

KRZYSZTOF FILIPOW

COINS OF STEFAN BATORY STATE OF INVESTIGATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

For a long time Stefan Batory has attracted the interest of historians, publicists and lovers of the old Polish history. The first works devoted to the Duke of Transylvania were already written in the 19th century by Jan Albertrandi¹ and Wincenty Zakrzewski.² Especially in the period between wars the interest in the king who bore “three wolf’s fangs” in his coat of arms considerably increased. Several smaller or bigger treatises, popularizing papers and novels were devoted to him among others by Artur Śliwiński,³ Tadeusz Łopalewski,⁴ Henryk Mościcki,⁵ Waclaw Sobieski,⁶ Kazimierz Tyszkowski,⁷ Adam Skałkowski⁸ and Edmund Jezierski.⁹ Also in the People’s Republic of Poland several works of Polish authors or translations from foreign books were issued among which the following authors should be listed: Laszlo Makkai,¹⁰ Janusz Tazbir¹¹ or recently published bibliography written by Danuta Wójcik-Góralaska.¹² In Rzeczypospolita of Both Nations (Polish – Lithuanian state) the period of reigns of “not a puppet king” – Stefan Batory should be treated as the golden period of Polish mintage in modern times. As Stefan Batory, the Duke of Transyl-

vania from Somlyo family, succeeded to the royal Polish and ducal Lithuanian throne so long and arduous was the way leading to Batorian monetary reforms which gave foundations for modern monetary system of the Polish state for nearly 200 years. Hence, the activity of Stefan Batory in the field of finance and mintage, his merits in creating a new monetary system in Poland, history of his mints and coins always attracted the attention of many researchers. Legal files to the history of finance and minting of that period were already published in the 19th century by Ignacy Zagórski¹³ and Adolf Pawiński.¹⁴ “Volumina Legum”¹⁵ and Tadeusz Czacki’s *O litewskich i polskich prawach*¹⁶ are worth mentioning.

Having mounted the Polish throne, Batory faced a very difficult issue of organizing the State finances. First of all, it was necessary to regulate the monetary market and to have own good coins. An urgent need was to unify the mintfoot still different for the Crown (the Polish Kingdom) and Lithuania in spite of the resolution made by Lublin Union from 1569.¹⁷ The

¹J. Albertrandy, *Panowanie Henryka Walezego i Stefana Batorego królów polskich*, Kraków 1849.

²W. Zakrzewski, *Stefan Batory. Przegląd historii jego panowania i program dalszych nad nią badań*, Kraków 1887.

³A. Śliwiński, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1922.

⁴T. Łopalewski, *Batory na ziemiach dawnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Wilno 1934.

⁵H. Mościcki, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1933.

⁶W. Sobieski, *Syn ziemi siedmiogrodzkiej*, Kraków 1933.

⁷K. Tyszkowski, *Stefan Batory*, Lwów 1933.

⁸A. Skałkowski, *Batory*, Poznań 1934.

⁹E. Jezierski, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1934.

¹⁰L. Makkai, *Stefan Batory w Siedmiogrodzie*, Warszawa 1961.

¹¹J. Tazbir, *Stefan Batory*, [in:] *Poczet królów i książąt polskich*, Warszawa 1978.

¹²D. Wójcik-Góralaska, *Król niemalowany*, Warszawa 1983.

¹³I. Zagórski, *Monety dawnej Polski*, Warszawa 1845 and reedition Warszawa 1977.

¹⁴A. Pawiński, *Akta metryki koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, “Źródła dziejowe”, Warszawa 1882, 9; idem, *Skarbowość w Polsce i jej dzieje za Stefana Batorego*, “Źródła dziejowe”, Warszawa 1881, 8.

¹⁵*Volumina Legum, czyli prawa i konstytucje sejmowe Królestwa Polskiego i W. X. Litewskiego od roku 1347 do 1780 przez Stanisława Konarskiego zebrane*, 2, Warszawa 1773.

¹⁶T. Czacki, *O litewskich i polskich prawach*, Kraków 1861.

¹⁷In the 12th point of union act it was stated: “The coin both in Poland and in Lithuania is to be due to common agreement uniformis et aequalis in pondere et grano et numero petiarum et inscriptione monetae (unvarying and equal as regards the weight and the contents and the number of units and the inscription on a coin) which should be fulfilled by His Majesty and His Majesty’s progeny will be obliged to do”, see: *Wybór tekstów źródłowych z historii Polski okresu przedrozbiorowego*, chosen by J. Półciwarteł, Rzeszów 1982, p. 118.

decision about monetary union was begun in 1578 with opening the Crown mints and Lithuanian mint in Vilna and finished in 1580 together with new minting regulations.¹⁸ Polish local municipal mints required to be unified as well.

Already during the reigns of Stefan Batory's predecessors the nobles of Little Poland claimed to have "both gold and silver coin which would be struck according to old mintfoot".¹⁹ On the 20th of June 1577 during the siege of rebellious Gdańsk Stefan Batory himself said: "the Crown needs a coin for a long time, however it was impossible to decide about its striking but a future Sejm would decide, for the time being it would be considered according to duty of His Royal Majesty lest foreign coin iniusta aestimatione was imported to the Crown causing harm to all citizens".²⁰ It should be considered that Batory prepared the reform very carefully and for a long time. It can be proved by the resolution of the general Sejm of Warsaw from the 3rd of March 1578: "it is an urgent need to strike our « Myńca » (coin) both in Lithuania and in Poland and the foreign one should be thrown away and the other one evaluated. All this will be considered and done according to the resolution of this Sejm, taking precautions of all that is profitable not harmful for the Crown and our State".²¹

