

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVI

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

Kraków 2021

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Drohiczyn-type Small Lead Seals with the Image of a Bird from the Collection of the National Museum in Krakow. Old Ruthenian Sigillography Versus Early Piast Numismatics

ABSTRACT: The rich collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (MNK) includes special sigillographic artefacts, i.e. Drohiczyn-type small lead seals. The collection contains specimens with various iconographic representations, including small seals with images of birds. Similar small seals are known from archaeological excavations conducted in Mazovia. Interestingly, some images impressed on the small seals have analogies with representations on Piast coins from the 12th and 13th century. It is highly likely that the small seals with images of birds are local issues from Mazovia. This is indicated by a characteristic type of bird representations, most probably eagles. This would mean that they were an adaptation of the Ruthenian idea of using small lead seals but with local Piast symbols.

KEY WORDS: Drohiczyn, Drohiczyn-type small lead seals, iconography, Piast eagle

ABSTRAKT: *Plomby typu drohiczyńskiego z wyobrażeniem ptaka w kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Staroruska sfragistyka versus wczesnopiastowska numizmatyka*

W bogatych zbiorach Gabinetu Numizmatycznego MNK znajdują się specyficzne zabytki sfragistyczne – plomby drohiczyńskie. Kolekcja ta obejmuje obiekty o zróżnicowanych przedstawieniach ikonograficznych, w tym z wizerunkami ptaków. Podobne plomby znane są z badań archeologicznych prowadzonych na terenie Mazowsza. Co ciekawe, niektóre zarejestrowane przedstawienia wykazują analogię do wizerunków widniejących na monetach piastowskich z XII i XIII w. Jest wielce prawdopodobne,

że plomby z wyobrażeniem ptaka to miejscowe, lokalne emisje z Mazowsza. Może na to wskazywać charakterystyczny typ przedstawień ptaków, najprawdopodobniej orłów. Mielibyśmy tu zatem do czynienia z przejściem z Rusi idei używania ołowianych plomb, ale z zastosowaniem lokalnej, piastowskiej symboliki.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Drohiczyn, plomby typu drohiczyńskiego, ikonografia, orzeł piastowski

Drohiczyn, a stronghold situated in a strategic location on the Bug River, played the role of an important political and trade centre in the Early Middle Ages.¹ It was constantly a bone of contention between the rulers of Poland and Rus', and later Lithuania. In the second half of the 19th and early 20th century, on the banks of the Bug River in Drohiczyn near the foot of Góra Zamkowa, thousands of medieval small lead seals, marked with various symbols, have been found.² These finds were incorporated into numerous private and museum collections.³

A problem key to identifying and interpreting small seals is correctly reading the marks which are visible on them. We should note that in the case of artefacts which have not undergone conservation treatment, the interpretation of this category of sources is more problematic and sometimes downright impossible. At the moment, it is difficult to present a clear-cut interpretation of the images they bear or to identify their issuers. The iconography of this category of finds is not very large, although it is diverse. This seems to follow mainly from the small size of Drohiczyn-type seals. The markings are simplified and reduced to one specific image. We will not find elaborate scenes here; consequently, the mark pressed into a small piece of lead had to carry a clear and transparent meaning, which could be read by the recipient at that time. The diversity was due to regionality – small lead seals were commonly used in Rus' but the markings impressed on them maintained their regional character. They include princely emblems, such as bidents attributed to the Rurikids. The iconography of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals also includes images of crosses, letters of the Cyrillic alphabet, schematic representations of people and animals, and geometric figures.

¹ This topic was first mentioned by the author in 2014 in Rzeszów, during the 2nd Seminar in the “Cherven' Towns – the golden apple of Polish archaeology” series. I would like to thank Mateusz Woźniak from the Numismatic Cabinet of the MNK for his comments and guidance during the preparation of this study. On Drohiczyn see DZIK and JUSUPOVIĆ 2019: 77–80, with earlier literature.

² TYSZKIEWICZ 1865: Pls. VI–VII; IDEM 1868: 124–125; AVENARIUS 1890; BOŁSUNOWSKI 1891a; IDEM 1891b; IDEM 1894; IDEM 1895; IDEM 1896; IDEM 1902; IDEM 1904; MUSIANOWICZ 1957; IDEM 1969; SIEMIANOWSKA 2010; MUSIN 2012: 257–259; WOŁOSZYN and BOCHNAK 2016: 349–356; EIDEM 2017.

