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## PRUSSIAN FEUDAL COINS FROM THE 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES STATE OF INVESTIGATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Ducal Prussia was a feud of the Polish Crown for 150 years. Together with the acceptance of Polish sovereignty Prussian Duchy faced the newly prepared monetary reform leading Poland out of medieval into modern monetary system. In 1530 Duke Albrecht (1525–1568) began to strike coins true to a pattern and accepted in the Polish Kingdom according to regulations. Polish – Prussian monetary union begun at those times lasted much longer than the feudal dependence itself.

Although Prussian coins from 1525–1657 undoubtedly belong to Polish numismatics and they appear in large number in our collections, yet Prussian mintage was out of interest of Polish science yielding precedence to German researchers for many years.

First remarks on the history of Prussian coins are met in the history of Prussia by Caspar Schütz from 1599.<sup>1</sup> However, only the work of David Braun from 1722–1726<sup>2</sup> and Lengnich's study from 1722–1748<sup>3</sup> can be treated as basic sources for research on Prussian feudal coins. Apart from these works treated as publications and interpretations of sources, at our disposal we have rich Prussian archives from Królewiec (nowadays Göttingen) and Polish ones in forms of minting bills, letters, regulations, patents, accounts from Prussian Conventions and others.

By beginning the studies on Prussian feudal coins, German researches formulated methodological, metrological, historiographical base and also seemed to have established the character of phenomena and their interpretation in political and economical categories valid for many years.

Taking for granted the national status of Prussian Duchy to be of German Reich they considered the problem of feudal dependence not in terms of historical

and economical facts but as the phenomenon of external political nature, spreading the thesis about Polish element which usurping Prussian lands imposed its own monetary system on them and at the same time diminished rights and privileges of towns and the Prussian Duchy itself. This point of view was fully formed by W. Schwinkowski in 1909.<sup>4</sup> Schwinkowski described monetary reforms in Prussia and problems related with creation and organization of Królewiec issues. He deliberately omitted all this which indicated that striking of Prussian coins and having them circulated in the Crown had brought Duke Albrecht a real income, concentrating himself on Albrecht's fights against the Polish Kings who had attempted to close Prussian mints and trying to prove that the influx of "bad" coin from Poland was responsible for monetary crisis and inflation. The above suggestions were critically viewed by M. Grażyński<sup>5</sup> who, polemizing with Schwinkowski's opinion, showed the correctness of the king's arguments and underlined Albrecht's involvement in problems of monetary reform. Both Schwinkowski and Grażyński dealt with the monetary period in Prussia already after the Prussian oath of allegiance from 1525, taking into consideration the last stadium of monetary reform. Attempts of transition from Order's system to the beginnings of monetary union with Poland were discussed by E. Waschinski in 1952.<sup>6</sup> Grażyński's, Waschinski's and Schwinkowski's studies were continued by S. Dolezel in his work from 1967.<sup>7</sup> In a chapter devoted to Królewiec mint and

<sup>4</sup>W. Schwinkowski, *Das Geldwesen in Preussen unter Herzog Albrecht (1525–1569)*, Königsberg 1909.

<sup>5</sup>M. Grażyński, *Spór księcia Albrechta z Polską o monetę*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1913, 8–9, 11, 1914, 1–5, 8; *idem*, *Reformy monetarne w Polsce w latach 1526–1528 i ich geneza*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1913, 17, pp. 38–66, 171–195, 279–289.

<sup>6</sup>E. Waschinski, *Die Münz- und Währungspolitik des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, Göttingen 1952.

<sup>7</sup>S. Dolezel, *Das preussisch-polnische Lehnverhältnis unter Herzog Albrecht von Preussen (1525–1568)*, Köln u. Berlin 1967.

<sup>1</sup>C. Schütz, *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, Zcrbst 1592.

<sup>2</sup>D. Braun, *Ausführlich-historischer Bericht von polnisch – preussischen Münzwesen*, Elbing 1722–1726.