Resolutions deciding about the shape of future reforms are the following: 1) opening of the mint and appointing Rafał Leszczyński as its superior according^x to the royal universal, 2) appointment of Leszczyński, 3) general universal addressed to starosts of Rzeczypospolita informing about the contents of both documents mentioned above, 4) royal mandamus addressed to Jews in Cracow ordering them to deliver pure silver to a mint. Those documents were put together by Janusz Reyman²² a few years ago. Minting resolutions from 1578 and from the 5th of January 1580 were thoroughly analyzed by Kazimierz Stronczyński,²³ Max Kirmis,²⁴ Marian Gumowski²⁵ and in detailed

studies by Władysław Terlecki²⁶ and recently critically viewed by Zbigniew Żabiński²⁷ and Edward Sośnica-Wild.²⁸

Minting proclamation of Batory from 1580 constitutes one of the most significant legal files – a monument of minting law and financial policy of Rzeczypospolita in the period of zloty (floren). It prepared the foundations for bimetallic monetary system in Poland, ensuring the proper development of the Polish mintage for a long time. Monetary reform introduced in 1580 not only equaled the monetary system of Great Duchy of Lithuania with that of the Crown but also connected Polish *zloty* to imperial gulden and *grosz* (grossus) to *krajcar* as its double equivalent. Undoubtedly, it was not only a great political but also a great economic success. It was the more significant that in 1581 together with acceptance of Polish mintfoot by the mint in Riga the monetary union was introduced in Livonia as well. After so many years the minting law and order were brought back to vast territories of mid-eastern Europe.

In times of Stefan Batory's reign (1576–1586) crown coins were struck in the following mints: in Olkusz and Poznań (1584–1586) and Lithuanian coins in Vilna (1579–1586). There were also struck Prussian coins in a mint of Malbork (1584–1585), coins of Gdańsk (1578–1586) and the coins of besieged Gdańsk integrally connected with them (1577), coins of Riga (1581–1586) and feudal Prussian coins in a mint of Królewiec (1573–1586) and feudal Curlandian coins from a mint in Mitava (1562–1587).

The interest in Batorian coins lasted for a long time. Already in the 18th century the first articles about talers of Batory appeared. Batory's taler from 1586²⁹ was described in Hamburg in 1703 and thirty three years later Johan David Köhler³⁰ discussed a taler struck in

ków 1914, p. 66, i d e m, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz 1960, p. 40.

²⁶W. Terlecki, *System monetarny Stefana Batorego*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1961, 5, 2–3 (16–17), pp. 125–138.

²⁷Z. Żabiński, *Kryzys monetarny w czasach Zygmunta III*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1976, 20, 1 (75), pp. 1–13 and *Odpowiedź p. Edwardowi Sośnicy-Wildowi*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1977, 21, 1 (79), pp. 33–34; i d e m, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich*, Wrocław 1981, pp. 103–107.

²⁸E. Sośnica-Wild, *W sprawie kryzysu monetarnego w czasach Zygmunta III*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1977, 21, 1(79), pp. 24–32.

²⁹Stephani Königs in Pohlen Thaler von. A 1856. *Historische Remarques über die neusten Sachen in Europa*, Hamburg 1703, pp. 281–284.

³⁰J. D. Köhler, *Ein nich gemeiner Thaler König Stephane in Pohlen von A. 1580*, "Historischer Münz-Belustigung..." Nürnberg 1736, pp. 289–296.

¹⁸K. Filipow, *Mennictwo Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w okresie unijnym 1569–1792*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1985, 7–8.

¹⁹*Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego, 1577–1620*, Ed. St. Kutrzeba, Kraków 1932, 1, p. 36.

²⁰*Ibidem*, p. 76 and *passim*, 24.

²¹*Volumina Legum...*, p. 962 and *passim*.

²²J. Reyman, *Mennica olkuska w latach 1579–1601 wobec polityki monetarnej Rzeczypospolitej*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1970, 14, 1(51), pp. 3–4; i d e m, *Mennica olkuska 1579–1601*, Wrocław 1975, pp. 26–27.

²³K. Stronczyński, *Dawne monety polskie dynastji Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Piotrków 1885, 3, pp. 186–195.

²⁴M. Kirmis, *Handbuch der polnischen Münzkunde*, Posen 1892, p. 62.

²⁵M. Gumowski, *Podręcznik numizmatyki polskiej*, Kra-

1580 in Nurnbergian numismatic magazine. Polish researchers such as Ignacy Zagórski,³¹ Józef Tyszkiewicz,³² Karol Beyer,³³ Kazimierz Stronczyński,³⁴ Emeryk Hutten-Czapski³⁵ contributed to publications about coins of Stephen Batory.

General problems of mintage in Batorian times were presented by Marian Gumowski,³⁶ several times by Max Kirmis³⁷ and Valentin N. Rjabcevič³⁸ and recently by Andrzej Mikołajczyk.³⁹ Popularizing articles issued in the old press and describing coins of that period are worth mentioning as well. There were also texts published anonymously in Lvovian magazine "Rozmaitości" (1822)⁴⁰ and in "Przyjaciel Ludu" (1846)⁴¹ from Leszno and Wilhelm Bernstein's articles ("Naokoło Świata" – 1926)⁴² and Zdzisław Grot's papers ("Złotnik i Zegarmistrz" – 1937)⁴³.

Crown mint in Olkusz struck: *szelągi* (solidi) (1579–1585), *półgrosze* (halfgrossi) (1579–1581), *grosze* (grossi) (1579–1582), *trojaki* (3 grossi) (1579–1587), *półtalary* (halftalers) (1583), *talary* (talers) (1580–1583), *ćwierćdukaty?* (quarducats) (1580). Crown mint in Poznań struck: *szelągi* (solidi) (1583–1586) *trojaki* (3 grossi) (1584–1587) and *dukaty* (ducats) (1589). The volume of production of the mint in Olkusz is well-known due to a careful elaboration of Janusz Reyman,⁴⁴ previous works of Marian Gumow-