³ HANC-MAIKOWA 1988; PAWLATA 1993; LIWOCH 2015; BOCHNAK 2019: 167–169; CICHONSKA and PIOTROWSKI 2019: 142–146; ORLOV 2019: 113–117.

As we know today, the spread of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals was extensive (over 30,000 finds) and covered mainly the territory of Rus'.⁴

The literature on the subject contains various theories on the creation and purpose of these artefacts. Despite many studies and works published in the 19th and 20th century by Polish and Russian scholars, the purpose of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals has not been conclusively explained.⁵ This topic was recently widely discussed during a series of seminars and conferences held as part of the project entitled “Sfinks słowiańskiej sfragistyki – plomby typu drohiczyńskiego z Czeremna na wschodnioeuropejskim tle porównawczym” (“The Sphinx of Slav Sigillography – Drohiczyn-type Seals from Czeremno in Their East European Context” from Czeremno in their East European context”).⁶ In the light of recent research, Drohiczyn-type small lead seals can be linked with pelt money, with trade or a system of tax collection, but not with diplomacy.⁷ Reports and accounts written down by travellers to Rus' from Latin and Muslim Europe remain a valuable source for studies on this topic. William of Rubruck (c. 1220–c.1293) wrote plainly that the currency commonly used by the Ruthenians were squirrel and stoat pelts.⁸ The most interesting primary source is an account written by the Andalusian traveller *Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāī* (1080–1170), who visited Kievan Rus' around 1050. In the account he left us, we will find a description of pelt/fur money marked with “black lead”.⁹ Tadeusz Lewicki was the first to link the “black lead” bearing “the king’s image” mentioned by *Abū Hāmid* with Drohiczyn-type small lead seals.¹⁰ The latest results of studies confirm that fur money was commonly used in Rus'. This is supported by archaeozoological analyses of bone remains of fur-bearing animals discovered in early medieval settlements on the territory of northern Rus'.¹¹

The number of small seals from Drohiczyn is estimated at several thousand at the moment; most of them were found during earlier excavations and lack a narrow archaeological context. The collection of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals kept in

⁴ GAYDUKOV 2019: 187–440; the map of findspots of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals in Central and Eastern Europe – graphic commentary to P. Gaydukov’s catalogue.

⁵ LEWICKI 1955: 64–67; ERSHEVSKIY 1985; MARTIN 1986; PERKHAVKO 1996; BELETSKIY 1999; ADAMCZYK 2004: 159; ZAKHAROV 2005.

⁶ “The Sphinx of Slav Sigillography – Drohiczyn-type Seals from Czeremno in Their East European Context” project (NCN, no. 2013/11/B/HS3/02052) was implemented by the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Rzeszów; Dr Hab. M. Wołoszyn, Professor of the University of Rzeszów, was the project leader.

⁷ MUSIN 2012: 259; WOŁOSZYN and BOCHNAK 2016: 356; EIDEM 2017: 1071.

⁸ William of Rubruck: 204.

⁹ *Abū Hāmid*, pp. 75–76; LEWICKA-RAJEWSKA 2004: 212–213; MALARCZYK 2019: 107–109.

¹⁰ LEWICKI 1956: 296.

¹¹ MAKAROV 2012.

the Numismatic Cabinet of the MNK contains 1,019 specimens.¹² These objects are dated to the Early Middle Ages (from the end of the 11th to the 13th century).

Recent years have brought new discoveries in this category of finds during archaeological excavations in Czermno,¹³ Sandomierz¹⁴ and several sites on the territory of Mazovia. In the context of this article, the Mazovian finds are particularly interesting. Recently published materials from archaeological digs in Mazovia come from Nasielsk (Nowy Dwór County),¹⁵ Poniaty Wielkie (Pułtusk County),¹⁶ Płock (Płock County),¹⁷ Pułtusk (Pułtusk County),¹⁸ Grudusk (Ciechanów County) and Maków Mazowiecki (Maków County)¹⁹ (Map 1).