<sup>3</sup>G. Lengnich, *Geschichte der preussischen Lande Königlich – Polnischen Antheils*, Danzig 1722–1748.



coins struck there the author favoured Schwinkowski's opinion continuing his interpretation and not approving of Grażyński's whose views were cited in footnotes<sup>8</sup> besides W. Terlecki's<sup>9</sup> and F. Bujak's.<sup>10</sup> Still, there dominated the thesis which is based upon polemic papers of those times announcing the need to protest of Prussia against coins struck by the King in Toruń in order not to manifest his sovereignty but to destroy Prussian towns and Albrecht's Duchy economically. Zygmunt I the Old was presented as an advocate of limiting Prussian privileges and an author of high prices in Prussia. The opinion about "bad" Polish coin which caused the increasing inflation in Prussia is still maintained. Recently J. Małłek<sup>11</sup> has paid much attention to problems of monetary reforms and feudal coins in Prussia. He referred both to Schwinkowski's and Grażyński's works using records of Prussian regional councils as the basic source. Apart from some new attempts to interpret the course of reforms, mostly in its last phase, and defiance of Prussian towns connected with it and except for some considerations about gold and silver ratio and besides underlining the role played by Jost Decjusz, Małłek's paper does not contain any information which would impel to more serious revision of opinions included in previous literature, especially German.

Monetary writings of Mikołaj Kopernik and Jost Decjusz which had an influence on the course and character of monetary union of Prussia with the Crown, are connected though not directly with the discussed subject. Kopernik's work was presented in rich and numerous economical, historical and numismatic literature. Both German and Polish researchers<sup>12</sup> were very much concerned with that subject which influenced the European economic view. Published in 1818 by Bentkowski with the help of French edition of L. Wołowski, Kopernik's treaty took its due place in European economical output.

<sup>8</sup>Grażyński, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup>W. Terlecki, *Reformy monetarne Zygmunta I*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1963, 7, 2. pp. 43–58.

<sup>10</sup>F. Bujak, *Traktat Kopernika o monecie*, [in:] *Mikołaj Kopernik*, Lwów 1924.

<sup>11</sup>J. Małłek, *Prusy Książęce a Prusy Królewskie 1525–1548. Studium z dziejów polskiej polityki Albrechta Hohenzollerna*, Warszawa 1976. In the chapter related to the coins, the Author presents data suggesting, that Albrecht was adherent in the reform. Cited work is a continuation of the Grażyński's considerations. See also J. Małłek, *Ostatnie stadium reformy monetarnej w Prusach Królewskich i Książęcych w latach 1530–1531 w świetle recessów*, "Acta Universitas Nicolai Copernici", *Historia*, 18, Toruń 1982.

<sup>12</sup>See M. Gumowski, *Poglądy Mikołaja Kopernika w sprawach monetarnych*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" 1968, 4. Also A. Semrau, *Die ältesten Münzstätten des Deutschen Ordens (Thorn, Elbing u. Königsberg)*, [in:] *Mitteilungen des Coppernicus Vereins* 1923, 31.

Initially, works of German scientists such as L. Prove and F. Hipler were devoted rather to proving the German origin of Kopernik than analysing his statements.<sup>13</sup> Only the work of W. Schmauch from 1940<sup>14</sup> represents in German literature a tendency of treating seriously this problem but even this paper contained very strong anti-Polish elements. In Poland M. Dmochowski<sup>15</sup> prepared a critical view on economical statements announced by Kopernik and Decjusz. The same topic, from the numismatist's point of view, was studied by M. Gumowski.<sup>16</sup> Treaties of some historians and economists e.g. F. Bujak, K. Górski, E. Lipiński who only to some extent dealt with this problem,<sup>17</sup> should be mentioned here as well. History of coins in feudal Prussia in the later period i.e. after the death of Duke Albrecht, apart from few general works as for example that of F. Schrötter,<sup>18</sup> was presented by G. Meinhardt<sup>19</sup> in his complete study. Using archives from old Królewiec registry the author describes Prussian mintage and minting rules established by Prussian dukes. He also deals with mint organization, personnel of mints, rate of exchange and values of coins struck in Królewiec, he even attempts to determine the author of printing machine whose authorship he prescribes to Hanusz Sztytel. As regards the interpretation of monetary phenomena he does not reveal any novelties. Monetary turning-point from 1618–1624 and monetary crisis in King Jan Kazimierz's times are presented not very much convincingly. He blames Polish kings and Polish "bad" coins for critical situation and crisis, whereas Prussian dukes are presented as "outstanding" reformers who were not able to defend Prussian inhabitants against inflation and

<sup>13</sup>The "Copernicus" literature began with the critical dissertation of L. Wołowski, *Traité de la monnaie* (coed. with) *Traictie de la première invention des monnaies de Nicole Oresme textes français et latini d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque Imperiale et...*, Paris 1864. Next, this theme was continued by German scholars. L. Prove, *Nicolaus Copernicus*, 1, part 1, Berlin 1883; F. Hipler, *Spicilegium Copernicanum. Festschrift des Historischen Vereins für Ermland zum Vierhundersten Geburtstag des Ermlandischen Domherrn Nicolaus Copernicus*, Braunsberg 1873.

