

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVI

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

Kraków 2021

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A Coin Hoard from the 16th Century Found During Archaeological Excavations at Perespa, and Its Context

ABSTRACT: The hoard found in 2003 during archaeological excavations in Perespa in the Tomaszów Lubelski district, Lublin voivodeship, despite its small size (46 coins), and thanks to its assured completeness, gives the opportunity to study the structure of the rural Polish monetary market in the middle of the 16th century, the role of coins from individual mints and foreign coinage. The location and context of the hoard also provide an opportunity to relate it to the results of research on the monetization of villages and the role of cash rents in the transformations of the rural economy in the early modern era. A high technical level coin counterfeit from the Perespa hoard deserves a separate reflection as it suggests that it was the product of an official mint.

KEY WORDS: monetization of the countryside, 16th century, hoarding, rental economy, Sigismund I the Old, coin forgeries

¹ The work of the former writer is the description of the site and circumstances of the discovery, while the latter made the numismatic study and the descriptions of coins. The writers are much indebted to Marcin Piotrowski for his co-operation. Mr. Piotrowski is currently a PhD student at the Institute of Medieval History of the Catholic University of Lublin, as well as a representative of the Archeo-Future company, conducting archaeological excavations and non-invasive recognition of archaeological sites in Europe.

ABSTRAKT: *Zbiór monet z XVI w. znaleziony podczas wykopalisk archeologicznych w Perespie i jego kontekst*

Skarb znaleziony w 2003 roku podczas badań archeologicznych w Perespie w powiecie tomaszowskim województwa lubelskiego, mimo swych niewielkich rozmiarów (46 monet), a dzięki gwarantowanej kompletności, daje możliwość przeanalizowania struktury wiejskiego rynku monetarnego Polski w połowie XVI wieku, roli monety z poszczególnych ośrodków oraz obcej. Lokalizacja i kontekst ukrycia skarbu stwarzają też sposobność odniesienia skarbu do wyników badań nad upieniężnieniem wsi i rolą czynszów pieniężnych w przemianach gospodarki wiejskiej we wczesnej nowożytności. Osobna refleksja należy się fałszywej monecie ze skarbu peresepeckiego, której wysoki poziom techniczny sugeruje wyrób mennicy oficjalnej.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: upieniężnienie wsi, XVI wiek, tezauryzacja, gospodarka czynszowa, Zygmunt I Stary, fałszerstwa monet

THE SITE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY

Archaeological site 54 at Perespa (Tyszowce commune, Tomaszów Lubelski district) is located on a small promontory in the Sieniocha valley, the left tributary of the Huczwa. Today it is an arable field between the southern, minor road leading through the village (its part called the Old Village) to the hamlet of Wólka, and a marshy riverside meadow (Map 1). In the modern period, it was the main road of the village of Perespa, leading from the manor house to the eastern end of the village's buildings. At the church, the road formed an arc surrounding site 54 from the north and east, and then it twisted and turned going to the ford on the Sieniocha River and next, through the forest, to Tyszowce (Map 2). Currently, the clustered rural settlement has shifted away from the river, and another road goes to Tyszowce. Archaeological research was undertaken here in response to a report on the discovery of a vessel within the site's range, containing burnt human bones. It was a relic of a grave of the Lusatian culture people. The cremation burial site in this place was already known in the inter-war years of the previous century, and even – as it turned out – as early as in the 16th century, when, while digging a garbage dump near an existing wooden building here, an urn was found, which was then abandoned at the bottom of the dump (see Pl. 1, Fig. 1, burial no. 10).²

The research in 2003 and 2004 was conducted under the supervision of Elżbieta M. Kłosińska, in co-operation with Marcin Piotrowski from the Institute of Archaeology of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. Over an area of less than three ares, numerous cultural remains were observed, together with

² KŁOSIŃSKA 2004: 27.

occupation earth rich in artefacts.³ It transpired that the site was multicultural, with the earliest traces of settlement coming from the Early Bronze Age and belonging to the Mierzanowice and Strzyżów cultures, while others come from the older part of the same era, being a relic of the Trzciniec culture population. In the Late Bronze Age, and probably in the Early Iron Age, a Lusatian cremation graveyard appeared here, and in the Roman and early Slavic periods settlements occupied the site again. Contemporary with the functioning of the Czerwień early medieval stronghold in nearby Czeremo, there was a pottery-making centre in the settlement at the Perespa 54 site. Most of the discoveries mentioned above have been studied in more or less detail and published in due course⁴ and the writers will not return to them here.

In the summer of 2003, during the first of the two excavation seasons, a hoard of 46 coins from the 15th and 16th centuries was found within the remains of a building, and exposed by archaeological methods (Pl. 1, Fig. 1). This coin complex belonged to the last archaeologically recognized stage of settlement of this place. The stage was reflected in well-preserved objects dating back to the modern period: a small surface building (feature 2) and the surrounding utility or dump pits (features 2b, 6, 7, 11). As it should be judged on the basis of the coin find, other metal relics and pottery fragments, the building most likely came from the 16th century. The coins were tentatively identified by Borys Paszkiewicz in 2004, and on this basis a short description of the hoard contents was published in 2010.⁵ The hoard is today stored in the Janusz Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski.

Not only does the discovery of the coins during archaeological research deserve attention, but also the very fact that it is a 16th-century hoard, as these are rare. Discoveries of coins made *in situ* within wooden buildings are perhaps rarer still. For example, in Brulino-Koski (Czyżew commune, Wysokie Mazowieckie district), a half groschen of King John Albert (1492–1501) and a groschen of Duke Albert of Prussia from 1541 were hidden in a wooden building from the 16th century.⁶

The coin complex (feature 1) was documented in a specific stratigraphic sequence, allowing for a broader interpretation of the find. The concreted lump of coins (Pl. 3, Fig. 4) was discovered in the top part of a pit, located directly under the wooden floor which was a relic of the wooden surface building (feature 2). In the horizontal projection, the hiding pit had the outline of a square measuring 30 × 30 cm and was located in the south-eastern part of the building. In cross-section it was close to a rectangle. The decayed floorboards formed a square measuring 3 × 3 m.

³ KŁOSIŃSKA and PIOTROWSKI 2005.

⁴ KŁOSIŃSKA 2004; EADEM 2006; EADEM 2012; KŁOSIŃSKA and PIOTROWSKI 2005; GRONKIEWICZ 2006; PIOTROWSKA and PIOTROWSKI 2010; PIOTROWSKI 2010.

⁵ GROCHECKI and SOLARSKA 2010: 122.

⁶ KIERZKOWSKA 1960: 118–119.

Near the floor and the building's outline, two large lumps of burnt clay with wood imprints were found that could be related to the structure of the above-ground part of the building. It can be assumed that due to its small size, this building was not a residential house, but an outbuilding. The coins were not placed directly in the ground (in the fill of the hiding pit) but originally wrapped in some fabric, perhaps a purse, in a wooden box of unknown shape and size, with only the iron fittings and padlock remaining.⁷ The corrosion products on one of the coins solidified the linen weave of a fabric.

Within the excavation, several hundred potsherds were found in the present humus as well as in occupation deposits from the early modern period, in the layer directly related to the functioning of the building, and also in the fill of the hiding pit. These were fragments of thin-walled, wheeled pottery which, according to the current knowledge, can be dated from the end of the 16th to the 17th century (Pl. 2, Fig. 2; Pl. 3, Fig. 4). These were made of three types of raw material: ferruginous clay, kaolinite clay, and probably a mixture of these two types of clays. In the first group, the vessels were pots fired brown (in an oxidation atmosphere) or steel grey (in a reduction atmosphere: grey ware). Vessels made of kaolinite clay, in the form of pots, plates with a wide lip, jugs, bowls, mugs and pans, were fired white (in an oxidation atmosphere) and light grey (in a reduction atmosphere). Vessels from the third material group, pots, had a cream-pink colour after the oxidation firing and medium grey after the reduction firing. Some of the vessels were glazed. These were mainly white fired pots which were glazed, although there were some glazed grey sherds as well. The glaze, occurring mostly on the inner surfaces, was green, golden-yellow and various shades of brown. Some of the vessels, both white and grey, were painted with maroon stripes. Another kind of ornaments were dense shallow grooves on the upper parts of vessels. In the fill of the hiding pit, 26 fragments of mezza maiolica were found, probably of a single, cup-shaped vessel.⁸ The vessel, decorated with a monochromatic green geometric-floral ornament on a yellow-olive background, dates from around the middle of the 16th century. On the wooden floor in Feature 2, an interesting iron artefact was found: a Pelham bit, *i.e.* an element of a horse tack, unique in early-modern Poland.⁹ It seems that the Perespa specimen should be dated like the building in which it was found.

It is also worth mentioning the specific location conditions for site 54 in Perespa. The Sieniocha is a short river, but its valley undoubtedly played an important role on

⁷ The fittings and the padlock cannot be illustrated here, as they are inaccessible in the collection of the Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski.

⁸ KŁOSIŃSKA and PIOTROWSKI 2005: 399, 402.