As is the case of the other collections of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals, the artefacts from the MNK bear various images – geometrical, anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, etc. In the zoomorphic group, the images of birds are interesting. Four types of small seals with the motif in question were distinguished in the MNK collection. The first, TYPE I (Pl. 1, Fig. 1), are small seals with images of a bird – an eagle – in a heraldic pose on one side and a bust in headgear (mitre?) – a symbolic representation of the ruler/prince – on the other. Seven type I small seals have been identified in the MNK collection.²⁰ Apart from Drohiczyn, such a specimen was found in Lubowa (Lubów) on the Neris (Wilia) River.²¹ The next one, TYPE II, is most likely a representation of a bird's silhouette (?) – a bird's body with a human head. The reverse shows a schematic profile of a bird of prey turned to the right (Pl. 1, Fig. 2).²² The MNK collection contains only one small seal of this type.

¹² BOCHNAK 2019: 167–183.

¹³ BAGIŃSKA, PIOTROWSKI and WOŁOSZYN 2012; PIOTROWSKI and WOŁOSZYN 2012: 359–389; GAYDUKOV 2019: 372; FLORKIEWICZ, JUSUPOVIĆ and MUSIN 2020: 63–375 – in the catalogue (p. 263, NN 264), a small seal with an image of a bird was described, Inv. No. MT/1912/130/A. The second, uncertain, image is on the reverse of Inv. No. MT/1912/100/A; (p. 241, NN 174).

¹⁴ The excavations on site 7 in Sandomierz yielded one Drohiczyn-type small lead seal; FLOREK and STEMPIN 2015; GAYDUKOV 2019: 372 – a collation of all finds of Drohiczyn-type small lead seals, including the ones from the territory of present-day Poland; the catalogue includes a map with precise locations: 368–373.

¹⁵ BŁOŃSKI and BOGUCKI 2019: 1027–1039.

¹⁶ AFFELSKI and BOGUCKI 2019: 1041–1049.

¹⁷ TRZECIELSKI 2019: 1051–1057.

¹⁸ JAKUBOWSKA 2019: 1059–1071.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*: 1059; unpublished results of the excavations in Grudusk and Maków Mazowiecki (approx. 100 specimens were found on these sites) were presented by the author of the project, Stanisław Petrykowski, in the paper entitled “Early medieval small lead seals from archaeological excavations at Grudusk and Maków Mazowiecki” during the conference “The Sphinx of Slav Sigillography. Seals of Dorogichin type in the light of interdisciplinary research”, Krakow, 7th–9th May 2018, and <https://archoiwiesci.wordpress.com/2011/03/27/grudusk-niezwykla-podroz-do-sredniowiecznego-grodu/> and <http://kuriermakowski.pl/157245,Etapami-odkrywajaja-osade-handlowa.html#axzz3Y3mObPS5> (accessed on 22 April 2015).

²⁰ MNK Inv. Nos. VII-V-3316; VII-V-4780; VII-V-5373; VII-V-5555; VII-V-5831; VII-V-5917; VII-V-5935. In other Polish museum collections there are still 40 pieces of this type from Drohiczyn.

²¹ BOŁSUNOWSKI 1897: 230, Fig. 1001; PAWLATA 2010: 167; IDEM 2016: 110–111.

²² MNK Inv. No. VII-V-2653.

An identical artefact was discovered in Pułtusk.²³ TYPE III are specimens with a profile of a bird of prey's head turned to the right, with an open beak. On the reverse is a profile of a bird's silhouette with the head turned to the left and backwards, with a long neck and a wing marked on the body.²⁴ Small seals of this type were also present only in Drohiczyn, although a representation of the head of a bird of prey was discovered on small seals from Nasielsk²⁵ and Pułtusk.²⁶ This type is represented by eight specimens (Pl. 1, Fig. 3). Representations from the obverses of two other small seals were categorised as TYPE IV;²⁷ it is similar to the reverse of type III. It shows a profile of a bird with the head turned backwards, but with the tail spread upwards, while the reverse is illegible (Pl. 1, Fig. 4).