ski,⁴⁵ Stanisław Walewski,⁴⁶ Władysław Baratynowski⁴⁷ and Władysław Jełowicki.⁴⁸ Its production coincided with the period of very intensive development of the Polish mintage. Then, by the terms of the royal universal the production of the mint in the Crown was supervised by an administrator of the Crown mints – Rafał Leszczyński (1578–1580) who signed the coins with his coat of arms – Wieniawa or with initials RL. Together with the new minting resolutions from January 1580, crown mintage was under surveillance of the Great Treasurer of the Crown Jakub Rokossowski (1580, the coat of arms Glaubicz and IR initials) and Jan Dulski (1581–1590, the coat of arms Przegonia and JD initials). The direct managing of mints was in hands of supervisors and leaseholders of mints. They had a privilege of marking coins with their signs. In this way, they became responsible for keeping the mintfoot according to standards established by the minting resolution. In Olkusz, the main centre of minting production in the Crown, struck coins were signed by supervisors: Piotr Zabrowski (1580 – coat of arms Jastrzębiec, PZ initials) and Mikołaj Hewel de Colpino (1584–1592 NH, Nh initials). Coins from Olkusz mint bore also the initials of a mintmaster Georg Hose – GH (before 1586) and minting signs: a leaf (1580) and little lion (1584). The leaf was met later as the sign of a mint workshop in Vilna. The mint in Olkusz was the only mint in the Crown till 1584 and also the only one in Little Poland.

The second mint in Poland, localized in Poznań worked in 1584–1586. Teoder Busch became its leaseholder who marked the struck coins with his signs – crossed hooks with an oblique cross at the bottom. We hardly know about the volume of production of this mint in spite of works describing it by the following authors Gumowski,⁴⁹ Walewski,⁵⁰ Kirmis⁵¹ and

³¹ Zagórski, *op. cit.*, 108–182, tabl. VIII–XIV.

³² J. Tyszkiewicz, *Skorowidz monet litewskich*, Warszawa 1875; *idem*, *Podręcznik numizmatyczny zawierający ceny amatorskie monet polskich od 1506 roku do 1795 roku*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk", Poznań 1890, 17.

³³ K. Beyer, *Skorowidz monet polskich od 1506 do 1825 r. ułożony w 1862 r.*, Kraków 1880 (reedition), Warszawa 1973.

³⁴ Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–235.

³⁵ E. Hutten-Czapski, *Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises*, St. Petersburg–Kraków 1871–1916, 1–5.

³⁶ Gumowski, *Podręcznik...*; *idem*, *Handbuch...*, pp. 40–43; *idem*, *Zarys numizmatyki polskiej*, Łódź 1952, pp. 75–80.

³⁷ Kirmis, *op. cit.*, p. 65 and *passim*.

³⁸ V. N. Rjabcevič, *O čem rasskazyvajut monety*, Mińsk 1968, Ed. 2, Mińsk 1978, p. 112–113.

³⁹ A. Mikołajczyk, *Geneza i rozwój nowożytnej monety polskiej*, Kraków 1983, pp. 111–121.

⁴⁰ *Falszowanie monet polskich za Stefana i Zygmunta III*, "Rozmaitości. Oddział Literacki" (Dodatek do "Gazety Lwowskiej"), Lwów 1822, p. 231.

⁴¹ *Objaśnienie kilku numizmatów polskich*, "Przyjaciel Ludu czyli tygodnik potrzebnych i pożytecznych wiadomości", Leszno 1846, pp. 313–314.

⁴² W. Bernstein, *Pieniądze czyli monety obiegowe polskie za króla Stefana Batorego*, "Naokoło Świata" 1926, 23, columns 139–148.

⁴³ Z. Grot, *Stefan Batory i jego mennice*, "Złotnik i Zegarmistrz" 1937, 4, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁴ Reyman, *Mennica olkuska...*

⁴⁵ Gumowski, *Mennica olkuska i koleje jakie przechodziła*, "Sprawozdania Komisji do Badań Historii Sztuki w Polsce" 1913–1915, 9, pp. 223–232; *idem*, *Trzy nieznane talary Stefana Batorego*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1903, columns 23–26.

⁴⁶ St. Walewski, *Mennice koronne za Stefana Batorego*, "Zapiski Numizmatyczne", Kraków 1884, pp. 17–21; *idem*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der polnischen Münzstätten 1588–1624*, "Zeitschrift für Numismatik", Berlin 1884, pp. 248–250.

⁴⁷ W. Bartynowski, *Trojaki Stefana Batorego z lat 1579–1580*, Kraków, without the date of publication, tabl. 4.

⁴⁸ W. Jełowicki, *Półgrosz koronny Stefana Batorego z 1580 roku*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1905, columns 295–296.

⁴⁹ See foot-note 36; *idem*, *Przedsiębiorcy menniczni w Poznaniu*, „Kronika miasta Poznania”, Poznań 1928; *idem*, *Szeląg poznański z 1584 r.*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1911, p. 61.

⁵⁰ Walewski, *Beiträge...*, pp. 218–219; *idem*, *Mennice...*, pp. 17–21.

⁵¹ Kirmis, *Handbuch...*; *idem*, *Geschichte der Stadt-*

Józef Przyborowski.⁵² The mint was the only one localized in Great Poland. Opened while Jan Dulski, the castellan of Chełmno, held the post of the Crown Treasurer, the mint struck small coins: *szelągi* (solidi), *trojaki* (3 grossi) and gold ducats which were not clearly evaluated in minting proclamation. To a group of very interesting coins there belong crown solidi from 1583 (Poznań mint had not been working at that time yet) and crown 3 grossi from 1587 both with the coat of arms and initials of Jan Dulski, the Treasurer. At the end of Stefan Batory's reign, Poznań mint enjoyed a particular development (P. Schröder – assauer, mint-masters and engravers were called in to work there) which enabled to shift the majority of the total production of the Crown to the mint in Poznań.