⁹ See for more at *Ibidem*: 399.

the route of movement of people and various goods. In earlier ages (*e.g.* the Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age and the early Middle Ages) it was a segment of the East-West communication route of great importance. Places where people moved and goods were exchanged brought various threats; hence the intensification of hoarding in order to keep valuable items safe from loss. It is difficult to say whether this was the motivation behind the person who hid the coins in Perespa. This assumption is more justified in relation to the other 12 (!) hoards recorded in this small valley. These were hoards from the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Roman Age and Early Middle Ages.¹⁰ The 16th century was not a fortunate period for Perespa. Already at the beginning of this century, the village was deserted, and, when re-inhabited again, it suffered a plague in 1531, after which only 17 of 38 families remained. In 1535, the destruction of the village was completed by a fire.¹¹ It can be assumed that the fate of Perespa in the first half of the 16th century created the need to save people's belongings for the event of another disaster and to hoard their cash. Such a hoard, intended for later use, could be an assemblage of silver coins (feature 1), hidden within the building (feature 2).

A STRUCTURE OF THE COIN ASSEMBLAGE AND ITS INTERPRETATION

For a numismatist, the Perespa hoard (Pl. 4, Fig. 5) is a unique piece of evidence thanks to the circumstances of its unearthing and the concrete form in which it was found. Even if coins are found during regular archaeological research – this happens rarely – it does not always give practical certainty that a scholar is dealing with a complete assemblage, and also knowledge about the form of hiding and the accompanying archaeological structures. This is what happened in Perespa – despite certain minor failures – making this find unique in numismatic practice.

The coins in the hoard come from mints of the Polish Crown (20 specimens), Prussia (22 specimens) and Silesia (4 specimens). They were struck between 1492 and 1552. The hoard is therefore small, limited in terms of territory and time. It consists of two main groups: 19 coins minted before the great monetary reform of Sigismund I, which united the monetary systems of Poland and Prussia in the years 1526–1528, and 27 issued later. Older coins were half-groschen that dominated the Polish market before the reform, and younger coins were groschen and shillings.

Significant remnants of similar pre-reform half-groschen are visible in contemporary Polish hoards and, as a rule, they start either with Casimir II (IV) Jagiellon's (1447–1492) late coins or John Albert's (1492–1501) early ones, because older half-groschen containing more silver were eliminated from circulation still in

¹⁰ KŁOSIŃSKA and SADOWSKI 2017: *passim*.

¹¹ NIEDŹWIEDŹ 2003: 373.

the 15th century (sometimes there are also specimens of Vladislas II Jagiello's most debased half-groschen in such hoards). In the Perespa hoard, the first coins were minted in the time of King Albert. They all belong to the earlier and more common issue from 1492–1498, marked with the Rose from the arms of the Grand Treasurer Piotr of Kurozwęki, nicknamed Piorun ("the Thunderbolt"), and in the hoard they are distinguished by crude die-cutting and careless striking. As many as three out of five specimens were clipped. King Sigismund the Old's mint expert, Just Ludwik Decjusz, stated that King Albert's half-groschen, called *piorunki*, are light and of very uneven quality (*pondere levis et mixtura inequalissima*).¹² The Sigismund reform, however, left them circulating as the Polish royal coinage, as well as half-groschen of the kings Alexander and Sigismund I himself, which were also present in the hoard.

Stanisława Kubiak in her study on Alexander I's half-groschen, distinguished numerous punctuation variants, being guided by the full or empty annulets in stops.¹³ This feature is accidental, though, and difficult to discern on obliterated or weakly struck specimens, so the writers do not use her proposal. King Alexander's half-groschen differ, however, in the style of the eagle and the lettering. Especially distinguished are the rare but present in Perespa specimens (three out of six) with the letter R with a leg bent down, in a form close to B (in the catalogue descriptions below it is conventionally marked with the sign β). The "β" coins have also a simpler crown on the Eagle's head, distinguishing – as it is proven elsewhere – the older version of Alexander's half-groschen, probably struck by mint-master Henryk Slakier in the years 1502–1504.¹⁴ In total, the simple crown variety is represented by four coins.

The group of pre-reform coins is closed by Sigismund the Old's half-groschen from 1507–1511 and without a date. In the hoard, there is an overview of them, apart from the accidental lack of the year 1508. On the coin with an illegible date, the writers reconstruct the year 1507 on the basis of the characteristic letter L with a sharp serif protruded to the right, which can only be seen in this year.¹⁵ Coins from 1511 are not rare, despite the fact that, at the request of the Sejm, the king closed the mint on 15 February that year.¹⁶ Undated half-groschen were minted in 1520, when the king, urgently needing money to pay mercenaries in the Prussian war, ordered a confidential minting of coins with the senate's permission.¹⁷

¹² DECJUSZ 1923: 120.

¹³ KUBIAK 1998: 157–158.

¹⁴ PASZKIEWICZ, forthcoming.

¹⁵ See the Internet archive of the company Warszawskie Centrum Numizmatyczne Marek Kondrat (<https://wcn.pl/archive>), nos. 33: 129, 39: 208, 34,721, 118,872 and 169,528; specimen no. 52: 247 shows identity of the most of reverse punches.

¹⁶ TERLECKI 1963: 45.

¹⁷ GUMOWSKI 1927a: 67; ZGORZELSKA 1974: 195; PASZKIEWICZ 2021: 202–203, quotes new sources supporting this – so far only hypothetical – finding.

In the Perespa hoard, there are no Świdnica half-groschen which were similar to the Polish half-groschen and struck in enormous quantities in the royal Bohemian mint in Świdnica. These were probably the basic problem of the Polish monetary market in the first half of the 16th century. It is believed that their number in circulation in the Polish Crown was significantly reduced as a result of the reform in 1526–1528,¹⁸ but the admixture of Świdnica half-groschen among Polish half-groschen is also encountered in much later hoards. They occur, *e.g.*, in the not too distant Ostrów hoard (Wojśławice commune, Chełm district, *terminus post quem* 1550).¹⁹ The lack of this admixture in Perespa – taking into account the small size of this assemblage of coins – could be regarded as accidental, but it has interesting analogies. For example, this hoard resembles in this respect the distant and four times larger hoard from Dobrzyń on the Vistula (*terminus post quem* 1551).²⁰ The same coins appeared there (including Legnica and Krosno coins), but with an even greater remnant of coins from the 15th century, Polish and Prussian. Similar, albeit to a lesser extent, is the Dzieduszyce Wielkie hoard in the former Stryj district (*terminus post quem* 1550).²¹ It is necessary to recall the hypothesis of Marta Męcłewska that when the Lithuanian government bought out Świdnica half-groschen from circulation in the years 1545–1547, it had bought also Polish half-groschen. The latter, in the amount of 6 million, were taken to the Crown of Poland, while the former were melted down.²²

The Polish-Prussian monetary system was cleared of most of the Świdnica half-groschen and stabilized as a result of the reform of 1526–1528. The system was based on the monetary standard of the Polish half-groschen, minted in Krakow from the times of John Albert. By doubling this standard, as a result of the reform, a groschen coin was obtained, minted both in the Crown Mint in Krakow and in Prussian mints: royal in Toruń, ducal in Königsberg and municipal mints in Gdańsk and Elbląg.²³ A regional Prussian coin, also accepted in Poland at the rate of 1/3 groschen, remained a shilling struck in all four Prussian mints. The initial intention of the king and his counsellors was to limit the Prussian coinage to one mint, common to all Prussian states, located in Toruń, which, however, was not successful.

From the post-reform period, there is only one Crown coin in the Perespa hoard: a groschen from 1527, well designed (the reverse was probably influenced

¹⁸ ZGORZELSKA 1974: 206–208.

¹⁹ MĘCLEWSKA and MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: no. 108.

²⁰ *Ibidem*: no. 110; PIETROŃ 2004.

²¹ KOTLAR 1975: no. 211, “Bolszyje Didusziezi”; currently: Velyki Didushychi, Stryi rayon, L’viv province, Ukraine.

²² MĘCLEWSKA 1985: 316.

²³ For a broader study on King Sigismund I’s monetary reforms see TERLECKI 1963.

by Hans Schwarz),²⁴ but poorly struck. It can be seen that the Krakow mint had not yet developed the technique of striking coins of a much larger module than before. Almost all the coins from this phase in the Perespa hoard, shillings and groschen, come from four Prussian mints. The groschen from these mints do not show technical defects, as those demonstrated in Krakow, and the specimen from Toruń from 1535 displays an excellent portrait of the king made by Maciej Schilling,²⁵ reproduced not only on coins, but also on other works of art from the era.²⁶ Witold Garbaczewski even suggests that the creator of the prototype of this portrait was Gianmaria Mosca (“il Padovano”) himself.²⁷

Among the groschen of the Prussian Lands, *i.e.* the royal issue for the whole of Prussia, the specimen dated 1529 was heavily attacked by corrosion. After cleaning, it revealed a copper-coloured metal, covered in the recesses with silvery remnants of foil, possibly tin. It is therefore a forgery, albeit one unrecognized at the time; only damage caused by long-term lying in the ground revealed its character. The known Polish counterfeit coins from the first half of the 16th century are mainly half-groschen from the beginning of the century, usually struck and well-made, but distinguished by an easily wearing off film of silvering and mostly a brass core: ... *varia et falsa et adultera [moneta] ad effigiem Polonice monete in variis locis et per varios nebulones excusa [...]. Ista vero post parvum sui usum se ipsam prodit falsam esse.*²⁸ The Silesians were frequently accused of manufacturing them, certainly justly (dies of Polish half-groschen were stored, *e.g.*, in the city hall of Świdnica),²⁹ but they were surely not the only one who were involved in this practice. The groschen from Perespa is certainly not a product of folk forgers, even professional ones, mentioned in the court registers of large Polish cities, investigated by Marcin Kamler and Andrzej Mikołajczyk.³⁰ Their products – judging from the descriptions of the techniques used – were very primitive and easy to distinguish, and almost all of them were unfamiliar with the minting technique.³¹ The Perespa specimen is distinguished from the forgeries known from the times of the last Jagiellons by very good quality of workmanship using regular minting technique. As indicated,

²⁴ PASZKIEWICZ 2012: 68.