Images of birds can be found on small seals from four of the published Mazovian sites. Five small lead seals are known from the stronghold in Nasielsk, discovered during a rescue surface survey. One of them bears “a bird's head with a long neck (probably an eagle) turned to the left (heraldic), holding an unidentified object in its long, curved beak [...]. On the other side, there is probably a bird's head turned left (heraldic) with a short open beak”²⁸ (Pl. 1, Fig. 5). From the early medieval settlement in Poniaty Wielkie (site no. II) comes a small lead seal of the Drohiczyn-type with an image of a bird's head with a curved beak²⁹ (Pl. 2, Fig. 6). In the Old Town in Płock, six Drohiczyn-type small lead seals were found. One of them, found in the utilisation layer of a timber building dated to the second half of the 12th century, bears a stylised drawing of a bird – an eagle (?) – with spread wings and a long neck, with the beak turned to the right. On the reverse, there is a schematic representation of a bird with spread wings³⁰ (Pl. 2, Fig. 7). In Pułtusk, on the Pułtusk-Fountain site, during the excavation of the remains of a 12th-century feature, a total of 125 Drohiczyn-type small lead seals were unearthed.³¹ Out of these specimens, six small seals were included in the group with the image described as “bird's head shown in profile”, or as a bird's silhouette (?) (Pl. 2, Figs. 8–11).³²

²³ JAKUBOWSKA 2019: 1069, Fig. 3:1.

²⁴ MNK Inv. Nos. VII-V-2655; VII-V-2671; VII-V-2703; VII-V-2708; VII-V-3043 (?); VII-V-3046; VII-V-5593 (?); VII-V-5927.

²⁵ BŁOŃSKI and BOGUCKI 2019: Fig. 2:1b.

²⁶ JAKUBOWSKA 2019: 1069, Fig. 3:6 and Fig. 4:1–2, 4.

²⁷ MNK Inv. Nos. VII-V-3025; VII-V-5873 (?).

²⁸ BŁOŃSKI and BOGUCKI 2019: 1027–1028.

²⁹ AFFELSKI and BOGUCKI 2019: 1041–1049.

³⁰ TRZECIECKI 2019: 1051.

³¹ Three other specimens with the same chronology are known from earlier excavations on the territory of the Old Town.

³² JAKUBOWSKA 2019: 1061–1062.

It is very intriguing that the mentioned representations of birds have close analogies with images on medieval bracteates, including some specimens from the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the MNK.³³

On TYPE I small seals from the MNK's collection, the eagle is shown *en face* in a heraldic pose, with spread wings and its head turned to the left. The image is strikingly similar to images of eagles found on bracteates. In Polish coinage, the image of an eagle in a heraldic pose with the inscription AQVILA can be found for the first time on a coin belonging to an unidentified ruler, dated to the 12th/13th century, likely the fourth quarter of the 12th century (Pl. 3, Fig. 1). A coin attributed to Leszek the White (1206–1227) comes from a hoard found in Krakow, although recently this attribution has been questioned. It shows a heraldic eagle turned to the right, surrounded by four rings (Pl. 3, Fig. 2).³⁴ Another image, younger but almost identical to the discussed small seals, can be found on a coin attributed to Vladislaus I of Opole (?) (1246–1281/82),³⁵ Prince of Opole and Racibórz (Pl. 3, Fig. 3).

For TYPE II small seals with the image of a bird's silhouette (?) – a bird with a human head, if our interpretation of the representation on the seal is correct – there also analogies on a Piast bracteate. I am referring to the coin of an unknown ruler (Pl. 3, Fig. 4). As Witold Garbaczewski notes, combining birds and other animals with images of rulers was a popular motif in Latin Europe in the 12th and early 13th century.³⁶

For TYPES III and IV, a bird's profile with the head turned towards the back, we can find analogies on Piast bracteates dated to the 12th/13th century. In Piast coinages, there are images of birds with their heads turned backwards. The MNK collection includes coins with such images of birds. One example is a bracteate issued in Kalisz by Mieszko III the Old (1173–1202), most likely after 1182–1183 or after 1186, (Pl. 3, Fig. 5), and a bracteate of an unknown ruler (Pl. 3, Fig. 6).³⁷ Images of a bird's profile with the head turned backwards are also known from

³³ KOPICKI 1974. For the purposes of this communique, several most characteristic representations were selected; it is impossible to illustrate all the known specimens here. We should note that one of the first scholars to study Drohiczyn-type small lead seals, Karol Bołsunowski, already noted the similarity of eagle images with the heraldic representations of the Piasts and the Jagiellonians in his works. Initially, he referred to them as “monuments of Polish sigillography”, but in later works he discarded this interpretation, changing his position several times. BOŁSUNOWSKI 1895: 371; IDEM 1896; IDEM 1897: 229–233; IDEM 1902: 55–66; IDEM 1904: 94–109. Russian scholar, N.P. Lihačev, believed small seals with images of birds to be foreign to the Ruthenian tradition; LIHAČEV 1930: 73–74. E. Hanc-Maikowa also notes that the image of an eagle and a man's head can be found in Mazovia on bracteates, HANC-MAIKOWA 1989: 55.

