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## FEUDAL COIN OF LIVONIA AND CURLANDIA, IN THE 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES STATE OF INVESTIGATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I feel intimidated by the fact that at the Fourth Methodical Conference I attempt to present the subject which in the past few decades was treated rather marginally by the Polish numismatics, the subject the interest in which gradually decreased already in the twenties and thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and nearly totally disappeared after the II World War. It seems to be bizarre and inexplicable that the problem of mintage in Curlandian and Semigalian Duchies and of Livonian coins struck a little earlier, so vividly examined by researchers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was left behind with time. Historical ties of Poland with Livonia in general and with Curlandia in particular, though lasting only more than two hundred years, are undeniable. In practice, it is impossible to eliminate the subject of feudal minting of those countries from the Polish numismatic research.

Articles published recently in „Biuletyn Numizmatyczny” may become an impulse arousing interest in coins struck in Dahlholm and Mitawa. Thus, one can hope that the discussion begun in this way and breaking the silence will develop and enrich our modest achievements in modern feudal minting.

In my report, I am not dealing with the problems of Dahlholm minatge and, first of all, that of Mitava limiting to minimum the history of investigations performed so far; due to my abilities I intend to characterize the present state of our knowledge without attempting to evaluate it. In the second part of my report I dare look ahead to the future and to list tasks which, as I suppose, should be considered by us and by the next generations of numismatists. In our efforts we would like to be supported by the goodwill of our Latvian colleagues and we would like our cooperation to be most fruitful. Moreover, it seems necessary to enlarge the circle of researches including numismatists from other countries of the Baltic Sea and other European countries in which the discussed relics are being found.

### STATE OF INVESTIGATIONS

To say how far the research is advanced on one hand, and to present further possibilities of studies on the other, one should take into consideration the monetary resources at the disposal of Polish numismatists. The resources which, frankly speaking, were unknown in the total aspect. Thus, a survey was conducted in the chosen museums and among the numerous groups of private collectors, members of our society as well. I assumed that both collections belonging to the State and private ones which, as it appeared, did not contain many specimens of coins interesting for us but they could be a considerable support for the source basis, should be used for the research. It is obvious that the form and the range of the survey do not supply us with complete knowledge about resources but they may estimate the amount of these coins in Polish collections and, perhaps, will encourage the scientistis to do the complex cataloguing. It should be added that the data achieved from museums are documented, whereas the information obtained from private collectors signals rather the presence of Livonian and Curlandian coins in private collections (further called „ZP”).

As I have mentioned before, we failed to check all Polish museums which possess coins of modern times. Thus, it was necessary to choose but the choice should allow to present the number of coins which would be the closest to the factual state. There were taken into consideration the following collections:

- from the National Museum in Warsaw (further “MNW”),
- from the National Museum in Cracow (further “MNK”),
- from the National Museum in Poznań (further “MNP”),
- from the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź (further “MAiEŁ”),
- from the Library of the Ossolińscy National Institute in Wroclaw (further “OSW”),