²⁵ GUMOWSKI 1927b: 6–8.

²⁶ MORKA 2008: 79, 82.

²⁷ GARBACZEWSKI 2016: 63.

²⁸ DEJUSZ 1923: 120.

²⁹ FRIEDENSBURG 1888: 262. There are known accusations of counterfeiting coins of Sigismund the Old, which were made by Duke Casimir II of Cieszyn against Duke Valentin of Racibórz in 1516 and 1517 (GORSKI 1855: 61–62; MIKA 2016: 58–59). One cannot be sure of Valentin's innocence, yet he managed to refute these accusations at the convention of the Silesian Estates, proving that Casimir himself had counterfeited coins and had blamed Valentin in order to seize the Duchy of Racibórz. See PASZKIEWICZ 1998: 88–89.

³⁰ KAMLER 1992; MIKOŁAJCZYK 1980: 109–112.

³¹ BOŃKO-GAGARIN 2017: 332–335.

even the Krakow mint had technical problems when minting groschen, and here the die was accurately imprinted on the entire surface of the flan. Therefore, it could not have been the work of a well-financed magnate mint, hidden in a castle – about which, beyond the reach of justice, only rumours reported, not court registers³² – but of a state-owned enterprise equipped with modern machinery.

The enterprise can be searched for in the country. Certainly, the Toruń mint itself had the appropriate technique and dies. Admittedly, counterfeits at home mints consisted in a significant reduction in the precious metal content rather than in its complete elimination.³³ However, the comparison of the Perespa coin with original Toruń specimens, with all their diversity, although it did not reveal any instances of a die identity, showed very similar specimens to which the dies were made with some identical – as the writers presume – punches. Such a similar portrait and the eagle are shown, for example, by specimens WCN³⁴ 181,546 and WCN 52: 218. Part of the letter punches are identical. Even the seemingly most specific letter C on the obverse of the counterfeit, slightly overlapping the letter O, can be found on the specimen WCN 106,176. Certainly, there have been cases of illegal removal of dies or punches from the mint,³⁵ but not all the instrumentation, ensuring the proper appearance of coins minted in the 16th century. It would follow that the counterfeit groschen could actually have been made in Toruń in 1529 or soon after. Traces of abuses in the Toruń mint at that time are reported in the Krakow court register. There is a record that in 1535 the Toruń mint master, Just Ludwik Decjusz, released Bernard Marthawy from the warranty, who cleared himself of the accusation of some “mistakes that happened in the Toruń mint”.³⁶

However, without a stated die-identity, one cannot be absolutely sure about this. A clue to the need to exercise particular caution is the Crown groschen of Sigismund the Old, made with the same technique, very carefully struck in copper and covered with silvery foil, and perhaps found in Volhynia.³⁷ It also shows far-reaching correspondence with the original coins, but is better minted than those. Perhaps, then, this was some foreign mint of Western tradition, that engaged experienced moneyers, and imitated the products of both major Polish mints so perfectly. It is known, for example, that a little earlier, in the years 1524–1525, “Polish coin” – undoubtedly half-groschen – was minted at the royal Hungarian

³² See *e.g.* OPOZDA 1983; RIZZOLLI 2015.

³³ See *e.g.* COCKSHAW 1983.

³⁴ See footnote 16.

³⁵ LEMINGER 1912: 379–380.

³⁶ GRABOWSKI 1852: 275.

³⁷ BOŃKO-GAGARIN 2017: 91, Fig. 159.

mint in Körmöcbánya (Kremnica).³⁸ Upper Hungary, plunged into anarchy, sheltered counterfeiters of Polish coins previously, and even later.³⁹

The Prussian cities, Gdańsk and Elbląg, and Duke Albert struck shillings and groschen in numbers that were considered too high in the Crown – in particular, the Prussians were blamed for the increase in the price of the Hungarian gold florin.⁴⁰ From 1535, both King Sigismund and the Sejm insisted on stopping these issues, the king also closed his mint in Toruń as an example, but with regard to the cities, he was successful only in 1540, and he failed to make the duke close his mint in Königsberg at all.⁴¹ The fact that the opinion about the significant volume of the Prussian coinage, especially of Duke Albert, was justified, is evidenced by the Perespa hoard, distant from Prussia, where among the post-reform coins, Prussia has an overwhelming advantage over the Crown. Nevertheless, the reason for the significant increase in the Hungarian florin's price (*i.e.* the decrease in the value of the land rent charged in silver), which was painful for the Polish landed gentry, laid elsewhere and the Prussians were not responsible for it.⁴²

The reopening of the Krakow mint in 1545 was meant to prevent Albert from monopolizing coinage in Poland,⁴³ but it did not leave any trace in the Perespa hoard. During the reign of King Sigismund Augustus (1548–1572), the Crown mint remained closed. Coins were minted in the ducal and municipal Prussian mints and in the grand-ducal mint in Vilnius – in the latter, both according to the Lithuanian and Polish monetary systems. Of these, there are only Prussian coins in Perespa: the ducal shilling from 1550 and the Gdańsk shillings from 1550 and 1552 which close the hoard. If one assumes that the coins were obtained on the spot by the hoarder, it means that an influx of coins from the north definitely dominated.

Is such a preponderance of Prussian coins really a local feature? Four hoards from a close time and place are known:

– Polanówka near Zamość (*tpq* 1546): 371 or 372 coins, a similar set of denominations, 39 Crown coins of Sigismund the Old after 1526, nine Prussian ones (only cities, no Albert);⁴⁴

– Żurawce near Hrubieszów (*tpq* 1546): 52 coins known, a similar set of denominations, two Crown coins of Sigismund the Old after 1526, eight coins of Royal Prussia and 10 of Ducal Prussia;⁴⁵

³⁸ RATKOŠ 1963: 50–51.

³⁹ KAHLER 1980.

⁴⁰ GRAŻYŃSKI 1913: 132–133.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*: 162–164; GRAŻYŃSKI 1914: 4.

⁴² IDEM 1914: 134–135.

⁴³ *Ibidem*: 34.

⁴⁴ MĘCLEWSKA and MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: 38–39, no. 93.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: 39, no. 94.

– Bezek near Chełm (*tpq* 1547): 108 coins, a similar set of denominations, seven Crown coins of Sigismund the Old after 1526, 24 of Royal Prussia and 57 of Ducal Prussia;⁴⁶

– Ostrów near Wojsławice (*tpq* 1550): 580 coins, a similar set of denominations (no numerical data), contained Sigismund the Old's Crown groschen of three years and all the abundance of groschen and shillings of Royal and Ducal Prussia.⁴⁷

As one can see, the proportions observed in Perespa, although extreme (which may result from the small total number of coins), do not differ much from the above-mentioned hoards (except for Polanówka, where the pre-reform coins dominated). The Bezek hoard is especially similar. This proves that the Perespa hoard represents a typical set of coins in terms of both denominations and the predominance of Prussian coins. A. Mikołajczyk also observed a clear increase in the share of Prussian coins in the hoards hidden in the so-called Central Poland, *i.e.* Łęczyca, Sieradz and Wieluń provinces in the 1540s.⁴⁸

Two types of coins found in the studied hoard came from beyond the reach of the king of Poland's power. In both cases, they are groschen imitating Polish coinage and struck in the Lower Silesian mints: in Legnica of Duke Frederick II and in Krosno, possessed by the cadet margrave of Brandenburg, John of Küstrin (Kostrzyn). Frederick II minted Polish type groschen and triple groschen from 1541. Their types – especially the eagle, but also the portrait – refer not to royal Polish coins, but to ducal Prussian ones. Their origin and even the Protestant confession of the issuer were announced in their legends: *Fridericus Dei gratia dux Slesiae Legnicensis et Bregensis* and *Verbum Domini manet in eternum*. The inscriptions, however, spoke to few, especially in the mass circulation of coinage. The issue of Silesian groschen was in principle a repetition – albeit on a smaller scale – of the issue of Świdnica half-groschen, which had ended thirteen years earlier. These coins probably also corresponded to the Polish mint standard, but, thanks to their similarity to the Polish market, attracted the mint's profit, the seigniorage, to the casket of a foreign ruler. As early as 1542, King Sigismund the Old protested and demanded that Duke Frederick stop these practices, and the Sejm supported the monarch. The circulation of Legnica groschen in Poland was prohibited. Frederick tried to ease the dispute, but the recollection of the Świdnica coinage made it impossible for the Polish side to stand another monetary sabotage, and reimposed the ban on trade with Silesia, which was very severe for the Silesians. The reaction of the Bohemian Sejm, which forbade the circulation of these coins in the Kingdom of Bohemia,

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*: 39, no. 96.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*: 42, no. 108.