During the reign of Stefan Batory Lithuanian minting was supervised by Lithuanian Treasurers: Jan Hlebowicz (1580–1583) of Leliwa coat of arms and Teodor Tyszkiewicz (1585–1586) of Leliwa coat of arms. In 1585 Lew Sapieha, the Great Chancellor of Lithuania, also marked the struck coins with his family coat of arms – the Fox. Changes in the system of mint managing were also introduced in the Great Duchy of Lithuania. The supervisors of Lithuanian mint in Vilna were: Jacek Młodziejewski (1579–1580) the Court Treasurer, probably Mikołaj Radziwiłł (1580–1589) the voivode of Vilna, Wawrzyniec Woyna (1576–1580) the Treasurer – the coat of arms Korczak, Jan Hlebowicz (1580–1583) the Castellan of Mińsk and the writer of Great Lithuanian Duchy and also Teodor Skumin Tyszkiewicz since the 1st of June 1586. The mint was held on lease by: Jan Abramowicz (1581), Stanisław Sabinus vel Sabineke vel doctor Sabinus (1583) the royal secretary and scultetus of Vilna, called the mint caretaker and some unknown monographers PWIDW. We possess some knowledge about the mint in Vilna and Lithuanian coins due to works of Stronczyński,⁵³ Gumowski,⁵⁴ Bolesław Domeł⁵⁵ but despite this it is still unsatisfactory. Archival sources connected with that period of mintage were not used. Hence, many theses dealing with Lithuanian coins of Stephen Batory are based on hypotheses and assump-

tions. The state of studies on crown coins should be regarded as uncomplete and unsatisfactory.

In spite of permission to open the Lithuanian mint achieved in 1578 its actual production can be evaluated only since 1580. Under the reign of Stefan Batory the royal mint in Vilna struck the following coins: Lithuanian denarius (1581–1582), solidus (1579–1585), grossus (1580–1581), 3 grossi (1580–1586), 6 grossi (1581–1585) taler (1580, 1585) and ducat (1586).

Though the proclamation from the 5th of January 1580 allowed to strike Lithuanian ternarius, half-grossi, half-talers those coins were lacking on the monetary market of Rzeczypospolita.

Lithuanian denarius, called obol or small coin (moneta minuta) in the proclamation from the 5th of January 1580, referred to analogous ones struck earlier in the Crown and Prussia. They were struck only in 1581 and 1582 while Hlebowicz held the post of the Treasurer whose coat of arms was placed on the preserved specimens. They are very unique coins and even can be treated as test ones. The Lithuanian solidus coming from 1579 and struck due to the rules of the proclamation from 1578 is for sure a test unit.

However, half-grossi known in many variants with or without Leliwa coat of arms were much more widespread. Grossi are known from the two-year period of minting production only. It is suspected that they were struck while Wawrzyniec Woyna held the post of the Treasurer and in the transition period after his death and before Jan Hlebowicz took the mint over.

3 grossi struck in Vilna belong to the most often found Batorian coins but it does not mean that they are very common. The type of 3 grossi formed in times of Stefan Batory became a canon obligatory for the next few centuries. On one side of them there was the monarch's bust and on the other characteristic legend in three verses with two coats of arms: the eagle – the Crown and the knight – Lithuanian. Among coins of the Great Lithuanian Duchy struck by Batory the greatest amount of types and variants of stamps are found on 3 grossi. Batorian 3 grossi, different from 3 grossi of the king Zygmunt, was willingly accepted and imitated not only by the Polish rulers but also by many sovereigns in Europe of those times. Due to this it became a tool in economic struggle on the very much complicated monetary market of the 17th century Europe. The works of Demetre Simonesco-Simicel⁵⁶ and especially of Andrzej Mikołajczyk⁵⁷ brought us very precious information about those imitations.

lischen Münze von Posen, "Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen", Posen 1886, 2 also in "Münzgeschichte der Stadt Posen", Posen 1886; in Polish version: *Historia mennicy miejskiej w Poznaniu*, "Zapiski Numizmatyczne", Kraków 1887, pp. 177–189.

⁵²J. Przyborowski, *Przyczynki do historii mennicy wielkopolskich w końcu XVI w.*, "Biblioteka Warszawska", styczeń–luty 1883.

⁵³Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–223.

⁵⁴M. Gumowski, *Mennica Wileńska w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1921.

⁵⁵B. Domeł, *Liczmany mennicze zwane podskarbiówkami*, Kraków 1911.

⁵⁶D. Simonesco-Simicel, *Des monnaies Roumanie-săla Societă Numismatic*, "L'Independance Roumanie" 1936, 18.

⁵⁷A. Mikołajczyk, *Wpływ polskich wzorców na wyobrażenia monet europejskich w XVI i XVII w.*, "Wiadomości



Fig. 1. The Crown grossus 1579, mint: Olkusz



Fig. 2. The Crown grossus 1580, mint: Olkusz



Fig. 3. Prussian grossus 1584, mint: Malbork



Fig. 4. The Crown 3-grossi 1583, mint: Olkusz



Fig. 5. The Crown taler 1583, mint: Olkusz



Fig. 6. Ducat 1586, mint: Nagy Bania



Fig. 7. Lithuanian solidus 1581, mint: Vilna



Fig. 8. Lithuanian grossus 1580, mint: Vilna



Fig. 9. Lithuanian 3-grossi 1580, mint: Vilna



Fig. 10. Lithuanian 6-grossi 1585, mint: Vilna



Fig. 11. Lithuanian taler 1580, mint: Vilna



Fig. 12. Solidus of the Prussian lands 1584, mint: Malbork



Fig. 13. Solidus of Gdańsk 1580



Fig. 14. 3-grossi of Gdańsk 1579



Fig. 15. Siege of Gdańsk solidus 1577



Fig. 16. Siege of Gdańsk taler 1577



Fig. 17. Riga grossus 1581
www.rcin.org.pl



Fig. 18. Riga 3-grossi 1586

3 grossi of Vilna mint should be considered as a very rare coin, made with great artistic taste. They were struck as sterling coins though worse than analogous coins of Zygmunt August.