<sup>14</sup>W. Schmauch, *Nicolaus Copernicus und die preussische Münzreform*, Gumbinnen 1940.

<sup>15</sup>*Mikołaja Kopernika rozprawy o monecie i inne pisma ekonomiczne oraz J. L. Decjusza traktat o hiciu monety*, ed. J. Dmochowski, Warszawa 1924.

<sup>16</sup>Gumowski, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>Bujak, *op. cit.*, also J. Górski, *Teoria pieniądza Decjusza i Kopernika*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" 1955, 17; E. Lipiński, *Poglądy ekonomiczne Mikołaja Kopernika*, Warszawa 1955.

<sup>18</sup>F. Schrötter, *Die Münzen Friedrichs Wilhelms des Grossen Kurfürsten u. Friedrichs III. von Brandenburg. Aus Grund der Sammlungen des Königlichen Münzkabinetts*, Berlin 1913.

<sup>19</sup>G. Meinhardt, *Die Münzen und Geldgeschichte des Herzogtums Preussen 1569 bis 1701*, Heidelberg 1959.



influx of worthless coins coming from Polish and Swedish issues because of the feudal dependence from Poland. The notion “polnische Kippen and Wippen” used by Meinhardt seems to be unacceptable especially as he did not give the origin of this notion meaning the crisis of German coins caused by Thirty Year War. The author does not take into consideration some noteworthy opinions of R. Mertens<sup>20</sup> and F. Schrötter.<sup>21</sup> In spite of these critical remarks Meinhardt’s work based on rich sources and using of comparative data on Brandenburgian minting, is so far the most complete analysis of Prussian mintage in 1569 – 1700.

Certain information about functioning of Prussian mints were included in E. Bahrfeldt’s<sup>22</sup> and J. Bender’s<sup>23</sup> papers. Besides M. Kirmis’<sup>24</sup> work for many years they have been a basic source of knowledge about minting history in Prussian Duchy, however the researchers mentioned above were much more interested in the coin itself than in the minting structure.

Lubeck family’s catalogues of collections published in 1737 and 1781<sup>25</sup> should be regarded as the oldest coin catalogues of feudal Prussia. However, only catalogues with collections from Malbork, Królewiec and with Czapski’s collections comprised the whole of ducal Prussian mintage. Bahrfeldt’s catalogue of Malbork collection is most precious, containing descriptions of all types of feudal coins.<sup>26</sup> The catalogue of Czapski’s collection<sup>27</sup> and, so far not published and

remaining in manuscript, the catalogue of coins of feudal Prussia prepared by H. Mańkowski<sup>28</sup> are of some value. Among others, W. Winck. F. A. Vossberg, E. Bahrfeldt, M. Kirmis, M. Gumowski and Kurnatowski<sup>29</sup> wrote about single coins and variants of dies. Recently E. Kopicki<sup>30</sup> has dealt with feudal coins of Prussia taking into consideration, in his work comprising all Polish minting, descriptions of all types of feudal coins struck in Królewiec. At present, the very catalogue is an available basis for classification of Prussian coins.

Single articles on Prussian coins were printed, among others, by W. Knapke and F. A. Vossberg.<sup>31</sup> R. Gaettens<sup>32</sup> wrote about an interesting portrait of Władysław IV on George Wilhelm’s coin from 1640. He suggested that a great popularity of Władysław’s IV talers abroad brought about the placement of his portrait on this coin. Gumowski<sup>33</sup> rather saw here the trace of relations with mint-masters working in Poland. Moreover, he tried to give evidence that dry-pointing of dies did not have to be performed in the same mint which struck the coins. Biographies of mint-masters were, among others, presented by G. Meinhardt who wrote about Paul Gulden<sup>34</sup> and by

<sup>20</sup>E. Martens. *Die Königsberger Ortprägung Kurfürst Georg Wilhelm v. Brandenburg in Jahre 1620, antag 1622 und 1626*. Halle 1931.