Amount of Livonian coins in Polish collections

Qualification	MNW	MNK	MNP	MAIEL	OSW	MT	KGW	Together in museum in collections	ZP	Together	Structure [%]	Amount in hoards
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Livonian coins from 1572–1773	31	9	7	2	–	3	5	57	19	76	100.0	–
Solidi	23	4	5	2	–	2	5	41	15	56	73.7	–
Ferdings	2	1	1	–	–	–	–	4	1	5	6.6	–
Halfmarks	6	3	1	–	–	1	–	11	3	14	18.4	–
Marks	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1.3	–
Share in resources [%]	40.8	11.8	9.2	2.6	–	3.9	6.7	75.0	25.0	100.0	–	–
Fryderyk Kazimierz	39	12	3	1	2	1	2	60	13	73	9.3	39
Solidi	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	4	0.5	–
one-and-half grossi	17	6	1	–	–	–	1	25	1	26	3.3	33
6-grossi	12	2	2	1	2	1	1	21	8	29	3.7	5
Orts	7	2	–	–	–	–	–	9	3	12	1.5	1
Ducats	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	0.3	–
Karol Wettyn	44	10	4	–	3	2	3	66	8	74	9.4	–
Solidi	16	2	1	–	–	1	2	22	4	26	3.3	–
Grossi	26	6	3	–	3	1	1	40	3	43	5.5	–
6-grossi	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	5	0.6	–
Ernest Jan Biron	74	18	19	2	–	3	10	126	18	144	18.4	3
Solidi	16	4	3	1	–	–	2	26	2	28	3.6	–
Grossi	17	5	3	–	–	1	5	31	3	34	4.3	–
3-grossi	32	4	9	1	–	1	3	50	9	59	7.5	1
6-grossi	9	3	3	–	–	1	–	16	4	20	2.6	1
Orts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Ducats	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	3	–	3	0.4	–
Piotr Biron	15	2	3	1	–	2	2	25	11	36	4.6	2
Talars	13	1	2	1	–	2	2	21	10	31	4.0	1
Ducats	2	1	1	–	–	–	–	4	1	5	0.6	1
Together	396	136	62	7	17	19	24	661	123	784		100
Share [%]	50.5	17.3	7.9	0.9	2.2	2.4	3.1	84.3	15.7	100.0		+ unidentified 11

– from the Regional Museum in Toruń (further “MT”),

– and from the collection of general Jerzy Węsierski,<sup>1</sup> at present at the Royal Castle in Warsaw (further “KGW”). During the survey a lot of information were achieved from the museums not mentioned above. They either concerned the single specimens of the very coins or answered negatively to the questionnaire.

<sup>1</sup> *Kolekcja Generala Jerzego Węsierskiego*, collective work, Warszawa 1974.

The results of the survey were presented in the tables, giving the number of coins according to mint-eds and denominations. Tables are annexes to the report. The survey resulted in finding 76 coins from Livonia struck at Dahlholm castle. They are mostly solidi whose number in the total amount of coins reaches 73,7%. 784 specimens of Curlandian coins were found. From these numbers the state collections possess 75,0% of Livonian and 84,3% of Curlandian coins. In fact, it should be assumed that total monetary resources are higher both in museums and in private

Table 2

Amounts of feudal coins from Curlandian and Semigalian Duchies in Polish collections and amounts appearing in hoards in Rzeczypospolita territories

Qualification	MNW	MNK	MNP	MAIEL	OSW	MT	KGW	Together	ZP	Together	Structure [%]	Amount in hoards
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Gotthard Kettler	106	32	9	3	2	1	6	159	15	174	22.2	3
Doubledenarii	8	19	—	—	—	1	—	28	3	31	4.0	—
Solidi	98	10	9	3	2	—	6	128	12	140	17.8	3
Talers	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	0.4	—
Friderik and Wilhelm	108	53	24	—	10	9	—	204	57	261	33.3	42
Solidi	23	11	8	—	1	2	—	45	10	55	7.0	29
3-grossi	85	42	16	—	9	7	—	159	47	206	26.3	13
Jakub	10	9	—	—	—	1	1	21	1	22	2.8	—
Solidi	1	4	—	—	—	1	—	6	—	6	0.8	—
Talers	8	5	—	—	—	—	1	14	1	15	1.9	—
Ducats	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	0.1	—

collections. Anyway, it is doubtless that these coins are exceptionally seldom met and they constitute a small per cent in the vast number of coins coming from the Crown, Lithuania and Prussia known to us.

The phenomenon impeding research works, undesirable but appearing in the process of gathering coins, is often the lack of information about their origin. In many collections a specification is replaced by a note informing that the given specimen is a purchase or comes from old collections. In this situation only coin disks remain to us as the damaged objects of investigations.

During the past few years a slight influx of the discussed coins to numismatic offices in museums has been observed. For example, the collection of National Museum in Cracow, as I was informed by doctor Janusz Reyman, was enriched by three Curlandian coins since Hutten-Czapski's times, as to Livonian coins no changes were observed.