Batorian talers were the first ones struck in Lithuania, not taking into account talers of the king Zygmunt from 1564 treated as *pólkopki* (halftreescorers). Only that new type of talers could be used in international trade. The price of talers, as means of payment willingly accepted abroad, increased and they soon disappeared from the native monetary market. There are known three types of talers carefully described by Gumowski.⁵⁸ Those talers were also struck in gold as *portugaly* (Portugueses) in fine gold (10 ducats) and as their multiplications in fine silver (11/2 and 2 talers).⁵⁹

The situation was alike with ducats which were to be international currency. In order to strike them a special gold mint was prepared in Vilna supervised by the Great Lithuanian Chancellor, Lew Sapieha, who placed his coat of arms, the Fox, on Batorian ducats. Only one mint-edict from 1586, deprived of characteristic leaves and trefoils which are found on Lithuanian silver coins from that period, is known. So, apart from separate managing, the Lithuanian gold mint in Vilna must have possessed its own mintmaster as well.

Apart from crown and Lithuanian coins Stefan Batory struck also coins of Prussia. The following coins were struck in 1584 in Malbork: Prussian solidi (1584 – 1585), Prussian grossi (1584), Prussian 3 grossi (1585) and Prussian ducats (1585).

In 1578 Goebel brothers (Gebelius) received a royal privilege to furnish and use the mint in Malbork. A new minting press constructed by them was to be installed just there. However, the mint was open only in 1584. Initially, solidi and grossi struck there did not bear the Lithuanian coat of arms – the knight but only the Polish eagle. Coats of arms of Both Nations of Rzeczypospolita were placed only on 3 grossi and ducats. Coins of Prussia were struck with the sign of the Great Treasurer of the Crown, Jan Dulski i.e. his coat of arms – Przegonia. A triangle – a sign of Gracjan Gonzalo, a mintmaster of Malbork mint, is also placed on each denomination. Those coins were already described by Stronczyński⁶⁰ who made a mistake prescribing the mintmaster's sign to Hans

Goebel and Gumowski⁶¹ who made the same mistake. A short notice of S. B. Kahane⁶² and a treatise of Gumowski⁶³ dealt with Gebelius brothers.

Coins connected with the siege of Gdańsk and coins coming from that period are the best elaborated coins among Batorian money. The conflict between the monarch and the rich town had a very significant influence on the history of Gdańsk coins in times of Stefan Batory. Hence, coins from the besieged town from 1577 preceded the coins struck under the stamp of Stefan Batory.

Solidi, grossi, halftalers and talers were struck during the siege of the town. A lot of foreign coins countersigned in the siege town are known, among them are Prussian solidi, grossi and 3 grossi and Gdańsk, Hungarian, German, Silesian and Lithuanian ducats from various periods. Issues dealing with those coins are well-known due to papers of Johan David Köhler,⁶⁴ Friedrich August Vossberg,⁶⁵ August Brause-Mansfeld,⁶⁶ S. B. Kahane,⁶⁷ Karl Friedrich,⁶⁸ Wilhelm Schwandt,⁶⁹ Gumowski⁷⁰ and Prosper Mailliet⁷¹ together with selling catalogue of his numismatic collection⁷² and recently due to Marta Męcłewska's article.⁷³

Coins of Gdańsk struck since 1578 to 1588, after the agreement with the king, are also well elaborated. We know Gdańsk denari and solidi with the coat of

⁶¹Gumowski, *Handbuch...*, p. 41; idem, *Zarys...*, pp. 77–78.

⁶²S. B. Kahane, *Die Gebrüder Goebel*, "Der Numismatiker" 1906, 5.

⁶³M. Gumowski, *Bracia Gobeliusze*, "Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu", 1948, 14, 2, pp. 57–78.

⁶⁴J. D. Köhler, *Der Stadt Danzig Fehrerer Noth-Thaler bey der von K. Stephano in Pohlen ausgestandenen Belagerung A. 1577*, "Der Möchentlichen Historischen Münz-Belustigung 39 St.", 29 September 1734, pp. 305–312.

⁶⁵F. A. Vossberg, *Müzgeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, "Zeitschrift für Müz-Siegel- und Wappenkunde" 1841, 1.

⁶⁶A. Brause-Mansfeld, *Feld-, Noth und Belagerungsmünzen von Deutschland, Österreic-Ungarn, Siebenbürgen, Moldau, Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen, Russland, Polen u.s.w.*, Berlin 1897, p. 16, tabl. VIII and IX.

⁶⁷S. B. Kahane, *Hochseltener danziger Nottaler 1577*, "Der Numismatiker" 1909, 8, pp. 6–7.

⁶⁸K. Friedrich, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kontermarken-wesens*, Dresden 1913, reedition Münster-Gremmendorf 1970.

⁶⁹W. Schwandt, *Neuer Gegenstempel auf einer danziger Notmünze von 1577*, "Berliner Münzblätter" NF, 1916, 37, 175–176, pp. 549–551.

⁷⁰P. Mailliet, *Catalogue descriptives des monnaies obsidionales et de nécessité*, 1–2, Bruxelles 1870–1872, idem, *Atlas des monnaies obsidionales et de nécessitépubliées...*, Bruxelles 1870, pp. 106–108, tabl. 30.

⁷²*Collection colonel Mailliet Monnaies obsidionales et de nécessité*, Paris 1886, 342–349, pp. 43–44.

⁷³M. Męcłewska, *Pieniądz oblężonego w 1577 r. Gdańsk*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1985, 5–6.

Numizmatyczne" 1980, 24, pp. 75–81; idem, *Monety typu polskiegohibite w obcychmennic od XVI do XVII w.*, "Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi", Seria archeologiczna 1980, 27, pp. 271–312.

⁵⁸Gumowski, *Trzy nieznane...*, columns 23–26; idem, *Mennica wileńska...*, pp. 109–111.

⁵⁹Gumowski, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1909.