³⁴ HACZEWSKA 1999: 395; PASZKIEWICZ 2002: 313; HACZEWSKA and PASZKIEWICZ 2004: 88; GARBACZEWSKI 2007: 184–187 with further literature.

³⁵ PASZKIEWICZ 2000: 147. B. Paszkiewicz notes that although the coin is dated to the 13th century, the style of the eagle echoes older, 12th-century representations.

³⁶ *Ibidem*: 189.

³⁷ *Ibidem*: 195–196.

early medieval iconography. Such representations, found on Piast coinages, were adapted from Western Europe and are interpreted as a symbolic image of the ruler.³⁸ The manner in which the birds from TYPE III small seals are presented – the head of a bird of prey – may be associated with an eagle. Meanwhile, a bird with a long neck and turned head shown in profile (like on the reverse of type III and in type IV) is more reminiscent of a swan.

We should keep in mind that the symbolism of an eagle was very broad and elaborate in the Middle Ages and we cannot reduce this image to a heraldic symbol alone. As Garbaczewski writes, an eagle and a bird of prey's head are the most common zoomorphic motifs on Polish coins in the 12th and 13th century and in other countries of the so-called bracteate area. As the author continues, such images may be “protoheraldic territorial symbols”.³⁹ According to the scholar, we cannot rule out that an eagle was primarily a Christological symbol or a magical sign bringing good luck, highlighting the ruler's positive attributes.⁴⁰ Regardless of the interpretation we choose, an eagle definitely remains a “strong” sign, frequently used in the Piast milieu and carrying various meanings.⁴¹ It is, therefore, unsurprising that on TYPE I small seals, it is accompanied by a figure in headgear (mitre), which can probably be identified as an image of a ruler/prince. The image of an eagle in a heraldic pose on a Drohiczyn-type small lead seal probably does not mean that it had a heraldic function, as we have already mentioned. However, it seems that it must have been a recognisable symbol, clearly associated by recipients, for whom it carried understandable information.

We should note that the image of an eagle in a heraldic pose on a wax seal was first used in Polish sigillography by Leszek the White (1194–1227), Prince of Krakow, Sandomierz and Mazovia. The use of this representation by the Silesian line of the Piasts falls to the same period. We know documents from 1222–1230 bearing impressions of seals of Casimir I (1211–1230), Prince of Opole. They show an image of the Prince on horseback, holding a raised sword and a shield with an eagle.⁴²

Let us recall here that on the territory of Kievan Rus', which was within the Byzantine sphere of influence, lead seals and small seals were commonly used both

³⁸ The Mazovian Museum in Płock has a bracteate with the name Bolesław, attributed to Bolesław of Kuyavia (Mieszkowic) (1191/4–1195) or Leszek of Mazovia (Bolesławowic) (1173–1186) with the image in the type “with turned head”. The motif is known not only from coins – a medallion from Perkowo near Przemęt, 11th c. GARBACZEWSKI 2007: 195–196.

³⁹ *Ibidem*: 183.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*: 183–189; JAKUBOWSKA 2019: 1062 – the author of the analysis of small seals from Pułtusk notes the connection between the representations and the “Christian tradition and sacred art of Western Europe” and associates it with “the Latin culture area of the Continent”.

⁴¹ According to Wincenty Kadłubek, the eagle on Casimir II the Just's banner was to spur the knights on to fight in the skirmish with Vsevolod, Prince of Belz. KADŁUBEK 4.14 p. 202; PANFIL 2002: 198–199.