The state of elaborations can be treated as an indicator of interest in Livonian and Curlandian coins in the past decades in Poland. We do not have any analytic paper related to these coins and what is more the discussed coins have been included neither in complete publications such as Marian Gumowski's *Podręcznik*,<sup>2</sup> nor in the newer edition of this book

<sup>2</sup>M. Gumowski, *Podręcznik numizmatyki polskiej*, Kraków 1914.

printed in Austria<sup>3</sup> and in the comprehensive work by Józef Andrzej Szwaagrzyk.<sup>4</sup> The literature dealing with feudal coins, Prussian coins excluded, is very insufficient. It is confirmed by the "Bibliography of Polish numismatics" till 1965<sup>5</sup> and its addenda and "Materials" comprising the period of 1966–1970<sup>6</sup> edited by Numismatic Committee of the Polish Archeological and Numismatic Society. It is regretful that the described problems have not been presented in the columns of "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne". It may be deceptive that the zealous 19<sup>th</sup> century researchers collecting and analysing those national relics managed to fulfill their tasks and to say everything about the coins. Undoubtedly, the majority of statements formed by Zagórski,<sup>7</sup> Stronczyński,<sup>8</sup> Beyer<sup>9</sup> or

<sup>3</sup>M. Gumowski, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz 1960.

<sup>4</sup>J. A. Szwaagrzyk, *Pieniądz na ziemiach polskich X–XX w.*, Wrocław 1973.

<sup>5</sup>M. Gumowski, *Bibliografia numizmatyki polskiej*, Toruń 1967.

<sup>6</sup>S. K. Kuczyński, M. Męciewska, B. Patryn, J. S. Strzałkowski, *Materiały do bibliografii numizmatyki, medalografii, sfragistyki i heraldyki polskiej (1966–1970)*, Warszawa 1973.

<sup>7</sup>I. Zagórski, *Monety dawnej Polski*, Warszawa 1845.

<sup>8</sup>K. Stronczyński, *Dawne monety polskie dynastii Piastów i Jagiellonów*, 1–3, Piotrków 1883–1885.

<sup>9</sup>Skorowidz monet polskich od 1506 do 1825 roku ułożony [...] w 1862 r., Ed. K. Beyer, Warszawa 1973.

Hutten-Czapski<sup>10</sup> have lost none of their immediate interest though the range of investigations led by them was very much limited and did not comprise many significant questions for the reconstruction of the past. While identifying coins and describing the findings we still eagerly use the 19<sup>th</sup> century catalogues although the basic types of Livonian and Curlandian feudal coins were chronologically, according to the reigns and mint-emissions of the Polish rulers, elaborated by Edmund Kopicki<sup>11</sup> in his valuable *Katalog podstawowych typów monet*. It is a pity that metrological analysis and studies on elements of stamp presentation which had been conducted and presented in *Catalogue* by Hutten-Czapski, were not continued and developed more vividly. His work, as none other, dealing with many types and variants is of great both documental and substantial value.

Recently, in "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" the author of the report has reminded some facts from modern monetary history of Curlandia and Andrzej Mikołajczyk, using the descriptions of finds including these coins, presented feudal coins of Curlandian<sup>12</sup> and Semigalian Duchies on the monetary market of Rzeczypospolita<sup>13</sup> (the Polish State). The latter publication giving evidence for considerations of the circulation of Curlandian coins in the Crown, Lithuania and in peripheral territories, can be treated as the pioneer research paper devoted to the discussed problems in the present century. Although it is of contributory character but its author used arguments omitted so far in the research process i.e. monetary findings. This type of source category, passing through its renaissance in numismatic studies, yet as regards Livonian and Curlandian coins constitutes a very small basis. This situation is made worse by the unsatisfactory state of works and publications dealing with hoards from Curlandia, Livonia and Great Lithuanian Duchy. In particular, apart from few scientific studies<sup>14</sup> available

in Poland, the lack of materials from Lithuania and Byelorussia<sup>15</sup> is seen.

