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COIN HOARDS OF DOBRUDJA

I



EX PONTO

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Volum apărut cu sprijinul financiar al dl. Ion Matei



EX PONTO

Constanța - 2007

Photo: Oltița Țiței

Graphic design and layout: Daniela Iacovache

Translation: Liviu David, Corina Custurea

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ABBREVIATIONS

AACMS	<i>The Association of Friends of the Segovia Mint</i> , Segovia
ActaMM	<i>Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis</i> . Muzeul Județean “Ștefan cel Mare”, Vaslui
AGS	<i>The General Archive of Simancas</i> . Simanca
AAASH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest
AIIAI	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie “A. D. Xenopol” Iași</i> . Iași
AIC - CD ȚaraRom	<i>Arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului, Catalogul Documentelor Țării Românești. Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România</i> , vol. V, 1981, București
AICSL	Arhive Lwow, Ucraina
AIESEE, Bulletin	<i>Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-est Europeen</i> , București
Analele Dobrogei	<i>Analele Dobrogei</i> , Constanța
Arheologija	<i>Arheologija</i> , Sofia
AUB	<i>Analele Universității București</i> , București
AUDC	<i>Analele Universității Dimitrie Cantemir</i> , București
Balcania	<i>Balcania. Revistă de Studii Sud-Est Europene</i> , București
BCMI	<i>Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice</i> , București
BSNR	<i>Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române</i> , București
CN	<i>Cercetări Numismatice</i> , București
CNA	<i>Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică</i> , București
CNI/VIII	<i>Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, Venezia Parte II</i> , tom VIII. Roma 1917
CNI/IX	<i>Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, Emilia, Parte I, Parma e Piacenza-Modena e Reggio</i> , tom IX, Roma 1925
Crisia	<i>Crisia. Anuarul Muzeului Țării Crișurilor</i> , Oradea
Dacia, N.S.	<i>Dacia Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne</i> , București
Dav.	John S. Davenport,
Delm.	A. Delmonte, <i>Le Benelux d'Argent</i> , Amsterdam, 1967
Diarii	<i>Diarii</i> . Venetia
DID	<i>Din istoria Dobrogei</i> , București
DIR	<i>Documente privind Istoria României</i> , București
Dobrudja	<i>Dobrudja. Numismatic and sphragistic Sbornik</i> . Varna

DOW	A. R. Bellinger, Ph. Grierson, <i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and in the Whittemore Collection</i> . I (A. R. Bellinger, <i>Anastasius to Maurice, 491-602</i> , Washington, 1966); II (Ph. Grierson, <i>Phocas to Theodosius III, 602-717</i> , Washington, 1968); III (Ph. Grierson, <i>Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1082</i> , Washington, 1973).
DRH	<i>Documenta Romaniae Historica</i> , București
E&S/MC	A. Engel, R. Serrure, <i>Traité de Numismatique Moderne et Contemporaine</i> , Reprint Bologna, 1965
E. de Hurmuzaki	Documente privitoare la istoria românilor, București
Embder Jahrbuch	<i>Embder Jahrbuch</i> , Embden
FHDR	<i>Fontes Historiae Dacoromane</i> , București
Fried.	R. Friedberg, <i>Gold Coins of the World from 600 A.D. to 1958</i> , New York, 1958
HC/I	E. Hutten-Czapski, <i>Catalogue de la Collection des Médailles et Monnaies Polonaises</i> , tom I, Graz, 1957
Historias Acuñadas	<i>Historias Acuñadas. Anuario de la Asociación Numismática Chilena (ANUCH)</i> , Santiago de Chile.
Istro-Pontica	<i>Istro-Pontica</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
Izvestija Sofia	<i>Izvestija na Arheologiceski Institut</i> , Sofia
Jaarboek voor Munte Penningkunde	<i>Jaarboek voor Munte Penningkunde</i> , Amsterdam
Labirint	<i>Labirint</i> . Chișinău
MASP	<i>Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorija</i> , Odesa
MCA	<i>Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice</i> , București
Memoria Antiquitatis	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț
MI	<i>Magazin Istoric</i> , București
Mousaios	<i>Mousaios</i> . Muzeul Județean Buzău, Buzău.
NAP	<i>Numizmatika Antichnovo Pričernomorija</i> , Kiev
NHAMC	National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța
NHMR	National History Museum of Romania
NK	<i>Numizmatikai Közlöny</i> , Budapest
PDKSZP	?????
Pellicer I Bru	J. Pellicer I Bru, <i>El Medio Duro, España, Provincias de América e Imperio</i> , Barcelona, 1971
Peuce	<i>Peuce. Rapoarte și Cercetări Arheologice</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
Regling	K. Regling, Tomis, în B. Pick, K. Regling, <i>Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien</i> , Berlin, 1910

Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța, Constanța
RÉSEE	Revue des etudes sud-est européennes, București
RevMuz	<i>Revista Muzeelor</i> , București
RdeI	<i>Revista de Istorie</i> , Bucuresti
RI	<i>Revista Istorica</i> , Bucuresti
RIC	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London
RMI	<i>Revista Monumentelor Istorice</i> , București
RN	Revue Numismatique, Paris
Romanoslavica	<i>Romanoslavica</i> . Asociația Slaviștilor din România, București
SAN	<i>Society for Ancient Numismatics</i> , Parorama City
SCIV(A)	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie)</i> , București
SCIV	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche</i> , București
SCN	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică</i> , București
Simpozion Chișinău 2000	<i>Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima Unire a românilor sub Mihai Voevod Viteazul, Chișinău, 28-30 mai 2000, Comunicări, studii și note</i> , București, 2001
SMIM	<i>Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie</i> , București
SRIR	??????
Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica	<i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> Universitatea "Al. I. Cuza", Iași
Studii	<i>Studii. Revistă de Istorie</i> , București
SWC/2001	Ch. L. Krause, C. Mishler, Colin R. Bruce II, <i>Standard Catalog Of World Coins</i> , Iola, 2001
The Numismatic Chronicle	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i> . Royal Numismatic Society, London
Thracia	<i>Thracia</i> . Sofia
Thracia Pontica	<i>Thracia Pontica</i> . Sozopol
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul Român de Tracologie, București
TIR L35	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> , București, 1969
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnei Istorii</i> , Moskva
Wiadomosci Numizmatyczne	<i>Wiadomosci Numizmatyczne</i> , Warszawa
Zeitschrift für Balkanologie	<i>Zeitschrift für Balkanologie</i> , Berlin

FOREWORD

Dobrudja, the province located between the Danube and the Black Sea, situated in the south-east of Romania, is bordered, at the north, by the massif of Dobrudja (the Măcin mountains), surrounded by vastly wavy plateaus (the Tulcea plateau, the Babadag plateau, the Casimcea plateau), interrupted by hollows, having in the north-east the Danube Delta, and in the south a tabular plateau, made up of stone slabs.

Dobrudja has always been an open door, both to the Mediterranean Sea, and to the east, representing a bridge between central Europe and the Near East.

Inhabited from ancient times by Dacians and Scythians, Dobrudja was colonized by the Greeks on the Black Sea coast, and then, from the 1st century A.D., the Romans imposed their domination over it. For seven centuries, Scythia Minor was integrated into the Roman world. In the year 28 B.C., it went under the authority of the Odrysians king, a client of Rome, and in 48 A.D., it was annexed to the province of Moesia.

The land of Dobrudja is liberally sprinkled with many archaeological monuments, having profound historical significance for the Romanian people. Thus, in the north of Dobrudja, dating from the Neolithic – approximately 5500-2800 B.C., we see traces of the human existence in the area of the Baia commune (the Hamangia culture), in the Danubian river meadow (Jijila, Garvăn, Văcăreni, Somova, Tulcea); then from the Greek period – the cities of Tomis, Callatis, Histria and Orgame – from the 7th century B.C., the fortifications of the Roman period, from Beroe, Capidava, Murighiol, Ibida, Carsium, Sacidava etc., the complex from Adamclisi, with the Tropaeum Traiani monument.

From the late Roman period, but especially once the Byzantine rule was introduced, Dobrudja entered the Christian era. Its beginnings fit into the 4th-7th centuries chronology, a period from which date the diocese of Tomis and the Danubian bishopric centres of Axiopolis (Cernavodă), Troesmis (Turcoaia), Noviodunum (Isaccea) and Halmyris (Murighiol). The persecutions that were unleashed against the Christians by the emperor Diocletian continued then by Licinius, have made many victims amongst the Christians of Dobrudja. Their names are recorded in various martyrdom documents. The archaeological excavations of 1971, done at Noviodunum, for instance, have produced a *martyrion* – under the shrine of the proto-Christian basilica from the village of Niculițel. The inscriptions from the crypt interior, written in Greek, confirm the presence of the relics of four Christian martyrs: Zoticos, Attalos, Kamasis and Philippos. Two years after their discovery, the Orthodox Church Synod has decided that the relics of the four persons should be laid down in four caskets, at the Cocoș monastery, nearby. Also, the archaeological discoveries of May 2001, from Halmyris, authenticated the information written in the *Acta Sanctorum Julii* on the earliest martyrs of Dobrudja: *Epictet* and

*Astion*¹, martyred during the reign of Diocletian (the year 290), and whose bones are nowadays in the Celic Dere monastery church, near Niculițel.