⁴⁸ MIKOŁAJCZYK 1980: 22, 102–103.

was similar.⁴⁹ In Poland, in 1546, a compulsory exchange of Legnica groschen was ordered at the rate of 5 kwartniki ($\frac{5}{6}$ groschen). Eventually, the Czech king, Ferdinand I, forced the duke to abandon the issue.⁵⁰

Margrave John of Küstrin, a younger brother of Prince-Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, and the ruler of the New March, Krosno and Cottbus, undertook – consulting Frederick – an analogous issue in Krosno in the spring of 1544. This time the standard of the coins was slightly lowered, and the legends that differed the Krosno groschen from the Polish and Prussian were: *Iohannes Dei gratia marchio Brandenburgicus Stettini* [dux] and *Grossus argenteus Iohannis marchionis Brandenburgensis*. The mint master in Legnica and Krosno was the same entrepreneur, Michael Stoltz. John was also affected by the counteraction of the Polish side, and the Czech king referring to the fact that Krosno, as part of Silesia, was a fief of the Bohemian Crown, forced the margrave to end this lucrative activity in 1546.⁵¹ Michał Grażyński observed that the decisive action of King Ferdinand resulted, *inter alia*, from the fact that he himself strove for exactly opposite changes in coinage and for the lands of the Bohemian Crown to be included in the Austrian monetary system and kreutzer coinage.⁵²

Although both the Silesian mints had been closed, the infiltration of groschen struck there into Poland was facilitated all the more because they were banned in Silesia and Bohemia, while in Poland, after the death of Sigismund the Old in 1548, the Crown Mint was also closed. On the one hand, the latter fact placed the burden of supplying the country with coins according to the Polish monetary system on the shoulders of the Prussian municipal and ducal mints, on the other – it facilitated the acceptance of Silesian coins adapted to this system in Poland. No wonder then that groschen from both Silesian mints found their way not only to the Perespa hoard, but also to other contemporary hoards. Issues of a similar nature – Świdnica half-groschen from the 1520s and Silesian groschen from the 1540s – were sometimes, as it is revealed, treated differently in hoards. Undoubtedly, the large-scale mint activity in Świdnica was fought by Polish authorities much more vigorously and it was it that gave the direct reason for the general monetary reform in the years 1526–1528.

Despite the concealment of the hoard (and probably also its forming) in the then Bełz voivodeship, and even on its edge, close to the state border with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, there are no Lithuanian coins in it. No wonder, as Lithuania did not join the Polish-Prussian monetary union in the years 1526–1528. Its monetary

⁴⁹ GUMOWSKI 1961: 209.

⁵⁰ FRIEDENSBURG 1899: 122–124; GRAŻYŃSKI 1919: 51–54; GUMOWSKI 1961: 209–212.

⁵¹ BAHRFELDT 1895: 234–236; a new study, unfortunately, written in an amateur manner and secondary in conclusions: KORECKI 2012.

⁵² GRAŻYŃSKI 1919: 73–77.

system was based on significant numbers of Wenceslas IV's Prague groschen, transformed into the national currency, known in Northern Rus as the Lithuanian groschen and mentioned in Novgorod as early as 1411.⁵³ At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, Czech groschen, then called czechs, were already rare in circulation, replaced by Lithuanian half-groschen (heavier than Polish ones) of Alexander and Sigismund the Old.⁵⁴ Whole Lithuanian groschen, the so-called flat groschen, were minted only from 1535.⁵⁵ The divergence in monetary systems resulted in the scarceness of Lithuanian coins in Polish hoards. This phenomenon already drew attention of Marta Męciewska.⁵⁶ The inferior Polish coin displaced the Lithuanian one even in the border areas of the Grand Duchy, as evidenced by the hoard from Drohiczyn, hidden after 1555.⁵⁷

Therefore, the writers consider the Perespa hoard as consistent in terms of the origin of the coins. In terms of denominations, it is also not very diversified: it contains only shillings ($\frac{1}{3}$ groschen), half-groschen and groschen. There are no contemporary smallest coins (pennies and kwartniki, *i.e.* threepences) or larger ones, such as triple and sextuple groschen (*trojaki* and *szóstaki*). The absence of pennies, as the smallest coins, the least suitable – because of its token nature – for hoarding, is typical and justified. The situation of kwartniki (the so-called ternars in literature) as three times larger should be apparently different. Nevertheless, the kwartniki of Sigismund I were minted at a rate of $309\frac{1}{3}$ groschen from the Krakow mark of pure silver, while pennies at 320 groschen, and single, triple and sextuple groschen at 256 groschen from the mark. The standard of shillings (struck only in Prussian mints) was also significantly higher than the kwartniki: $282\frac{2}{3}$ groschen from the mark of pure silver.⁵⁸ Thus, for the hoarder, the limit of a coin's suitability for hoarding was the standard of c. 300 groschen from the mark (the price of unminted silver was 227 groschen for the mark).⁵⁹ It should be noted here that the royal decree of 15 February 1528 on the buying out the Świdnica half-groschen clearly defines the token nature of kwartniki (*ternarii*) on a par with pennies: *Denarios vel ternarios nullus preter suam voluntatem in magna summa cogatur recipere*.⁶⁰ The absence of triple and sextuple groschen in the hoard was not related to their standard, which was the same as single groschen, but perhaps to the size of the transactions

⁵³ HOROŠKEVIČ 1961: 114.

⁵⁴ KOZUBOVŠ'KIĬ 2019: 155–156, 168–169.

⁵⁵ REMECAS 2016: 166–167.

⁵⁶ MĘCLEWSKA 1985: 317.

⁵⁷ MĘCLEWSKA and MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: 44, no. 113.

⁵⁸ TERLECKI 1963: 50 (there, mistakenly 'talar' instead of 'ternar').

⁵⁹ RYBARSKI 1958: 294.

⁶⁰ ZAGÓRSKI 1845: 111.

as a result of which the inhabitant of Perespa gathered his capital for safekeeping. Such a composition of denominations is typical and a significant part of Polish hoards from the second and third quarters of the 16th century look precisely like this in this respect, although in Mazovia there were also found those in which the triple groschen were strongly present.⁶¹ Kwartniks and sextuple groschen are extremely rare in finds. In the case of kwartniks, it would be interesting to investigate the purpose of their issue, which has not been done so far. Gold coinage belonged to another tier of monetary circulation and was usually hoarded separately, like in the treasure found before 1914 in the vicinity of “Bogdanowicze, a backwater town in the Volhynian gubernia” (an unidentified place),⁶² hidden after 1556 and composed of at least 150 florins of the Hungarian standard, mainly of Silesian and Hungarian origin, but also nine from Gdańsk and one from Lithuania.⁶³

The denomination structure of the hoard – the lack of small and large coins – suggests that it was not a purse with handy cash, but a selected and set aside resource of money.

As all the coins in the Perespa assemblage belong to one, Polish-Prussian monetary system (although the Legnica and Krosno coins were illegal in it and one Prussian groschen was false, about which the hoarder certainly did not know), the value of the deposited money can be determined by their simple addition. There are 11 shillings (*i.e.* 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ groschen), 19 half-groschen (*i.e.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ groschen) and 16 groschen in the hoard. The total sum of the hoarded money is therefore 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ groschen, which is a bit less than 1 Polish zloty (30 groschen). In the countryside, however, money was calculated not in zlotys, but in marks of 48 groschen.⁶⁴ If one took into account the effects of the order issued in January 1546 to remove the Legnica and Krosno groschen from circulation at the price of 5 kwartniks per item, this amount would have to be reduced by 4 kwartniks, to 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ groschen. This reduction, however, was connected with the complete banning of Silesian groschen on 24 June of the same year,⁶⁵ so the presence of these coins in the assemblage closed several years later

⁶¹ MĘCLEWSKA and MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: 40–41, nos. 99, 102, 105.

⁶² KOTLAR 1971: 106. The scholar (and, following him, also other writers), attributes this unique hoard to the village of Bohdanivka (Bogdanówka near Jezierna) in the Zborów rayon of the Tarnopol province in Ukraine (this was accepted recently by ZRAZIUK 2013: 91, 101). Before 1914, however, this Bogdanówka not only was outside the Volhynian gubernia, but did not belong to Russia at all. Therefore, it is difficult to accept this identification without an explanation, which Mykola Kotlar did not provide. More plausible is the other village of Bohdanówka located near Bazalia on the upper Sluch river, which belonged to the Volhynian gubernia before 1914 (today’s Bohdanivka, Khmelnyts’ky rayon and province). It was a large village with compact but chaotic buildings along several winding streets, inhabited by almost 1,000 people in 166 houses then (CHLEBOWSKI 1900: 183), hence it might be referred to as a “backwater town”.

⁶³ BERNSTEIN 1914.

⁶⁴ GUZOWSKI 2008: 48.

⁶⁵ GRAŻYŃSKI 1919: 53–54, 75.

means that their users did not take into account these ordinances at all or distinguish between Polish groschen and foreign. The hoard can be assessed as small, even taking into account the opinion of A. Mikołajczyk about coin finds from Central Poland, formulated after comparing with the amounts mentioned in the wills and inheritance inventories: “Sixteenth-century hoards, with two exceptions, contained literally petty cash”.⁶⁶ Undoubtedly, this was the case in the scale of one’s goods and chattels, but these amounts were not insignificant for everyday life.