⁴² PIECH 1993: 22, 35; GARBACZEWSKI 2007: 186.

in secular and church life.⁴³ Consequently, there is a visible difference between the Byzantine Empire and Kievan Rus' and the territories of Central and Eastern Europe, where the number of discovered seals and small lead seals is much lower. In the chanceries of Polish magnates, who were influenced by Western European courts, wax seals were used. We know only five early medieval lead impressions of Piast seals, dated to the 12th century, from the territory of Poland.⁴⁴

The small seals found in Mazovia are dated to the 12th century; the chronology of some of them has been narrowed down to the second half of this century. In iconographic representations on small seals from the eastern, Ruthenian zone, bidents (princely symbols attributed to Ruthenian princes) and letters of the Cyrillic alphabet and images of saints are typical of this period. West of the Bug River, there was a different cultural tradition, inspired by Europe's Latin cultural milieu. This, it seems, is why the popular motif of birds is present on the Mazovian small seals, while it is absent from Ruthenian sigillography. The tradition of using small lead seals was taken from Rus', but the symbols impressed on them were not mechanically copied. Let us note that there are other, debatable, images which, after further research, might be possible to be linked to the Piast milieu. At present, it seems likely that small seals with images of birds from the Drohiczyn series and from the territory of Mazovia should be linked with Piast rulers. In this context, their function is puzzling. Although a well-developed monetary system functioned on Polish lands at the time, in small, everyday transactions commodity money was most likely still used as supplementary money. Barter was probably also practised. Perhaps small seals performed some function in this system. We cannot rule out that they were an important element of the system of customs or levies. They could have also had a mercantile function, which would make them trademarks or guarantees that a commodity was intact and good quality.

In this paper, while looking for analogies of birds on small seals, only coins from the Piast milieu were identified. The choice of this category of artefacts is obvious; as Borys Paszkiewicz writes, "A medieval coin is the ruler's most commonly available means of communication with his subjects. The eagle was readily used in such communication. It can be surmised that it was understandable in this role to the coin's users. Initially, it is more likely to have presented the ruler's attributes, his virtues, but from the end of the 12th century the ruler himself became an eagle [...]."⁴⁵ We should remember, however, that in the past there were other,

⁴³ YANIN 1970; YANIN and GAYDUKOV 1998; BULGAKOVA 2004; NESBITT 2008: 150; IVAKIN, KHRAPUNOV and SEIBT 2015.

⁴⁴ PIECH 1993; ANDRAŁOJĆ and ANDRAŁOJĆ 2009; SUCHODOLSKI 2009; IDEM 2011; HLEBIONEK 2009; IDEM 2013; BOCHNAK and WOŁOSZYN 2017: 1069.

⁴⁵ PASZKIEWICZ 1996: 32; PANFIL 2002: 164–165.

impermanent means of carrying symbolic messages.⁴⁶ Consequently, the range of potential prototypes which the creators of sealing presses could have used was much wider. However, since those impermanent carriers of iconographic representations have not survived, it is coins and numismatics that will play an increasingly large role in studies of the sphinx of Slavic sigillography, as Drohiczyn-type small lead seals were termed many years ago.⁴⁷

ABBREVIATIONS

Abū Hāmid – “The travels of Abū Hāmid al Andalusī al-Gharnātī, 1130–1155”. In: P. LUNDE and C. STONE (eds.), *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness. Arab Travellers in the Far North*, St Ives 2012: 59–92.

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⁴⁶ Iconographic representations of birds from the Early Middle Ages, which originated from other, non-monetary objects, were described by Garbaczewski in his work *Ikografia monet piastowskich (The Iconography of Piast Coinages)*, with earlier literature; PANFIL 2002: 163–200.

⁴⁷ BOŁSUNOWSKI 1902.