In 1000 findings from modern times registered in Poland only about 30 of them contain Curlandian coins and probably only in 3 of them there were Livonian solidi, moreover proportions of these coins in the given hoards are very low, they often do not reach even one promille of the total amount of the whole deposit. At present the global number of the discussed coins found in Rzeczypospolita can be evaluated, according to Andrzej Mikołajczyk, for about 100 specimens.<sup>16</sup>

Recently published works, comprising the problems of monetary systems and circulation in Poland, include also Curlandia and Livonia.<sup>17</sup> These very precious items, resulting from the given types of investigations but also being stimuli for their continuation, treat the problems marginally and somewhat schematically. In literature a very simplified picture of feudal mintage of these peripheral regions was formed, accepted and widespread. As a rule, it is maintained that coins struck in Dahlholm, meant for the soliders' pay, were related to the mintfoot obligatory in Livonia and the coins struck by the dukes-feudals, apart from those of Peter Biron, were based on Polish systems. I reckon that frames of relations of the studied mintage traced out in this way limit the horizon of the research.

## PERSPECTIVES

Having presented the state of investigations and the scale of interest in Dahlholm and Mitava coins, I would like to attempt to draw the conclusions as regards research projects which would be especially worth elaborating in the nearest future. There is quite a lot of them. I would surely simplify the matter, if I mentioned them in short now. Since, as regards Livonian and Curlandian coins, and particularly in view of the above characterized state of investigations

<sup>10</sup>E. Hutten-Czapski, *Catalogue de la collection des monnaies et medailles polonaises*, Petersburg—Kraków 1871—1916, c. 1—5, reed. Graz 1957.

<sup>11</sup>E. Kopicki, *Katalog podstawowych typów monet i banknotów Polski oraz ziem historycznie z Polską związanych*, 2, 3, Warszawa 1976, 1977.

<sup>12</sup>E. Mrowiński, *Dwa wieki symboliki Rzeczypospolitej na monetach Kurlandii i Semigalii*. "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1980, 10, idem, *Czy numizmatyczny ukłon Birona w stronę carycy Katarzyny II?*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1981, 3.

<sup>13</sup>A. Mikołajczyk, *Lenne monety kurlandzkie na rynku pieniężnym Rzeczypospolitej*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1984, 5—6.

<sup>14</sup>M. F. Kotlar, *Znaleziska monet z XIV—XVII w. na obszarze Ukraińskiej SRR*, Wrocław 1975; idem, *Znaleziska monet z XVIII w. na obszarze Ukraińskiej SRR*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1977, 21, 4, p. 193; A. Mikołajczyk,

*Uzupełnienie do pracy M. Kotlarskiego, Znaleziska monet z XIV—XVII w. na obszarze Ukraińskiej SRR*. "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1978, 22, 1, 1978; Z. Dukša, *Wiadomości o znaleziskach skarbów monet na Litwie na podstawie doniesień prasowych z lat 1951—1974*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1973, 17, 3, p. 167.

<sup>15</sup>Some progress in registering monetary finds of modern time from the territory of Central Europe is mentioned by A. Mikołajczyk, *Nowożytne skarby monet jako źródło historyczne*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1983, 27, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>A. Mikołajczyk, *Lenne monety...*, p. 83.

<sup>17</sup>A. Białkowski, T. Szweycer, *Monety ostatnich Jagiellonów*, Warszawa 1975, p. 94; A. Mikołajczyk, *Obieg pieniężny w Polsce środkowej w wiekach od XVI do XVIII*, Łódź 1980, p. 83; Z. Żabiński, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich*, Wrocław 1981, p. 184.

of them, I cannot treat these complicated and diversified problems in such a concise way.