<sup>21</sup>Schrötter, *op. cit.*; also *idem*. *Das Deutsche Heckenmünzwesen in letzten Viertel des 17 Jahrhunderts*, “Deutsches Jahrbuch für Numismatik” 1938, 1, pp. 39–106.

<sup>22</sup>E. Bahrfeldt, *Die Münzen- und Medaillen-Sammlung in der Marienburg*, Bd. 1–6, Danzig-Königsberg 1901–1916, apart from this work Prussian coins were discussed by Bahrfeldt in other texts. *idem*. *Ein Königsberger halber Goldstater von 1636*, “Berliner Münzblätter” 1913, 34, pp. 608–609. *idem*, *Ein Dicktaler Georg Wilhelms v. Brandenburg*, [in:] *Brandenburgisch-preussische Münzstudien*, Berlin 1913, pp. 155–157.

<sup>23</sup>J. Bender, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des preussischen Geld- und Münzwesens*, “Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands” 1878, 6.

<sup>24</sup>M. Kirmis, *Einleitung in die polnische Münzkunde*, “Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen” 1889–1891, 4–6, *idem*, *Handbuch der polnischen Münzkunde*, Posen 1892.

<sup>25</sup>The coin collection of Lübeck family of Gdańsk was collected by two generations. The catalogue of this collection was edited after the death of the founder, and reedited by his son – H. Lubeck, *Lübeckisches Medaillen und Thaler Cabinet, der Preussischen und Polnischen Historie in einer Ordnung vorgestellt und kürzlich beschrieben*, Königsberg 1737, also *Verzeichnis der vorzüglich vollständigen Sammlung u. Medaillen und Thalern, die zum Nachlass des Wohlseeligen Herrn J. H. Lübeck gehören*, Königsberg 1781.

<sup>26</sup>Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup>E. Hutten-Czapski, *Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises*, 1–5, reed. Graz 1957.

<sup>28</sup>I have failed to establish where the coin is kept.

<sup>29</sup>W. Winck, *Ein unediertes Pfennig Herzog Albrecht Friedrichs von Preussen*, “Berliner Münzblätter” 1936, p. 115. About the coins see F. A. Vossberg, *Geschichte der preussischen Münzen und Siegel*, Berlin 1843; *idem*, *Bruchstücke zur Münzgeschichte Albrechts, ersten Herzogs in Preussen*, “Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde” 1859–1862, N. F. 1, pp. 29–39, 77–84, 135–143, 208–219. E. Bahrfeldt *op. cit.* and *idem*, *Unediertes Königsberger Zweidukatenstück*, “Berliner Münzblätter” 1927, N. F. 47, pp. 152–153. M. Kirmis – see note 24; M. Gumowski, *Popiersie Władysława IV na dwutalarze lennym pruskim*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne” 1913, pp. 130–132; *idem*, *Portugal lenny pruski z 1598 r.*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne” 1909, p. 52. W. Kurnatowski, *Grosz elektora Joachima II z r. 1570*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne” 1914, p. 11; *idem*, *Objaśnienie znaku w kształcie sierpa (?) na czerwonych złotych Zygmunta I i Albrzycha*, “Zapiski Numizmatyczne” (Kraków) 1884, 1, 1, pp. 5–6. See the description of Albrecht Fridericus denarius 1570 and Albrecht solidus 1530. *ibidem*, V, 16, p. 288, on the plates also illustration of Prussian thaler of Albrecht 1550 (V, 50).

<sup>30</sup>E. Kopicki, *Katalog podstawowych typów monet i banknotów Polski oraz ziem historycznie z Polską związanych*, Warszawa 1976, 2, pp. 31–36, 61–63, 110–112, 280–282; 3, pp. 44–52, 153–155.

<sup>31</sup>W. Knapke, *Preussisches Münzwesen 1569–1640*, “Zeitschrift für Numismatik” 1925, 35, pp. 284–294, 1926, 36, pp. 209–221, 1927, 37, pp. 213–216. Also F. A. Vossberg, *Bruchstücke...*

<sup>32</sup>R. Gaettens, *Doppelthaler von 1640*, “Berliner Münzblätter” 1912, 33, p. 109.