⁶⁰Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–214.

arms of Royal Prussia (an eagle with an armed shoulder raised up) and grossi, 3 grossi and ducats with an effigy of Stefan Batory. Apart from works mentioned above, one should list in this context articles of Vossberg,⁷⁴ a catalogue of Malbork collection elaborated by Emil Bahrfeldt⁷⁵ and as an example a note of Józef Jodkowski,⁷⁶ works of Stronczyński⁷⁷ and Zagórski cited already many times.

Feudal Prussian coins struck by George Friderick in 1586 in Königsberg mint are worth mentioning here as well. From Batorian coins only the last emissions of those coins are known. The Duke George Friderick Hohenzollern, the administrator of Ducal Prussia as a protector of an indolent Prussian Duke, Albrecht Friderick, struck ternari, solidi, grossi, 3 grossi, talers and feudal Prussian ducats according to mintfoot very similar to the Polish one.⁷⁸ Studies on them were conducted by Stronczyński⁷⁹ and Bahrfeldt.⁸⁰

Very little is known about feudal Curlandian coins struck by the Duke Gothard Kettler in Mitava. They were double-denari (1578–1579) and feudal Curlandian talers (1575–1576) and solidi (1575–1577). For a long time Curlandian double-denars were regarded as Lithuanian double-denars in spite of Kettler's coat of arms – a horse bit, placed on them. Those coins, in their symbolics, refer to the previous Curlandian coins of the Kettlers' struck in times of the king Zygmunt August. Hence, on the reverse of double-denarius there is a Lithuanian coat of arms – the Knight without an Eagle and on the obverse of solidus there is a royal initial of Zygmunt August. Besides the works of Zagórski,⁸¹ Stronczyński,⁸² Józef Andrzej Szwarzgryk⁸³ and the catalogue of Edmund Kopicki⁸⁴ the history of the Curlandian feudal coins is not elaborated in full.

⁷⁴F. A. Vossberg, *Münzgeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Berlin 1852; *idem*, *Nachträge zur...*, "Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel und Wappenkunde" 1865, pp. 318–335.

⁷⁵E. Bahrfeldt, *Die Münzen- und Medaillen-Sammlung in der Marienburg*, Unter Mitwirkung V. M. Jaquet u. W. Schwandt, Bd. 5: Münzen u. Medaillen d. Stadt Danzig, Danzig–Königsberg 1910.

⁷⁶Zagórski, *op. cit.*, 162, 176, tabl. XII–XIII.

⁷⁷Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–229.

⁷⁸J. Jodkowski, *Dukat Gdański Stefana Batorego z 1578 r.*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1911, p. 128.

⁷⁹Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–243.

⁸⁰Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*

⁸¹Zagórski, *op. cit.*, 149 – misdescribing doubledenarius as Lithuanian one.

⁸²Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–244.

⁸³J. A. Szwarzgryk, *Pieniądz na ziemiach polskich X–XX w.*, Wrocław 1973.

⁸⁴E. Kopicki, *Katalog podstawowych typów monet i banknotów Polski oraz ziem historycznie z Polską związanych*, 2, Warszawa 1976, pp. 113–114.

Batorian coins struck in Transylvania in Nagy Banya (Bania Mare) deserve a special attention. Coins marked with NB initials were struck under the name of Stefan Batory as the Polish king and the Duke of Transylvania at the same time. They were talers and ducats struck in 1585 and 1586. What is interesting is that they were struck in Transylvania occupied by the Habsburgian dynasty at those times. In spite of this, Felitianus von Herberstein accepted, without the emperor's knowledge, the commission to strike them. Talers from Nagy Banya struck according to the Crown stamp and ducats struck in resemblance to Hungarian ducats with data of Stefan Batory were eagerly accepted in Rzeczypospolita and in international trade. The coins described long ago by Stronczyński⁸⁵ and recently in Kopicki's catalogue⁸⁶ had not been the subject of the numismatic literature. The mint in Transylvania striking coins of Stefan Batory was presented by Ilie Tabrea⁸⁷ and Gündisch.⁸⁸ The coins of that period were studied in the auction catalogue of Adolph Hess⁸⁹ and in the catalogue of museum collections in Hermannstadt (nowadays Sibiu) by L. Reissenberger⁹⁰ and A. Resch.⁹¹

The coins of Transylvania from 1580 struck by Krzysztof Batory, the king's brother, described in the paper of A. Brause-Mansfeld⁹² are worth mentioning.

Since the union of Livonia with Lithuania under the reign of the last Jagiellonian king it was another twenty years till these lands were totally united with Rzeczypospolita of Both Nations. As late as in 1581 "Pacta Subjectionis" were introduced to the territory of the whole Livonia. Then, Riga together with a large part of neighbouring provinces being ruled by the Archbishop of Riga accepted the protection of the Polish monarch, Stefan Batory. At the same time, Riga lost its status of the free town and was no longer supervised by the Roman–German Empire. In return for this, Stefan Batory confirmed to Riga its previous privileges and minting law. Riga mintage, accepting in 1581 the Polish mintfoot, had a significant influence upon monetary relations in vast regions of mid-eastern

⁸⁵Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–225.

⁸⁶Kopicki, *op. cit.*, 6.

⁸⁷I. Tabrea, *Régale polon Stefan Bathory si monetaria dela Baia-Mare*, "Cronica numismatica si archeologia" Bucuresti 1938, 13, p. 3–8.

⁸⁸G. Gündisch, "Numismatische Zeitschrift" 1932, p. 65.

⁸⁹A. Hess, *Die Siebenbürgischen Münzen*, Frankfurt 1880.

⁹⁰L. Reissenberger, *Münzen des Brukenthalischen Museums in Hermannstadt*, Gymnasialprogramm Hermannstadt 1877–1880.

⁹¹A. Resch, *Die siebenbürgischen Münzen*, Hermannstadt 1901.

⁹²A. Brause-Mansfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 81, tabl. XXXVIII.