Undoubtedly, prospects of studies are dependent, except other factors, upon the increase of finds containing the described coins. The problem seems to be all the more important since, as I have showed before, we possess a very little resource basis in form of coins and equally unsatisfactory number of catalogued deposits. The desirable increase will probably result from more suitable localization of museums and centres of relics preservation and their efficient functioning, from developing archeological studies and also from the level of consciousness of an accidental finder. The latter factor, which conditions the rise of coins has a special reasoning in relation to the discussed coins. It is a fact that in Polish collections there are several times as many relics of this type than specimens in findings registered in the territory of Rzeczypospolita. Though, in the total state of possessions the items from other countries brought by collectors are likely to be included, yet the difference is significant and worth thinking over. It can be accepted that the better knowledge of finders the better state of the resource basis and that it will have an influence upon the development of the future studies.

The problem of cataloguing is closely connected with the existing monetary resources and possibilities of their increase. Recently, due to Męcłewska and Mikołajczyk, we have been presented with a catalogue of coin hoards from 1500–1649 from the Polish territory.<sup>18</sup> One can hope, as the authors assure, that this arduous but extremely profitable listing work will also comprise deposits from later times till the present century, considering even loose finds. It is very important to make the cataloguing process be accompanied, of course in cases where such possibilities appear, by a verification of information cited in literature or their specification. It is of special significance, especially in studies on Livonian and Curlandian coins, for these coins are often described too vaguely. For example, in existing descriptions Wilhelm or Friderick, optionally, are treated as those who struck 3 grossi of Gotthard Kettler's sons. Authors of such works, as a rule, did not identify the dukes on the basis of their effigies on coins and at the same time did not differentiate those mint-emissions. Even more complications are evoked by remarks which are limited only to the statement that there were Livonian or Curlandian coins in finds without their closer determination and giving their numbers. It should be stressed here that cataloguing does not exclude the need for monographic elabora-

tions of bigger deposits. For better comprehension of circulation of coins from Dahlholm and Mitawa Polish researchers ought to get to know numerous Lithuanian, White Russian, Latvian and Estonian materials. More profound studies on works from Scandinavian and other European countries should be led. It is well-known that Curlandian coins accompanied Polish ones while wandering abroad already at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They are met in hoards discovered in Moldavia, Slovakia and Bulgaria.

It seems to be most obvious to postulate to deepen and enlarge the research problems or simply to determine their range and scale. It is necessary, as it seems to me, to refer to the 19<sup>th</sup> century statements, to analyse again even the elements of presentations on stamps of examined coins with special regard to analogies, patterns and adoptions from Polish and foreign mintage. Metrological data which contrary to general opinions, clearly indicate that Curlandian coins in certain periods differed from coins struck in the Crown and Lithuania, should be re-examined or even verified. Fineness of metal used in Mitava minting for all denominations ought to be analysed and factual relations with system obligatory in those times should be defined. However, one can not exclude new problems which may emerge during the works organized in this way.

In order to reconstruct the participation of the examined coins in monetary circulation of Curlandian and Semigalian Duchies, Livonia, Rzeczypospolita (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and other countries, separate investigations should be begun with special respect for the single finds. As a result, it may be possible to determine the range of circulation, participation in monetary mass on foreign and local markets as a derivative of the level of participation in deposits and, perhaps, the approximate volume of production and its character. Since it is odd what aim guided Kettler and his successors to produce coins in the vicinity of too extremely active Riga minting: economic or profitable, political or perhaps ostentatious?

Undertaking intensive studies on the problems mentioned above may bring unexpected or even surprising results and dispel our doubts. However, it will be possible to achieve this aim with the help of common efforts not only of Polish researchers.

May results of investigations appear in form of publications as quick as possible and available to everyone who will be interested in them. Both for Polish editions and for foreign translations there should be plenty of room in periodicals published by Numismatic Committee of Polish Archeological and Numismatic Society.

A monography of ducal mintage in Mitawa would be a very desirable position in numismatic literature.

<sup>18</sup>M. Męcłewska, A. Mikołajczyk, *Skarby monet z lat 1500–1649 na obszarze Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej. Inwentarz*. Warszawa 1983.