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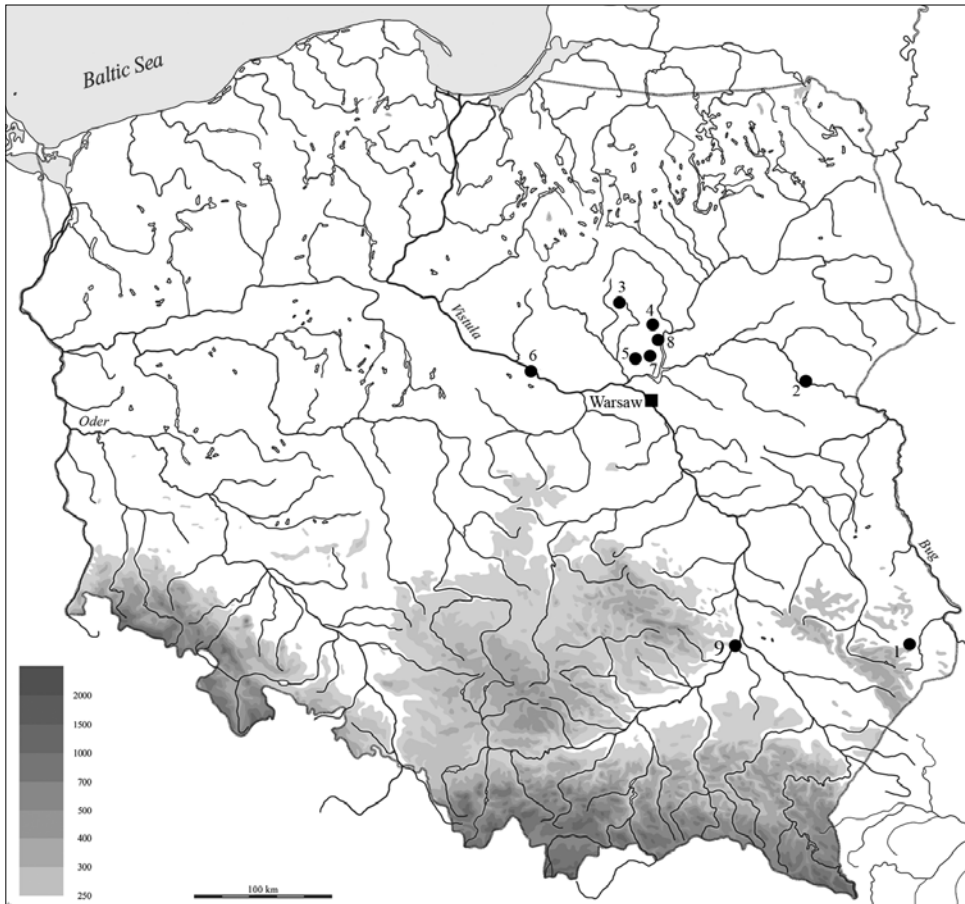
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MAP 1	Location of archaeological sites of findspots of small lead seals of Drohiczyn-type
PLATE 1–2	Drohiczyn-type seals with images of birds: 1–4) Seals from Drohiczyn, Collection of the National Museum in Krakow (photos: The National Museum in Krakow); 5) Nasielsk (photo by M. Osiadacz); 6) Poniaty Wielkie (photo by J. Affelski); 7) Płock (photo by M. Trzeciński); 8–11) Pułtusk (photo by I. Jakubowska). Scale 2:1
PLATE 3	Images of birds on Polish coins from the 12 th and 13 th centuries (MNK collection): Fig. 1. Unidentified ruler, bracteate; the turn of the 12 th and 13 th centuries (MNK VII-P-8154) Fig. 2. The Duchy of Krakow, Leszek the White (1206–1227) (?), bracteate, Krakow; n.d. (MNK VII-P-34457) Fig. 3. The Duchy of Racibórz – Opole, Władysław I (1246–1281/2), bracteate; n.d. (MNK VII-P-7236) Fig. 4. Unidentified ruler, bracteate; the turn of the 12 th and 13 th centuries (MNK VII-P-33213) Fig. 5. Mieszko III the Old [1173–1202], bracteate, Kalisz; after 1182–1183 (MNK VII-P-19100) Fig. 6. Unidentified ruler, bracteate; the turn of the 12 th and 13 th centuries (MNK VII-P-23127) Photos: The National Museum in Krakow



Location of archaeological sites of findspots of small lead seals of Drohiczyn-type
1) Czerwno; 2) Drohiczyn; 3) Grudusk; 4) Maków Mazowiecki; 5) Nasielsk; 6) Płock; 7) Poniaty Wielkie; 8) Pułtusk; 9) Sandomierz (drawing by I. Jordan and A. Bochnak)



1A



1B



2A



2B



3A



3B



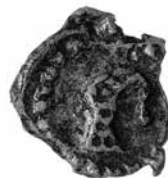
4A



4B



5A



5B



6A



6B



7A



7B



8A



8B



9A



9B



10A



10B



11A



11B



1



4



2



5



3



6