Europe. The mint in Riga opened from 1581 to 1586 struck denari (1582), solidi (1582–1586), grossi (1581–1584), ducats (1584–1585) and gold portugaly (Portugueses) (1586). The initial or the bust of Stephen Batory and the smaller coat of arms of Riga town – crossed keys, or the bigger coat of arms of this town – the town gate together with crossed keys were placed on coins. On some of them lilies, the sign of Herman Wulf, the mint leaseholder, were also marked. Some coins struck in the Riga mint belong to extremely interesting and quite mysterious ones. The denarius supplied with an inscription which is hard to interpret can serve as the best example. The first emission of Riga grossi struck in a similar way to Lithuanian ones but with somewhat changed inscription is also puzzling. Riga coins of Stefan Batory were several times discussed in the quoted above works of Stronczyński,⁹³ Zagórski,⁹⁴ Gumowski⁹⁵ and also in elaborations of G. Matto⁹⁶ and Dimitr Jakovlevič Fedorov.⁹⁷

Andrzej Mikolajczyk's works,⁹⁸ devoted to the volume of minting production in Poland also in Batorian times, are of individual character. The author, being in disposal of a very vast comperative material coming from numismatic finds, while interpreting the size of mint production used mathematical – statistical method applied more often in investigations of the monetary history.

Already in the 19th century and in the period between the Ist World War and the IInd World War falsifications of Batorian coins were carefully studied and elaborated. They were described in the very interesting and so far the only works devoted to this subject by Karol Beyer⁹⁹ and Henryk Mańkowski.¹⁰⁰

Apparently, it seems that coins of Stefan Batory are very well known and completely elaborated. However, they always aroused many controversies and polemics.

⁹³Zagórski, *op. cit.*, 177–182, tabl. XIV.

⁹⁴Stronczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–234.

⁹⁵Gumowski, *Handbuch...*, p. 43 and 117.

⁹⁶G. Matto, *Numismaatik Baltimail*. Narva 1931.

⁹⁷D. J. Fedorov, *Monety Pribaltiki XIII–XVII stoletij. Opredelitel monet*, Tallin 1966, pp. 240–246.

⁹⁸A. Mikolajczyk, *Rozmiary produkcji menniczej w Polsce za Stefana Batorego i Zygmunta III Wazy. Pytania bez odpowiedzi?*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1981, 25, 2 (96), pp. 65–120.

⁹⁹K. Beyer, *O numizmatach polskich podrobionych lub zmyślonych w nowych czasach*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1909, pp. 21–27, 45–46, 60–62, 79–81, 92–94, 116–118, 145–147, 166–169, 187–189; also as: *Falsyfikaty majnertowskie*, Kraków 1909; reedition Warszawa 1973.

¹⁰⁰H. Mańkowski, *Falszywe monety polskie*, Poznań 1930, reedition Warszawa 1973.

The articles of Henryk Sadowski,¹⁰¹ Wiktor Korski,¹⁰² Józef Szwagrzyk¹⁰³ or Konstanty Prożogo¹⁰⁴ should be mentioned here. The note published recently in "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" about coins of Stefan Batory coming from the private collection¹⁰⁵ convinced us that Batorian coins are still very mysterious.

About many monetary issues of the Crown and Lithuania we can only say that they were struck. Crown quarter ducat (perhaps the fineness of denarius in gold?) in the collection of National Museum in Warsaw can be the best example. The lack of archival source prevents us from getting to know the problems of the Lithuanian mintage in the Batorian period. Even nowadays, we use Gumowski's elaboration published in 1921!

The issue of reception of Polish Batorian coins in Transylvania and Transylvanian coins in Poland awaits to be studied. The circulation of Batorian coins in territories of Rzeczypospolita of Both Nations and in the whole Europe is undoubtedly a very grateful subject deserving to be fully analysed.

Apart from Lithuanian coins, the mint in Poznań and Curlandian coins are still not carefully investigated. If they are, then we may be able to answer the question why feudal Curlandian talers bore a denomination of 5 Riga marks.

It should be said that so far we do not possess a complete elaboration of history of mintage under the reign of Stefan Batory. It cannot be, of course, replaced by general description or contributory notes.

The catalogue of Batorian coins including all monetary issues, stamp types and variants seems to be urgently required. Up to present, while using catalogues we have seen only rare and even very rare Batorian coins. Perhaps, the complete survey of museum and private collections both in Poland and abroad will allow to distinguish test coins from rare coins and unique specimens from common coins.

How Europe of those times evaluated and accepted the Crown and Lithuanian coins struck by Stefan Batory seems to be a very interesting subject for future investigations. In order to explain this issue one should

¹⁰¹H. Sadowski, *Z numizmatyki polskiej. Talar i portugaly Stefana Batorego 1580 r.*, "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" 1904, p. 95.

¹⁰²W. Korski, *Czy nowa odmiana talara z 1583 r.?* "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1966, 9, pp. 148–151.

¹⁰³J. Szwagrzyk, *150 lat zbiorów numizmatycznych Ossolineum*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1967, 28, pp. 513–515 and the polemics by Witold Korski, *Piękny talar Stefana Batorego*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1968, 31, pp. 579–583.

¹⁰⁴K. Prożogo, *Nieznany numizmat z czasów Batorego*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1969, 40, p. 767.

¹⁰⁵Półgrosze Stefana Batorego i inne rarytasy w zbiorze węgierskim, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1984, 11–12, pp. 209–211.

carefully and ardously analyse the universals and estimated books of foreign coins and the publicistic-economic literature of that period.

This rough survey of a few chosen problems dealing with coins and mintage in times of Stefan Batory shows

how much work is still to be done for numismatists and historians in the field of history of the Polish coin.

*Translated by
Elżbieta Lubińska*

DISCUSSION

Jerzy Piniński

I would like to take into consideration two issues, addressing myself to both lecturers. At first, I would not agree with the statement of Mrs. Marta Męcłewska that forgeries of coins did not appear in the 16th century.