However, because of the lack of discernment in preserved archival documents, scarcity of Polish source records and considerable stand-still in investigations conducted so far, the work on this monography can be taken into consideration rather later.

Summing up, I would like to return to the survey led by me. Understanding and endearments which greeted my efforts oblige me to thank to all those who

were very much helpful, first of all, heads and workers of Numismatic Offices, colleagues from boards of departments, divisions and circles of our Numismatic Society.

*Translated by  
Elżbieta Lubińska*

## DISCUSSION

### Marta Męciewska

In my opinion, the evaluation of minting in Ducal Prussia and Polish influences on it studied by German authors results not only from their illwill towards Poland but also from some merits. It is worth examining them and discussing what seems to be true from the point of view of economic interests of Prussia. I think that the decision of introducing the monetary union in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was right. Later, this decision could have had somewhat inconvenient consequences.

Let me make some remarks about Copernicus. We cannot totally reject all that what German science presented to us in the past years. Some conclusions are quite significant. Opinions of Waschiński, a good expert of the period of Teutonic Order, deserve to be considered. In a monumental edition of Copernicus' works, published in East Germany, a very detailed, I would even say too detailed, comment of Professor Zylberfeld devoted to monetary theory of Copernicus was included.

And finally, I would like to ask for more detailed information about Mańkowski's manuscript devoted to Prussian coins. Probably, all the present are interested in it as well.

### Jarosław Dutkowski

Information about the history of this manuscript is probably in the Raczyński's Library. I have found the information together with Mańkowski's work *O fałszywych monetach pruskich*. I have not seen the manuscript itself.

### Marta Męciewska

In this case we could ask the grandson of Mr. Mańkowski to tell us something about the manuscript.

### Jerzy Piniński

Mr. Dutkowski presented the state of cataloguing of numismatic material in feudal Prussia in black colours. I am not sure whether the author was not too critical. He did not include the work of Mr. Kopicki who had delivered us basic information devoted to particular types of coins. A very good catalogue, according to me, is the catalogue of Malbork collection. In Polish numismatics we possess a lot of various catalogues but, in fact, we do not have a single catalogue which would gather the whole material, consistently and in details. For the modern period we use Hutten-Czapski's catalogue which is less complete for Polish territories than the catalogue of Malbork collection for feudal Prussia. It does not mean, however, that this catalogue is a model one. Still, the Malbork collection was the biggest collection of Prussian coins which, as far as I know, was lost. The question arises then whether we would reach better results than in the catalogue of Malbork collection, if we undertook cataloguing works now. Of course, we would have to supplement it since it was probably not complete. Some types of coins which were

not mentioned in the catalogue are always likely to be found. Such a supplementing catalogue in Polish would be very much worth editing, at least because of practical reasons. The catalogue of Malbork collection is not in hands of every researcher, it is not in every town where the numismatists are, it is not in the collection of each museum; for instance, the library of our museum does not possess such a catalogue.

### Stanisław Suchodolski

I totally agree with my preceding speakers and their opinions about the report of Mr. Dutkowski. Such a picture presented in two colours, black and white, Polish and German, seems to be a little exaggerated. The essence is to present the real state and not in relation to Polish or German point of view. Certain differences in opinions of various researchers from different countries are treated as obvious since they concern not only Polish-German situation in relation to feudal Prussia. Yesterday, we evaluated the activity of Frederick the Great. We know that Polish point of view about Silesia differs from Czech opinion, or the beginnings of Polish and Bohemian minting are also the object of scientific argument. The same occurs in case of Hungary. Let us try to see the truth instead of promoting our point of view. It seems that the Polish monography of the mint in Królewiec is not especially necessary. Whether it will be prepared by the Polish or by the German researchers does not matter. And at last, the statement that the Germans specialize in written sources and the Polish in finds appears to be out of date. I must tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that dr. Michael North from Hamburg who knows both German and Polish literature of the subject very well and at the same time knows Polish findings, has sent his article to the editor of "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne". The article deals with Prussia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. So we can say that international integration makes progress with the help of different kinds of sources, which is very advantageous for the subject.