<sup>33</sup>Gumowski, *Popiersie Władysława IV...*

<sup>34</sup>G. Meinhardt, *Das Leben des Königsberger Münzmeister Paul Gulden*, Würzburg 1958.



S. B. Kahan who devoted his work to Gerard Rogge.<sup>35</sup> E. Schröder wrote about one-and-half grossi or *dotki*.<sup>36</sup> Studies of W. Winck enabled to define a denarius from 1570 having Hanusz Sztytel's emblem<sup>37</sup> which became a convincing evidence that the minting press was of his authorship, cf. also M. Gumowski.<sup>38</sup> Mutual relations of coins on the basis of Prussian-Brandenburgian orts were described by Balzus.<sup>39</sup>

Monetary finds were out of researchers' interest for many years not taking into consideration W. Schwandt's brochure.<sup>40</sup> Only the data from Berlin registry published by Kluge<sup>41</sup> and a stock-list prepared recently by A. Mikołajczyk and M. Męclewska<sup>42</sup> allow us to use the material included in findings to much greater extent. Recently, a considerable interest in finds has been presented by German researchers which is manifested by North's work describing monetary finds according to Hamburg registry<sup>43</sup>.

Some vivacity in numismatic problems of feudal Prussia can be observed in "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny". E. Mrowiński dealt with data on Prussian coins of Albrecht and their influence on Friderik's II and Jan's of Kostrzyń coins.<sup>44</sup> Albrecht's portrait on grossi and *trojaki* (3 grossi) was discussed by H. Woźniak.<sup>45</sup>

Meinhardt also continued his interests in Prussian subject.<sup>46</sup> Articles, papers and contributions cited here, of course, do not constitute a full list of works dealing with history of Prussian feudal coins published for many years either separately or in Polish and German numismatic magazines and auction catalogues. However, many of them became out of date. It is hardly probable that further archival studies and interpretational attempts could bring something new without considering much deeper analysis of coins and monetary finds.

Nowadays, numismatic investigations require more complete application of methods together with historical and economical knowledge. Hence, a need arises for the creation of a wide research programme comprising the whole of mutual relations and influences of municipal and feudal Prussian, the Crown and Brandenburgian mintage. The issue of monetary union, if not legal then factual, existing in 1541 – 1544 among mints of Kostrzyń, Brandenburg and Silesia (in Legnica and Cieszyn duchies) requires to be studied in details. So far, only Grażyński<sup>47</sup> has devoted his work to this problem. Papers of A. Mikołajczyk<sup>48</sup> and F. C. Spooner<sup>49</sup> can serve as good patterns for further investigations.

Elaborations of monetary systems in Ducal feudal Prussia should be restudied carefully. Results of Żabiński's studies<sup>50</sup> need to be corrected. The issue of Prussian mark still remains problematic. D. Braun evaluated it for 191,334,<sup>51</sup> M. Kirmis for 189,9,<sup>52</sup> F. A. Vossberg for 191,654.<sup>53</sup> W. Schwinkowski for 190,0564<sup>54</sup> and Żabiński for 190,0.<sup>55</sup> It may be necessary to perform chemical and spectrographical analyses of coins struck in Królewiec, Elbląg, Gdańsk and Toruń and next to compare these data with those of Gumowski and minting regulations.<sup>56</sup>

Monetary finds ought to be used to evaluate monetary market in Prussia and to explain issues

<sup>35</sup>S. B. K a h a n e, *Gerhard Rogge wider Ernst Pfaler. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. Münzwesens Brandenburg-Preussens*, "Numismatiker" 1906, 5, pp. 5–7.

<sup>36</sup>E. S c h r ö d e r, *Dütchen. Geschichte eines Münznamens*, "Jahrbuch die Vereins für niedersächsisches Sprachforschung" 1907, 33, pp. 109–118.

<sup>37</sup>W i n c k, *Ein unediertes...*

<sup>38</sup>M. G u m o w s k i, *Hanusz Sztytel – wynalazca maszyny menniczej*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1966, 10, 1, pp. 22–25.

<sup>39</sup>[M.] B a l z u s, *Nicht beschriebene ostpreussische Typen*, "Berliner Münzblätter" 1910, 31, pp. 523–524.

<sup>40</sup>W. S c h w a n d t, *Westpreussische Münzfunde. Beiträge zur Landeskunde Westpreussens*, Festschrift dem XV. Deutschen Geographentag in Danzig..., Danzig 1905.