What could one buy with it? Unfortunately, the monograph on the history of prices in Lublin, which is the fundamental document on this matter for this region, does not cover the period before 1570.⁶⁷ The Lwów market data have to be used here, fortunately not being too distant from the place where the hoard was found. In 1552, designated as the *terminus post quem*, 30 groschen was the price of two *kłody* of oats, a similar amount of rye, less than three *garncze* (c. 7.5 l) of wine, 3½ *garncze* of malvasia, about half a barrel (c. 130 l) of beer, one calf, 16 ells (c. 9.4 m) of linen, over two pairs of urban shoes, half the price of an urban sheepskin coat.⁶⁸ The coincidence with the price of a calf would be particularly telling, but it was probably lower on the rural market than in a big city. This is obviously not a huge amount, but still important in the budget of the inhabitants of Perespa. Over a quarter of the entries in the Lesser Poland rural court registers were related to sums of one mark (48 groschen) or less;⁶⁹ such amounts were therefore of importance to a peasant. The cash potential of peasants, as Piotr Guzowski convincingly stated in relation to the region located slightly to the south, is well reflected in the amount of annual instalments used to pay off large transactions. This amount usually did not exceed one mark.⁷⁰ Hiding a chest with such a sum (and maybe also a mezza maiolica cup) in a pit, perhaps made as a hiding place – suggests that it was an additional family resource, and its basic savings were probably invested. The careful wrapping of these coins, as well read by the archaeologists (see above), argues against the presumption of an emergency during their concealment. As A. Mikołajczyk observes, “Sixteenth-century hoards generally contain small cash surpluses of the peasantry”⁷¹ – and this was clearly the case here.

Even the purpose of this “surplus cash” from Perespa may be hypothesized. According to the inspection record of the Tyszowce royal domain (*starostwo*), in

⁶⁶ MIKOŁAJCZYK 1979: 161.

⁶⁷ ADAMCZYK 1935.

⁶⁸ HOSZOWSKI 1928: 158, 166, 174, 175, 179, 184–186.

⁶⁹ GUZOWSKI 2008: 51. About the financial potential of peasants from the Lublin area in the mid-16th century, see interesting data by JAWOR 2009.

⁷⁰ GUZOWSKI 2008: 15–16, 62–64.

⁷¹ MIKOŁAJCZYK 1979: 167.

1564 in the village of *Prziłpa ... iest kmieczy na pullankach osiadlich 29. Kasdy snich daie czyn[zu dorocznego po gros' 30, owsła po corc' 4 [...], kapłunow po 4⁷², i.e.*, 29 peasants of Perespa, being settled on half-lans, were charged thirty groschen of annual rent, four bushels of oat and four capons. The same rent was paid by the Orthodox parish priest of Perespa in 1570.⁷³ The farm located approx. 100 m south-east from the church (which had certainly been erected before 1570) could have belonged to such a more prosperous half-lan peasant, and the amount gathered in a linen wrapping, put into a box, padlocked and hidden in the hiding place would probably be allocated – after become complete sum of 30 groschen – to pay the annual rent. A sudden accident presumably meant that this intention was unsuccessful. Certainly, it could also have been money gathered for a specific purchase or from a specific sale, but there are circumstances that make such interpretations less likely.

Adopting the date of the latest coin, *i.e.* 1552, as an indicator of the hoarding time, causes reflection on a puzzling phenomenon. There are no hoards dated later, until the end of the 16th century, in the entire vicinity of Perespa or, in the broader sense, on the Polish side of the border with Lithuania.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, Duke Albert continued to strike coins of the corresponding denominations (mainly shillings), which flowed into other lands of the Crown. The Polish monetary market was also supplied by the Gdańsk and Vilnius mints. However, their issues were much less abundant than before. A significant drop in the number of hoards is also visible in some other parts of the Crown,⁷⁵ while in Greater Poland, Podolia and in Volhynia (Lithuanian at that time) it did not occur.⁷⁶ This phenomenon has not been explained. Because of the existence of later coins of the same issuers, the suggestion that the hoards ending in coins from the mid-16th century may have been hidden much later, throughout this “empty” period, would not be convincing. One should rather suppose that economic conditions in some way were not conducive to thesaurization in the Crown. A. Mikołajczyk explained that “The sixteenth century was a period of economic development with a lively, active money circulation. The relative stability [of the relationship] between coin production and the demand for money did not

⁷² Sumarius omnium et fingulorum prouentuum in Capitaneatibus Ru[ss]iæ Podoliæ et Belzenfis terrarum per Generosum Staniflaum De[m]bieni[an]ski Capit[aneu]m Chencinen[sem] ad hunc actum autoritate conuentus warlawien[sis] proxime preteriti ex parte nuntiorum terrestrium cum alijs Reuiforib[us] deputat[um] et ablegat[um] quam diligentissime congeftus 1564, MS, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Akta skarbu koronnego XLVI, Lustracje, rewizje i inwentarze dóbr królewskich, sygn. 119 (<http://agadd2.home.net.pl/metrykalia/7/9/sygn.%20119/indeks.htm#1>), sheet 111 v.; this report is cited by CHLEBOWSKI 1902: 439–440.

⁷³ FRYKOWSKI 2016: 387: “pop ruski daje z cerkwi jednego florena”. The writer did not realize that *florenus* of Latin sources and the abbreviation *fl* in Polish tax registers denoted *złoty* as the money account unite (30 groschen), and not a (gold) florin.

⁷⁴ MĘCLEWSKA and MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: Map.

⁷⁵ MIKOŁAJCZYK 1980: 27.

⁷⁶ IDEM 1983: 24–25; KOTLAR 1975: 67–69; BRONICKI and MAZUREK 1995; ZRAZIUK 2013: 90.

induce people of various social and economic strata to bury cash in the ground [...]”.⁷⁷ So why was it different in Greater Poland, Podolia and Volhynia? Sources from the period – even the testimony of deputies to the Sejm from 1559 – emphasize the acute shortage of circulating coins,⁷⁸ probably caused in part by the price revolution, the sharpest course of which was visible in Poland between the years c. 1540 to c. 1570.⁷⁹ Cash was urgently needed, above all, to pay rents and taxes; therefore, it was not hoarded. Perhaps this deficit was, for various reasons, less severe in some parts of the country – but this is beyond the scope of this study. Owing to the fact that in the last two decades of the 16th century there were abundant issues of relatively low value coins made of good silver, available and suitable for small hoarding, it should be considered very unlikely that a hoard closed after 1552 would be deposited so late. The time of the spread of King Stephen’s new coinage c. 1581 can be considered a *terminus ad quem*. Had the hoard been hidden at the latter date, it would have been a collection of coins withdrawn from circulation because of being too high in value for the new standard. In such a case, however, it would be difficult to explain the lack of Albert’s later Prussian shillings and the Lithuanian coins of Sigismund Augustus struck in agreement with the Polish standard, which were beginning to find their way into Polish hoards in the last decade of this king’s reign.

CONCLUSION

The assemblage of coins found in Perespa is a representative fragment of the monetary mass, hidden after 1552 and before 1581. While studying this hoard, general regularities regarding the economic conditions for thesaurization of surplus cash (not only in the countryside) were also observed. The hoard from Perespa also shows a state of the virtual purification of the domestic market of coins coming from alien systems, which is rare in the history of Poland, but was certainly present in the third quarter of the 16th century, being another aspect of the cash deficit. The Polish groschen from the second quarter of the 16th century provided the inhabitants of the whole country, also those distant from big-city and court cultural centres, with not only material values, but also high-quality art. At the same time, the hoard reveals the counterfeit activities carried out, perhaps, in the Toruń mint or in a large foreign mint.

If the first interpretation of the found set of coins – money intended for rent payment – is true, the lack of a small amount to the total of 30 groschen of the annual

⁷⁷ MIKOŁAJCZYK 1979: 167.

⁷⁸ ...aby minicza w coronye była kowana, tego iest wielka potrzeba, y na wielie seymow tego szie domawiano, bo iey w coronye malo... (LUBOMIRSKI 1869: 246).

⁷⁹ See e.g. a list of price indices by RYBARSKI 1958: 234–235.

rent perfectly illustrates the thesis of Kamil Radomski concerning the late medieval and early modern period: “Probably the constant difficulties in obtaining cash to pay rents and other duties, made peasants resign of these payments and caused the transition from a rental economy to a folwark-based economy”.⁸⁰ Thus, the Perespa hoard – a seemingly small find of local importance – unexpectedly becomes evidence of the mainstream economic transformation of Central Europe in the 16th century.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE COINS

THE CROWN OF POLAND

John Albert (1492–1501)

Half-groschen, Krakow mint

1. No date, Grand Treasurer Piotr z Kurozwięk [1492–1498]. Crowned eagle; +MODETA\\\\\\BERTI
Rev.: crown, Róża armorial bearing (five-petalled rosette) below; \\REGI2 (quatrefoil) – PO\\\\\\
KOPICKI 1995, no. 387. Silver, 1.01 g, 18.4 mm

2. No date [1492–1498]. +MODETA×I×ALBERTI
Rev.: +REGI2 (quatrefoil) – POLODIE
KOPICKI 1995, no. 387. Silver, clipped, 0.67 g, 17.3 mm

3. No date [1492–1498]. +MODETA×I×ALBERTI
Rev.: +REGI2 (quatrefoil) – POLODIE
KOPICKI 1995, no. 387. Silver, 0.83 g, 18.4 mm

4. No date [1492–1498]. +MODETA×I×ALBERTI; double struck
Rev.: +REGI2 (quatrefoil) – POLODIE
KOPICKI 1995, no. 387. Silver, clipped, 0.88 g, 18.9 mm

5. No date [1492–1498]. +MOD\\\\\\\\BERTI
Rev.: +REGI2 (quatrefoil) – POLODIE\\
KOPICKI 1995, no. 387. Silver, clipped, 0.80 g, 17.5 mm

Alexander I (1501–1506)

Half-groschen, Krakow mint

6. No date, mint-master Henryk Slakier [1502–1504]. Crowned eagle (crown’s form I: fleurons as separate denticles); \\ALEXANDER:DEI:G:RE\\ (mark : always stands for two annulets colonwise)

Rev.: crown; +\\\\DETA:REGIS:POLONIE
KOPICKI 1995, no. 389. Silver, 0.73 g, 18.4 mm

7. No date [1502–1504]. +ALEXANDEP:DEI:G:PEX
Rev.: +MODETA:PEGIS:POLODIE
KOPICKI 1995, no. 389. Silver, 0.95 g, 18.3 mm

⁸⁰ RADOMSKI 2012: 122.