### Andrzej Mikołajczyk

Two last reports indicate the necessity of a new critical point of view on source basis, especially in case of Prussian coins. Divergences of opinions on the ethnic background which were put forward as the most important were also discussed. The statement that instead of continuing these divergencies we should aim at cooperation is right, as without cooperation I cannot see any possibility of real progress.

As regards the problem of information about our finds among German researchers I would like to remind you that the article mentioned above does not come from Hamburg accidentally. In this town there is a central record of numismatic findings from the territories of the Reich, also from the territory of the Reich within its borders from 1939. Thanks to the kindness of our West-German colleagues, Mrs. Marta Męciewska and me used this record while we were completing and preparing the catalogue of the Polish modern finds. So, it is obvious that German researchers have a free access to

the material of numismatic findings, perhaps with the exception of the latest, which is understandable.

The problem of studies on Curlandian coins is also of great significance. In this case, in spite of the fact that our interests are directed differently, we have similar objections or fears as regards the lack of integration of investigations since nowadays we can only speak about some symptoms manifesting the approaching change of situation. However, who will be able to fill up deficits which Mr. Mrowiński pointed at?

As to the questions raised in reports and devoted to materials from Lithuania, Latvia and Byelorussia we have been expecting a new Januśonis who like a shining star would appear in the Polish literature and would explain unknown problems to us. I would like to remind the history of an article about unknown minting bills of Great Lithuanian Duchy connected with the emission of *horatynki*.

In case of material coming from finds the situation was rather bad but I would like to enlighten this gloomy picture. Namely, after a long period of stagnation in this field and the lack of information coming from the territory of the previous Great Lithuanian Duchy, such information has begun to reach us slowly. At present, a material article of dr. Rjabcewič from Mińsk in which the author comprises the latest complete elaboration of numismatic discoveries from provinces of Grodno and Brześć is in the press. It will be published in the next volume of "Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi". I must admit, ladies and gentlemen, that there is also further material dealing with the source basis coming from the Great Lithuanian Duchy from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, there are some symptoms of changing situation and it is, to some extent, a sort of declaration of undertaking the cooperation with the numismatic and historical circles as regards the monetary history of Rzeczypospolita since it should be expressed in this way. Perhaps, changing somewhat the picture, these examples will have a positive influence, though not officially, on the attitude of the Lithuanian and Latvian colleagues. Some changes are undergoing. Perhaps, in future an idea of adding to organized so far Polish-Bohemian numismatic meetings similar Polish-German or Polish-Lithuanian-Byelorussian-Latvian meetings would be worth taking into account. I can see some of my colleagues smiling, of course, these are only wishes but not so unreal as they seem, since Russian researchers have declared co-operation in official terms. Some doubts pervading the Polish numismatic circle may be solved in future. We mean, first of all, the access to enormous source basis which we still cannot reach. This problem is of great significance. Archives of Riga, Leningrad or Vilna may add some new valuable information which will allow us to elaborate the issues of feudal minting in proper proportions. We must remember about it, since it is a marginal subject of Polish monetary history which is very interesting. I think that German or Latvian researchers have a little different point of view.

As regards European hoards containing feudal coins it is a next successive step towards enlarging the source basis coming from findings and I think that information about this subject will be appearing systematically until gradual supplement of our state of knowledge about the participation of either Gdańsk coins or feudal Prussian coins in European circulation is reached.

#### Ryszard Kiersnowski

I daresay a few words to support what Assistant Professor Mikołajczyk said about growing possibilities of co-operation on our eastern border. I must inform you, ladies and gentlemen, very shortly, about the proposals of mutual co-operation in publishing written historical sources from the epoch interesting for us, the sources which may be, to some extent, significant for the problems discussed now. I mean Polish-Russian co-operation as regards the edition of Lithuanian specification, this basic source which, in its greatest part, is