<sup>41</sup>B. K l u g e, *Znaleziska monet z XV–XVIII w. na obszarze Polski na podstawie archiwum Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeów Państwowych w Berlinie*, part I, lata 1820–1849, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1978, 20, 2, pp. 93–109; part II; lata 1850–1868. *ibidem*, 1979, 23, 2, pp. 87–115.

<sup>42</sup>M. M ę c l e w s k a, A. M i k o ł a j c z y k, *Skarby monet z lat 1500 – 1649 na obszarze PRL Inwentarz*, Warszawa 1983.

<sup>43</sup>Those data are prepared by the Polish Archacological and Numismatical Society (PTAiN) for publication.

<sup>44</sup>E. M r o w i ń s k i, *Supremus Dux in Prussia*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1981, 7 (165), pp. 124–125; *idem*, *Supremus Dux in Prussia*, uzupełnienie artykułu, *ibidem*, 1982, 3–4 (171–172), p. 81. See also *idem*, *Jeszcze o groszach Albrechta, Fryderyka II i Jana z Kostrzyńa bitych na wzór i stopę polską*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1978, 8 (136), pp. 141–142.

<sup>45</sup>H. W o ź n i a k, *Lenne grosze i trojaki pruskie księcia Albrechta Hohenzollerna (1525–1568)*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1985, 3–4 (203–204), pp. 45–47.

<sup>46</sup>G. M e i n h a r d t, *Gemitz zu Königsberg. Ein Beitrag zur Münz und Geldgeschichte Ost-preussens*, Leer 1977.

<sup>47</sup>M. G r a ż y ń s k i, *Przyczynki do dziejów unii monetarnych w w. XVI*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1919, 10, 5, pp. 49–54. 6, pp. 73–78. . pp. 86–88.

<sup>48</sup>A. M i k o ł a j c z y k, *Geneza i rozwój nowożytnej monety polskiej. Zarys mennictwa europejskiego*, 9, Kraków 1983.

<sup>49</sup>F. C. S p o o n e r, *L'économie mondiale et les frappes monétaires en France 1493–1680*, Paris 1956.

<sup>50</sup>Z. Ż a b i ń s k i, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich*, Wrocław 1981.

<sup>51</sup>B r a u n, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>52</sup>K i r m i s, *Handbuch...*, p. 48.

<sup>53</sup>V o s s b e r g, *Geschichte...*, p. 208.

<sup>54</sup>S c h w i n k o w s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>55</sup>Ż a b i ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>56</sup>M. G u m o w s k i, *Moneta u Krzyżaków*, "Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" 1952, 17, 3/4, p. 56.



connected with circulation of feudal coins abroad. Studies on these finds, the analysis of archives and also the comparison of mutual ratio of gold to silver prices in Gdańsk, Cracow, Netherlands and in Germany with those in Brandenburg and Królewiec may enable to answer a great deal of questions connected with organizing monetary reforms in Prussia and monetary crises from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Mikolajczyk's<sup>57</sup> paper can be used as an interesting basis.

Monetary crises from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and phenomena connected with the influx of Swedish coins struck in Elbląg, Riga and Livonia and Polish copper coins, so called *boratynki*, to Prussia await proper critical views. An explanation should be given for the range and efficiency of Prussian defence against the affluence of those coins and also why the better coin than that of the Crown was kept in Prussia in times of

the reign of Jan Kazimierz. Much attention should be paid to the question of transition of Prussia from the Polish to the Reich monetary system at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the beginnings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and also mutual implications evoked by getting used to Prussian coins by the Polish inhabitants of these provinces.

Investigations should also comprise the monetary relations which were created between Prussian towns and Prussian dukes for the whole feudal period. At last, iconographic influences of Prussian coins on coins of the Crown and Europe should be examined as well.

I would suggest to begin the studies with elaboration of full bibliography devoted to feudal Prussian coins together with the list of sources and with recording finds of Prussian coins from Poland and Europe.

Recently observed interest in feudal coins, the introduction of comparative studies and research on the monetary circulation based on finds in our numismatics allow to assume that proposals presented here are likely to be fulfilled.

*Translated by  
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<sup>57</sup>A. Mikolajczyk, *Uwagi o napływie monet niemieckich na ziemie polskie w XVI–XVII w.*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1974, 18. 4, pp. 230–246.