Groschen, Krakow mint

20. 1527, Grand Treasurer Mikołaj z Szydłowca. Crown with three stripes on the rim, five rosettes in the front; horizontally SIGISMVND / PRIM (rosette) REX / \OLONIE, Odrowąż armorial bearing (an arrow mounted on a kettle-hanger) below

Rev.: crowned eagle; (rosette) MO\A (rosette) REGNI (rosette) POLON\I5Z7
KOPICKI 1995, nos. 416–417. Silver, 1.81 g, 24.7 mm

CITIES OF ROYAL PRUSSIA: ELBLĄG

Sigismund I (1506–1548)

Shilling, Elbląg mint

21. 1538. Eagle with crowned neck and man's arm raising sword to r. (Royal Prussia's armorial bearing); (trefoil) SIGIS·P·REX·POLO·DO·PRVSS

Rev.: arms of Elbląg on a shield of seven-arched edge; (star) SOLID·CIVIT·ELBING·1538
KOPICKI 1995, no. 7078. Silver, 0.89 g, 20.2 mm

GDAŃSK

Sigismund I (1506–1548)

Shillings, Gdańsk mint

22. 1531. Eagle with crowned neck and man's arm raising sword to r.; (rosette) SIGIS·DEI·GRA·REX·POL (* for five-pointed star)

Rev.: Gdańsk's armorial bearing: crown and two crosses in pale; (rosette) MONE\CIVI·DANC3·I53I (* for five-pointed star)

KOPICKI 1995, no. 7267. Silver, slightly chipped, 0.84 g, 20.1 mm

23. 1547. *SIGIS·DEI·GRA·REX·POLON

Rev.: *MONE·CIVI·GEDANEN·1547

KOPICKI 1995, no. 7289. Silver, 1.19 g, 19.9 mm

Groschen, Gdańsk mint

24. 1533. King's bust cuirassed and crowned r.; (rosette)SIGIS·I·REX·PO·DO·TOCI·PR (* for five-pointed star)

Rev.: Gdańsk's armorial bearing: crown and two crosses in pale; (rosette) GROSSVS·CIVI·DANC3·I533

KOPICKI 1995, no. 7300. Silver, 1.57 g, 22.3 mm

Sigismund Augustus (1530–1572)

Shillings, Gdańsk mint

25. 1550. Eagle with crowned neck and man's arm raising sword to r.; (rosette) SIGIS·AVG·REX·POLO·M·D·LI

Rev.: Gdańsk's armorial bearing: crown and two crosses; (six-pointed star) MONE·CIVI·GEDANEN·1550

KOPICKI 1995, no. 7357. Silver, 0.86 g, 20.1 mm

26. 1552. (rosette)SIGIS·AVG·REX·POLO·M·D·LI

Rev.: (six-pointed star) MONE·CIVI·GEDANEN·1552, double struck

KOPICKI 1995, no. 7357. Silver, chipped, 0.97 g, 20.0 mm

LANDS OF ALL PRUSSIA

Sigismund I (1506–1548)**Shillings, Toruń mint**

- 27.** 1528. Initial S crowned; (rosette)SIGIS*REX*POLO\\\\RVSS (* for five-pointed star)
Rev.: eagle with crowned neck and man's arm raising sword to r. (Royal Prussia's armorial bearing); (rosette) SOLIDVS(rosette)PRVSSIE(rosette)I5Z8
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3075. Silver, 0.86 g, 20.3 mm
- 28.** 1528. (rosette)SIGIS*REX*POLO*DO*PRVSS (* for small, five-petalled rosette)
Rev.: (rosette)SOLIDVS(rosette)PRVSSIE(rosette)I5Z8
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3075. Silver, 0.77 g, 19.9 mm
- 29.** 1529. (rosette)SIGIS*REX*POLO*DO*PRVS (* for five-pointed star)
Rev.: (rosette)SOLIDVS*PRVSSIE*I5Z9 (* for five-pointed star)
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3077. Silver, chipped, 0.86 g, 19.7 mm
- 30.** 1529. (rosette)S\\\\S*REX*POLO*DO*PRVS (* for small, five-petalled rosette)
Rev.: (rosette)SOLIDVS*PRVSSIE*I5Z9 (* for five-pointed star)
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3077. Silver, 0.86 g, 19.4 mm
- 31.** 1530. *SIGIS*EX*POLO*DO*PRVS
Rev.: (rosette)SOLI\\S(rosette)PRVSSIE(rosette)I530
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3078. Silver, slightly chipped, 0.94 g, 19.1 mm

Groschen, Toruń mint

- 32.** 1530. King's bust (so-called narrow), cuirassed and crowned; (rosette) SIGIS*I*REX*PO*DO*TOCI*PRVSS (* for small, three-petalled rosette)
Rev.: eagle with crowned neck and man's arm raising sword to r.; (rosette) GROSS*COMV*TERR*PRVS*1530 (* for small, three-petalled rosette)
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3084. Silver, 1.95 g, 23.3 mm
- 33.** 1530. King's bust (so-called broad), cuirassed and crowned; (rosette) SIGIS*I*REX*PO*DO*TOCI*PRVS (* for five-pointed star)
Rev.: (rosette) GROSS*COMV*TERR*PRVS*I530 (* for five-pointed star)
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3085. Silver, 1.92 g, 23.3 mm
- 34.** 1531. King's bust, cuirassed and crowned; (rosette) SIGIS*I*REX*PO*DO*TOCI*PRV (* for five-pointed star)
Rev.: (rosette) GROSS*COMV*TERR*PRVSS*I53I (* for five-pointed star)
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3086. Silver, 2.25 g, 22.6 mm
- 35.** 1535. *SIGIS*I*REX*PO*DO*TOCI*PRVSSIE (* for five-pointed star)
Rev.: (large five-pointed star) GROSS*COMV*TERR*PRVSSIE*I535 (* for small five-pointed star)
 KOPICKI 1995, no. 3091. Silver, 1.96 g, 24.2 mm

False groschen

36. 1529, mint counterfeit. King's bust, cuirassed and crowned; (rosette) SIGIS*I*REX*PO*DO*TOCI*PRVSS (* for small, five-petalled rosette)

Rev.: eagle with crowned neck and man's arm raising sword to r.; (rosette) GROSS*COMV*TERR*PRVSS*I5Z9 (* for small, five-petalled rosette)

KOPICKI 1995, no. 3083 (a genuine coin). Copper with remnants of silvery covering, 1.48 g, 23.3 mm

DUCAL PRUSSIA

Albert (1525–1568)**Shilling**, Königsberg mint

37. 1550. Eagle with S on a crowned shield on its breast; (trefoil) ALBERTVS*D\G*DVX*PRVSSIE (* for five-pointed star)

Rev.: initial A, below, the arms of Zollern, two rosettes beside, (rosette) SOLIDVS (rosette) PRVSSIE (rosette) 1550

BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1208. Silver, 1.08 g, 19.6 mm

Groschen, Königsberg mint

38. 1532. Duke's bust cuirassed r.; (arms of Zollern) *IVSTVS*EX*FIDE*VIVIT*I53Z*

Rev.: eagle with S on a crowned shield on its breast; (rosette) ALBER*D*G* MAR*BRAN*DVX*PRVSS (* for five-pointed star on *Obv.* and *Rev.*)

BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1137. Silver, 1.83 g, 22.9 mm

39. 1535. (arms of Zollern) *IVSTVS*EX*FIDE*VIVIT*I535*

Rev.: (rosette) ALBER*D*G*MAR*BRAN*DVX*PRVSS (* for five-pointed star on *Obv.* and *Rev.*)

BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1157. Silver, 1.84 g, 23.3 mm

40. 1537. (arms of Zollern)*IVSTVS*EX*FIDE*VIVIT*I537*

Rev.: (rosette)ALBER*D*G*MAR*BRAN*DVX*PRVSS (* for five-pointed star on *Obv.* and *Rev.*)

BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1164. Silver, 1.93 g, 23.6 mm

41. 1543. Duke's bust long-bearded and cuirassed to r.; (arms of Zollern) *IVSTVS*EX*FIDE*VIVIT*I543*

Rev.: (trefoil)ALBER*D*G*MAR*BRAN*DVX*PRVSS (* for five-pointed star on *Obv.* and *Rev.*)

BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1185. Silver, 1.95 g, 22.9 mm

42. 1544. Duke's head with cuirassed neck r.; (arms of Zollern) *IVSTVS*EX*FIDE*VIVIT*I544*

Rev.: (trefoil)ALBER*D*G*MAR*BRAN*DVX*PRVSS (* for five-pointed star on *Obv.* and *Rev.*)

BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1192. Silver, 1.86 g, 23.1 mm

SILESIAN DUCHY OF KROSNO

John of Küstrin (Kostrzyn) (1535–1571)**Groschen**, Krosno mint

43. 1544. Duke's bust cuirassed r.; +IOHAN·D·G·MAR·BRANDEN·ET·STET

Rev.: eagle with Zollern shield on breast; :GROSS·AR·IOHAN·MAR·BRANDI544

FRIEDENSBURG & SEGER 1901, no. 1988; KOPICKI 1995, no. 6030; BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1238 (reverse legend variant). Silver, 1.86 g, 21.9 mm

