions referring to Indian beliefs.[23] In the same vein, on some barbarian imitations (at least with regard to gold bracteates from the Migration period), Germanic gods appear in lieu of the image of the Roman emperor,[24] and runic inscriptions in place of Latin legends.[25]

The above observations should be seen primarily as an indication of the potential for in-depth comparative studies of *putalis* and barbarian imitations of Roman gold coins (and medallions). Analysing the religious and magical aspects of *putalis* would also have great potential in this respect.[26] Hopefully, the current ethnographic

[19] Cf. ANOKHIN 2015: 24.

[20] BURSCHE 1998: 169–171.

[21] HORSNÆS 2013: 93–94; WIĘCEK 2019: 334.

[22] BELL 1999: 26; SMAGUR 2023: 4–7.

[23] *Putalis* with Latin legends referring to Indian deities, e.g. RADHA KRISHNA, are very numerous (BELL 1999: 26). Determining whether there are *putalis* with meaningful legends written in any Indian writing system requires in-depth research. If they do occur, they are extremely rare.

[24] BURSCHE 1998: 219–221.

[25] *Ibidem*: 221; DEGLER 2015: 51–60.

[26] BELL 1999: 18–23; SMAGUR 2023: 4–9.

research will result in gathering extensive material documenting the still vivid tradition of making and using *putalis*, which – once analysed – can serve as a key to understanding similar phenomena relating to other coin-like ornaments in other regions of the world. Of course, we should bear in mind the differences in cultural and historical contexts.

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Venetian ducats of: a. Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354) and b. Doge Ludovico Manin (1789–1797), gold, diam. 21 mm, collections of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Photo: Lutz-Jürgen Lübke, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett (CC BY SA 4.0 license)

Fig. 2. Bronze cylindrical dies for making *putalis*, probably from the early 20th century, belonging to a goldsmith from the city of Trimbak (Maharashtra, India), diam. 25–26 mm
Photo: Arkadiusz Dymowski

Fig. 3. *Putalis* – Indian imitations of Venetian ducats struck in 2023 in India (Trimbak, Maharashtra) using the dies shown in Fig. 2, gilt silver, diam. 23–24 mm (without the loop)
Photo: Arkadiusz Dymowski

PLATE 2

Figs. 4a–c. Indian necklaces with gold *putalis*, unknown date, not to scale
Photo: Riza Abbas

PLATE 3

Fig. 5. Barbarian imitations of Roman aurei found in Ukraine, 3rd–4th centuries, gold, not to scale
Photo after Anokhin 2019, © University of Warsaw

Fig. 6. Gold bracteates found in present-day Sweden, Scandinavia, 5th–6th centuries, not to scale, collection of the National Historical Museum in Stockholm
Photo: Historiska museet/SHM (CC BY SA 4.0 license)

Fig. 7. Necklace with gold pendants made from Roman solidi from the 5th–6th centuries, the Elsehoved hoard (Funen, Denmark), not to scale, collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen
Photo: Lennart Larsen, Nationalmuseet (CC BY-SA 4.0 license)

a b

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4a

Fig. 4b

Fig. 4c

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7