They cannot be compared to these of the 15th century when forgeries of coins were extremely numerous and to the 17th century when there were a lot of small coins of king Zygmunt: ternari, grossi made of copper and then later, in Jan Kazimierz's times copper solidi were forged in mass, but I must admit that I also know falsifications of Zygmunt the Old's coins from the first period of his reign, probably there were Lithuanian half-grossi which were struck in silver. The fineness of them is unknown for these coins were not examined in this aspect. The way the inscriptions and drawings were made on them gives evidence that they were not produced in a legal mint. Apart from this, I remember the hoard from the 16th century in which forged coins coming from the earlier period or at least counterfeiting coins from the 15th century were found. We have some information about forgeries from written sources, for example, the famous story about movable mint "Kaśka" which wandered through forests and produced *półkopki* (halfthreescores) in tin. These are facts from that period which was the object of research of Mrs. Marta Męcłewska.

Next, I would like to ask Mr. Krzysztof Filipow whether there were any studies on metrology of Stefan Batory's coins. I do not intend here to draw conclusions on the basis of minting proclamations but on the basis of metrology of numismatic material as such. In 1580, minting proclamation equaled the Crown coins with Lithuanian ones. However, during my work in museum I had an opportunity to see many different weights of coins and I got the impression that Lithuanian coins were still heavier than the Crown ones even till the beginnings of Zygmunt III's reign. My statements are, of course, suggestions which should be verified during appropriate studies.

Jarosław Dutkowski

It seems to me that in the 16th century there is an interesting fact worth mentioning. Namely, in 1541–1545 we face two aspects which, in fact, were not discussed apart from Grażyński's work. We have here the correspondence, documental attempts to unify monetary systems not only of the Polish State but also of the neighbouring countries: Brandenburg, Silesia, Bohemia, the Crown Prussia, Lithuania and the Crown. This unification in the legal sense was not introduced, however, it can be seen in case of coins. Both coins of Fryderyk II of Legnica, Brandenburg coins and coins of Kostrzyn or Cieszyn give evidence that such an attempt was made. At first, coins were prepared and later there were some attempts to make king Zygmunt agree to free circulation of those coins both in territories of the Duchy and the Kingdom. In my opinion, this subject seems to be very interesting and should be examined thoroughly.

Another issue which seems to be extremely significant for the 16th century is the relation of silver to gold. As I think this problem was described in a specific way. Usually, universal or the Crown or municipal Gdańsk conversions were accepted. However, the whole phenomenon of various economic systems in Polish State of those

times when the relation of gold to silver underwent some changes somehow was not noticed. This problem was neither studied nor published in economic-numismatic literature. How is it possible that gold played a different role in different places and different periods of time? One of the reasons was Albrecht's quarrel with the Crown towns about the use of silver mark as well as the fact that people were paid in silver in return for gold which they were required to give. I think that these two problems need to be elaborated more completely and they can bring a lot of interesting information about the first half of the 16th century.

Marta Męcłewska

Let me begin with the question addressed to Mr. Filipow. I refer to the issue of coins unified both in Poland and in Lithuania and their functioning. Regardless of the results of studies on Lithuanian coins, the weight according to minting proclamation should be the same. And then, in connection to this, does the situation observed on the basis of finds change in relation to the previous period or not? It is worth explaining.

Thank you for specification, perhaps I have treated my report too precisely. Of course, I agree that such forgeries appear in hoards and in collections but it seems to me that they occur in relatively smaller number than in the 15th and 16th centuries. Hence, I think that on this basis one can draw conclusions about the economics of the country, that is both about the welfare of its population and also about the bigger state control over minting production and over the society in general.

The problem of monetary union was, of course, only pointed out by me. It is very important. It should appear in synthesis treating about Polish money since it proves the connections between Polish and European coins. Since money, as any other movable object, was in those times a common property, it was a property of the whole continent. In fact, it is unknown who prevented the realisation of this union, everything seemed to go well, deputies came to the king several times in order to conduct the union.

Next, I would like to consider the ratio of silver to gold which is a very important subject. It can be studied not only on the basis of minting proclamation though the proclamation is the most reliable indicator since it regulated a certain monetary relation in a very vast territory and for the massive receiver. However, the trade prices of gold and silver fluctuated. I do not know how much data would be available. Bohemian patterns should be used in order to examine both coins and results. In fact, this very problem has been studied by Assistant Professor Andrzej Mikołajczyk who explained it in his work *Geneza i rozwój nowożytnej monety polskiej* and as I recon he could study this issue further on.

Krzysztof Filipow

There were two questions addressed to me. One of them was asked by Mr. Jerzy Piniński and it concerned the studies on metrology. I must frankly admit that while preparing my report I did not face any more complete text treating about studies on metrology

of Stefan Batory's coins. As a matter of fact, some data can be found in Mr. Gumowski's work dealing with Vilna mint but not with all its emissions. It is a fact that the law itself, in this case the minting proclamation from 1580, supposedly equaled the Crown and Lithuanian coins which had not been done earlier by the Union of Lublin in spite of the fact that it was ensured in the 12th point of this union.

However, my impressions are the same as Mr. Pininski's. It seems that certain fossilization of Lithuanian relations led to the fact that in this newly open mint a better coin was struck i.e. a little better as regards the contents of silver and of bigger weight against that which was ordered by the minting proclamation. It could have been easier because of Stefan Batory himself who stayed in Lithuania very eagerly and was surrounded by the Lithuanian magnates and nobility.

The second question was formed by Mrs. Marta Męclewska. What does the monetary circulation look like in the light of minting proclamation from 1580? I think that nobody else but Assistant Professor Andrzej Mikołajczyk would answer the question best. He wrote an article in which he conducted the analysis on the basis of hoards coming from the same period in Lithuania and the Crown. I have not read this article yet. However, it appears that the problem of equalization of the Crown and Lithuanian coins in Batorian times is not so obvious, which can be seen on the basis of finds. The article which has been mentioned above entitled *Moneta Obojga Narodów* was published in "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" no. 7/8.

*Translated by
Elżbieta Lubińska*