44. 1545. +IOHAN·D·G·MAR·BRANDEN·ET·STET

Rev.: :GROSS·AR·IOHAN·MAR·BRAND:I545 (ND ligatured)

FRIEDENSBURG & SEGER 1901, no. 1992; KOPICKI 1995, no. 6031; BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1249 (obverse variant). Silver, 1.89 g, 23.4 mm

45. 1545. ·IOHAN·D·G·MAR·BRANDEN·ET·STE

Rev.: :GROSS·AR·IOHAN·MAR·BRAND:I545 (ND ligatured)

FRIEDENSBURG & SEGER 1901, no. 1992; KOPICKI 1995, no. 6031; BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1249. Silver, 1.94 g, 23.0 mm

SILESIAN DUCHIES OF LEGNICA AND BRZEG

Frederick II (1495–1547)

Groschen, Legnica mint

46. 1543. Duke's bust fur-coated r.; +FRIDERI·D·G·DVX·SLESI·LEG·BRE

Rev.: eagle with half-circle band on wings and breast; ·1543·VERB·DOMI·MANET·IN·ETERN

FRIEDENSBURG & SEGER 1901, no. 1363; KOPICKI 1995, no. 4922; BAHRFELDT 1901–1929, no. 1258. Silver, 2.06 g, 23.1 mm

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Translation: Borys Paszkiewicz

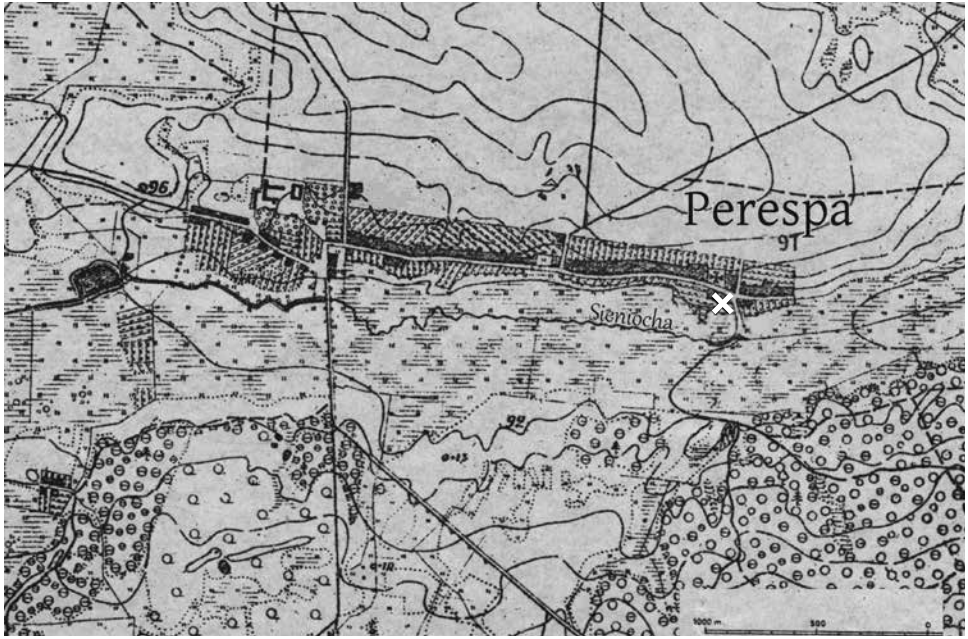
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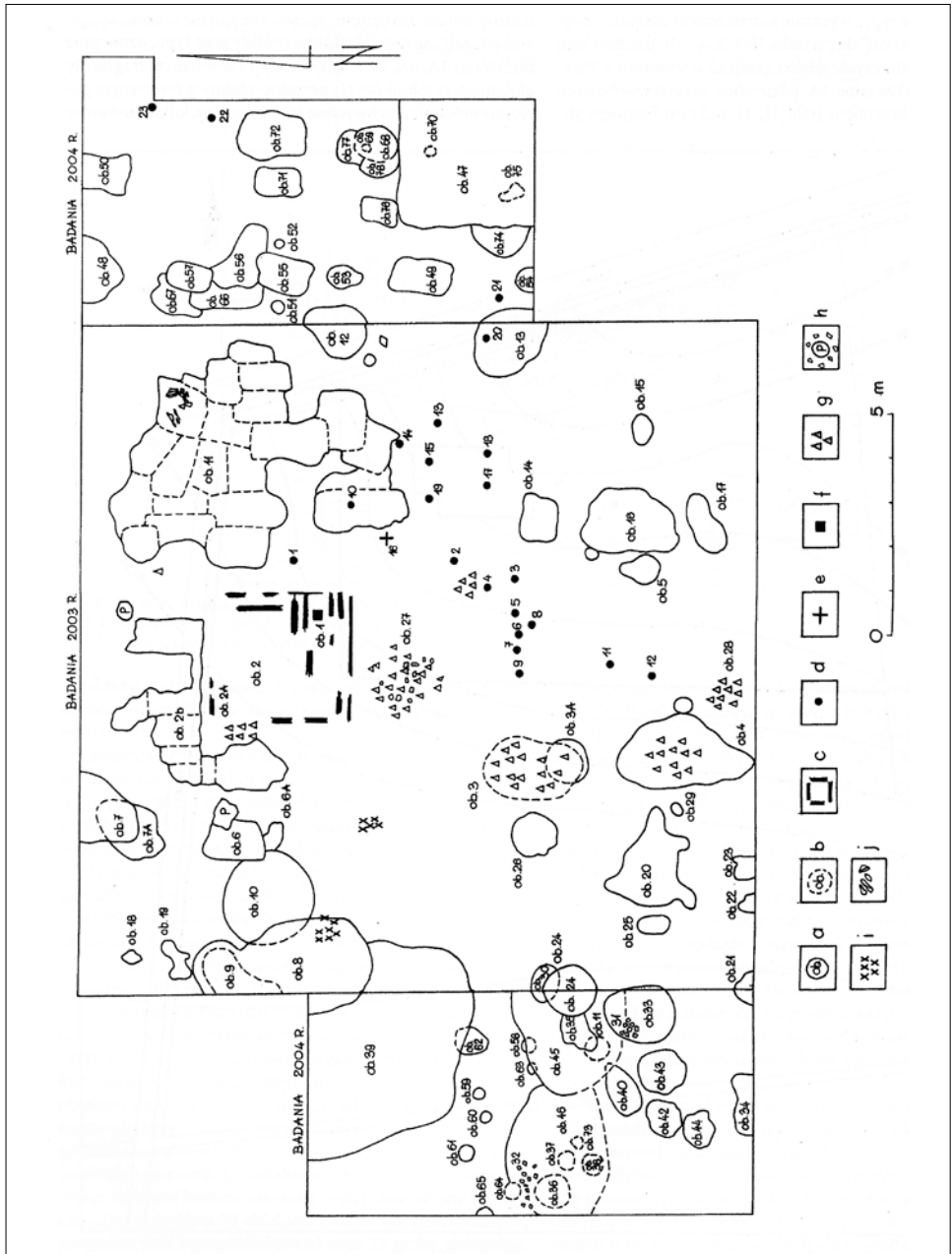
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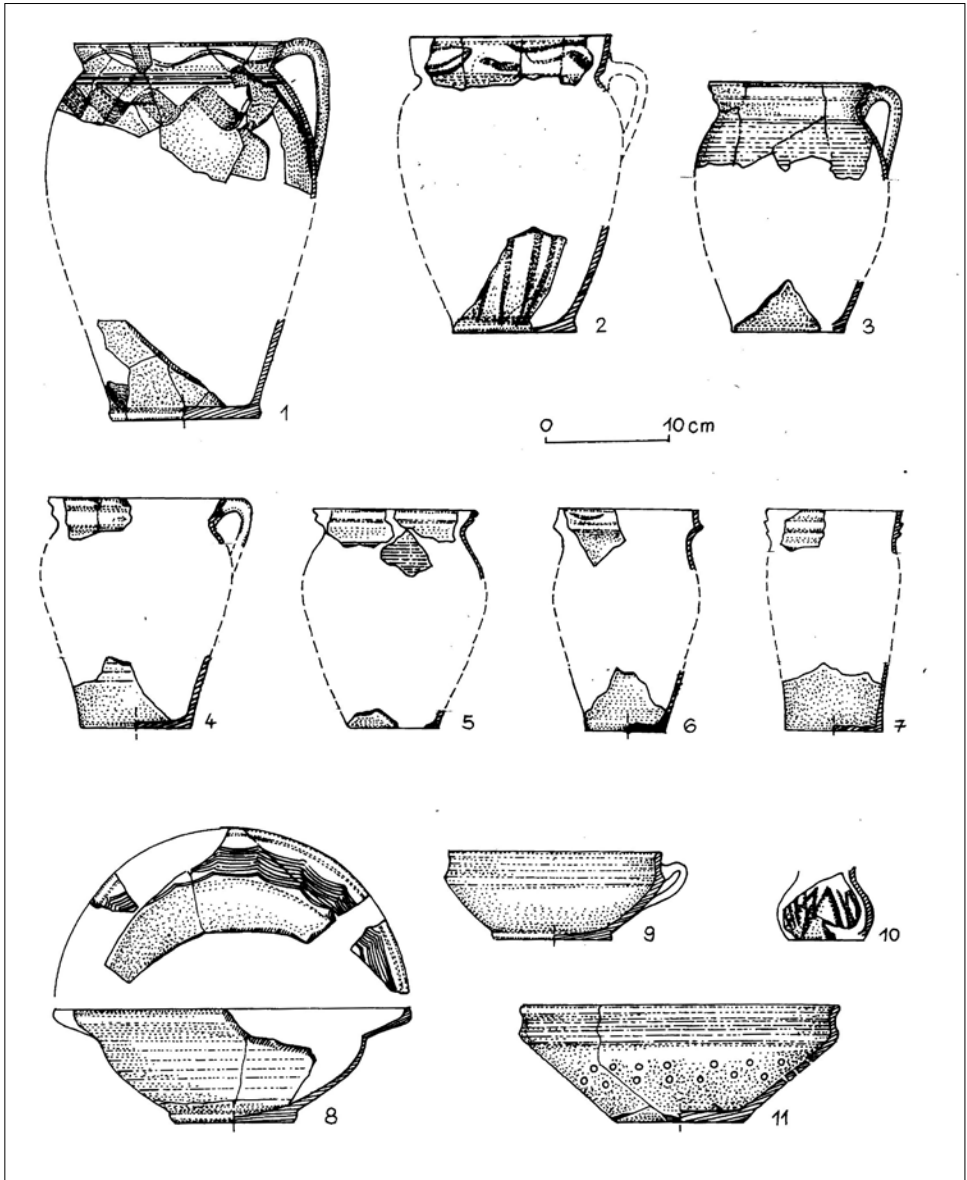
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- MAP 1 Map showing the findspot in the south-eastern part of Perespa. From Geoportal Powiatu Tomaszowskiego; the base map and data from OpenStreetMap and OpenStreetMap Foundation (for the license see: [OpenStreetMap.org](https://openstreetmap.org)) and the location of Perespa in relation to the Lublin voivodeship and the present borders of Poland.
Drawing by Nicole Lenkow
- MAP 2 Map showing the findspot in relation to the outline of Perespa in 1890. The base map: Mapa Szczegółowa Polski 1:25 000, P46 S37 E, Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny, 1933 (from Mapster website)
- PLATE 1 Fig. 1. Plan of the excavated area of Site 54 in Perespa. (a) Clear features (marked with “ob.” and numerals). (b) Vague features. (c) The wooden building. (d) Cremation urn burials (numbered). (e) Cremation pit burials (numbered). (f) The coin hoard. (g) Fragments of pottery. (h) Lumps of fired clay. (i) Animal bones. (j) A cow skeleton. Features: “ob. 2b, ob. 6, ob. 7, ob. 11 & ob. 14”, were modern pits of a farm purpose
- PLATE 2 Fig. 2. A selection of early modern pottery from Site 54, feature 2. Jugs (1–4), pots (5–7), bowls (8 and 9), strainer bowl (11) and money box (10). White clay pottery, painted with red or brown paint (1–3, 5, 6 and 10). Grey ware (11). Glazed brown pottery (7 and 8).
Drawing by E.M. Kłosińska, redrawn by T. Demidziuk
- PLATE 3 Fig. 3. A selection of early modern pottery from Site 54, feature 2. Pots (1–3, 5–7 and 9–11), jug (4), bowl (12) and lid (8). White clay pottery, painted with red or brown paint (4, 5 and 9). Grey ware (2, 3, 12 and 13). Brown pottery (8)
Drawing by E.M. Kłosińska, redrawn by T. Demidziuk
- Fig. 4. The hoard after being unearthed
Photo by M. Piotrowski
- PLATE 4 Fig. 5. The hoard after cleaning
Photo by M. Piotrowski
- PLATES 5–8 Figs. 1–46. Coins from the Perespa hoard. The numbers of the photographs correspond to the numbers of the coins as listed in “Description of the coins”.
Coin photographs: Stanisław Stadnicki (with the exception of coin No. 33, the photo of which we owe to the Janusz Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski)