stored in Moscow. The Historical Institute of the Polish Academy of Science and the proper Institute in Moscow have begun works preparing this material to be published. As it consists of 700 volumes, it is easy to estimate when this job will be completed. If we take, quite optimistically, three years for preparing one volume, we get 2100 years necessary for the completion of this work, i.e. it would be finished about the year 4000. So far, two volumes based first of all on Polish archives but including the co-operative work of colleagues from Moscow are now in the press in Warsaw. The next volume has been already prepared from material achieved from Moscow. Russian colleagues are also preparing something. The division of the work is the following: the Russians publish the material preserved in Russian language so they elaborate the periods before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, whereas the Polish researchers deal with the material in Latin and in Polish. In fact these first volumes contain so called *sigillata* from the beginnings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and tax registries from Vilna province from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and from the beginnings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This volume will introduce, as I think, valuable information for all those interested in the monetary history.

A volume devoted to books of registration from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is being prepared. The progress is clearly seen and it is worth mentioning here.

#### Witold Nakielski

Livonia or Inflanty existed before the Curlandian Duchy came into being. After the secularization the Curlandian-Semigalian Duchy: Curlandia and Semigalia separated. The notion "Livonia" was prescribed only to the remaining part. Yet, Curlandia and Semigalia belonged to Livonia as the historical whole. In view of this, I think that Livonia is a more general name of the country which, depending on the given period was divided into various parts. For the period before the secularization, we can distinguish, for instance, the remains of the Teutonic State, Archbishopric of Riga, Bishopric of Dorpaty etc. which constituted totally separated individual political units.

#### Jarosław Dutkowski

In my report I deliberately presented the problem in such a black colour as it was understood here. I meant to underline the specific character or situation of this source material. Now, I have an impression and I will try to prove it that we have come to a point when historians deal with issues of feudal Prussian coins in the works devoted to feudal system in Prussia. They undoubtedly analyse all documents available to them in a very comprehensive way but at the same time they limit themselves only to this. There has come to such a situation as for example in the latest elaborations of Małek, one of them published in 1982, the other one a little earlier. In this elaboration we see another attempt to discuss the material as if no new sources appeared. The interpretation has only been changed, moreover the latest Małek's article contains some revealing elements. The earlier article, in fact, is the repetition of Schwinkowski's achievements which is even clearly seen in bibliographical notes. These are also characteristic points. Let me state once again that we will not be able to cross the existing barrier, we will not convince the German researchers nor they will convince us unless new numismatic material is taken into account. Monetary circulation is just this new numismatic material. My whole previous speech was directed to the above statement.

I would like to call your attention to some opinions and points of view already published. For instance, Meihard treats indiscriminately some information i.e. he does not consider Mertens' remarks or remarks of previous researchers from the thirties who suggested that not all information as regards minting bills is indisputable. This is so in case of Prussian mark which so far has not been established.

Let me stress again, the significant progress will be achieved provided we have new source material.

### Eugeniusz Mrowiński

I would like to thank to Professor Kiersnowski and Assistant Professor Mikołajczyk for this optimistic tone which may have been lacking in the report. Each publication devoted to Curlandian, Semigalian and Livonian coins of Dahlholm type, those with the date, will be, indeed, accepted with satisfaction and used in studies by the Polish numismatists.

In the notes to my report I have pointed out that in his latest article Assistant Professor Mikołajczyk mentions some progress as regards the Lithuanian materials but, surely, this progress is still inconsiderable and every new publication which will reach us, will be

willingly accepted. As regards the notions used here, whether Curlandian or Livonian coins, in my opinion, it is just a misunderstanding because the notion of "Livonia coin" is accepted, in general, in Polish numismatics to describe coins struck in Dahlholm. This notion cannot be related to the area. Only coins struck in Dahlholm are considered here.

In case of Curlandian and Semigalian coins i.e. coins of Curlandian and Semigalian Duchies, the notion seems to be proper and refers also to the area of the Duchy. The ducal title: "In Livoniae, Curlandiae et Semigaliae Dux" gives evidence that Curlandia and Semigalia were parts of Livonia or rather Inflanty.

*Translated by  
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