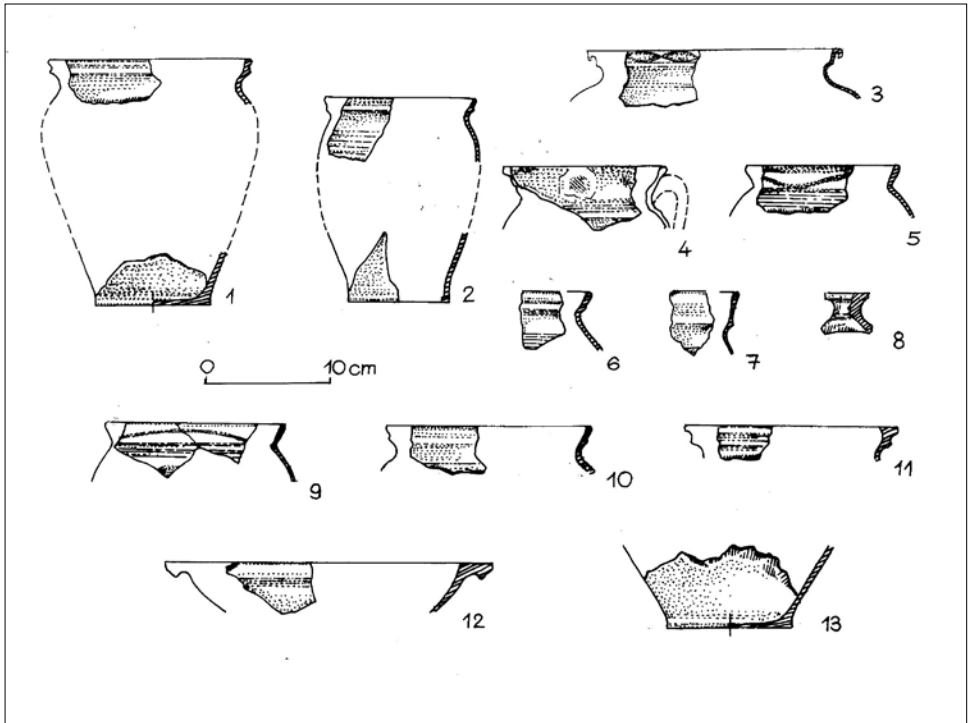
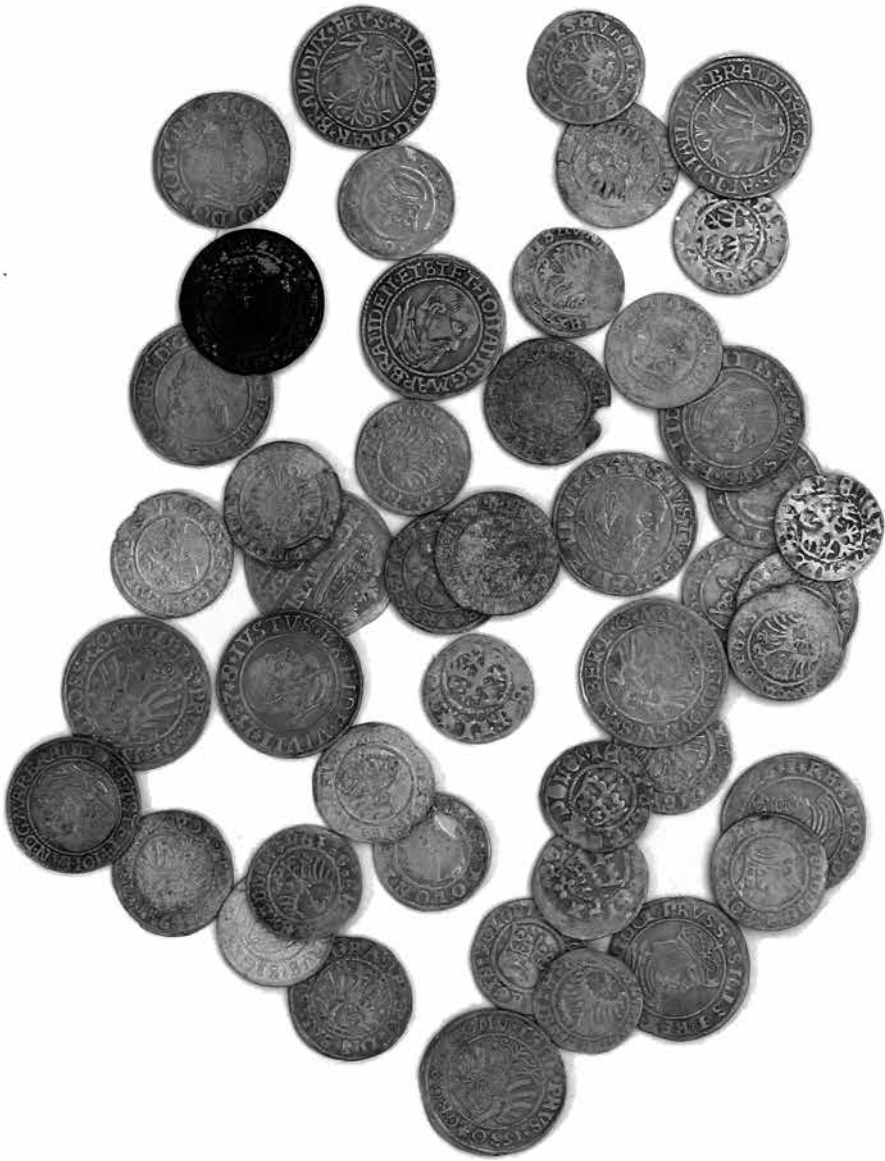


Fig. 3



Fig. 4





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