The discovery from Ibida (Slava Rusă) can be included in the same Roman – Byzantine period (the 4th – 7th centuries) and seems to be the oldest monastic establishment of Romania that we know of, until the present moment. From the late Byzantine period, we have the monastic complex of Basarabi (10th century), so representative for the ethnic situation from the Lower Danube.

During the 12th – 14th century, the Genoese have built impressive fortifications in Dobrudja, commercial centres, Chilia, Enisala and Vișina. The early states of Balica and Dobrotici were created within the same period. Dobrotici united all the “states” that were governed by local chieftains into one sole state, recognized by Byzantium. During the reign of Mircea the Old, this state was an integral part of Walachia, whose boundaries extended, at that time, as far as the “Great Sea”, as it is confirmed by the ruler title, in the official documents: “... *through the mercy of God, great voivode and sole master and ruler... on both sides, over all of Podunavia, and to the Great Sea and master of the stronghold of Durstor.*” After the ruler’s death, Dobrudja got the attention of the other Romanian voivodes – Stephen the Great, Iancu of Hunedoara – as well as of the Hungary king, Sigismund of Luxemburg, sovereigns who have been interested in this area, given its exceptional strategic role.

Then, for almost five centuries, the territory of Dobrudja was under the Ottoman Empire occupation. The Ottoman expansion in the Balkans places Dobrudja under the “Crescent” domination between the 15th – 19th centuries. The Balkan regions colonization, started under the reign of Murad I (1360 – 1389), spread, during the 15th century, as far as the Danube mouths. From the year 1484 onwards, after the fall of Chilia, the region was under the Sublime Porte rule. Understanding the strategic, economic and military significance of Dobrudja, the Ottoman sultans fortified it, creating here a bastion of utmost importance. The access to the Black Sea was severely restricted, and thus the route to the Pontic lands became difficult for the western ships.

During the armed conflicts between the Russians and the Turks, during the 18th–19th centuries, Dobrudja became the main theatre of war, as it was ravaged and devastated, a fact that got it the name of “Tartars Path” of “Path of War”. After the War of Independence (1877 – 1878), in conformity with the Berlin treaty, the territory situated between the Danube and the Black Sea was integrated within the modern Romanian state boundaries.

*

¹ Until recently, the hagiographers identified them with various martyrs of elsewhere – for example J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l’empire romain*, Paris, 1918, p. 119; H. Delehay, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, Bruxelles, 1912, p. 273; idem, *Les martyrs Epictet et Astion*, in *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l’Académie Roumaine*, tome XIV, 1928, p. 5, *apud Creștinismul Românesc a fost de la început Ortodox* (expunere cronologică până la întemeierea mitropoliilor), in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, www.crestinism-ortodox.ro/html/10/10b_martiri_si_sfinti.html

Thus, the archaeological vestiges of Dobrudja, which practically cover the entire history of humanity, are representative and extremely important, not only for our own national history, but also generally for the universal history. The archaeological and numismatic remains abundance of Dobrudja is well known, one could find them everywhere. That is why it is not surprising that the rich historical heritage of this province attracted the scientists and the collectors attention as early as the “childhood” of archaeology and numismatics as sciences. For this reason, noteworthy archaeological pieces, as well as coins and monetary hoards of an exceptional value are to be found disseminated through private or state collections, not only from the whole of Romania, but also from all of Europe.

In order to have a unitary image at least of on the numismatic discoveries of Dobrudja, we have deemed it necessary to gather them all back, obviously as much as possible, thus forming a valuable data base. Through the present work, we wish to start, for the monetary hoards of Dobrudja, coming from recent or older discoveries, a series of volumes that would place them in the scientific circuit, putting them at the specialists’ disposal. This initiative of ours implies a collaboration between several institutions, such as: the Archaeology Institute “Vasile Pârvan”, the National Museum of History of Romania, the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța, the Numismatic Board of the Romanian Academy Library, the IEMR – Tulcea (the Institute for Eco – Museum Research of Tulcea), etc. – and even some private persons. For the history of Dobrudja, the necessity of such a work results from the numismatic chronicles insufficiency that present the isolated discoveries, as well as from the publications relative rarity relating to monetary deposits. At the same time, there are commendable precedents in terms of the publication of such volumes, for Transylvania² and, more recently, for the territory of Moldavia³.

Such an undertaking is the more necessary as in the last years, more and more objects belonging to the country’s national heritage – archaeological but especially numismatic vestiges – are leaving the country, scattering everywhere. And what’s even more serious, we do not even have the possibility to make a scientific over-all assessment of these objects. Both the “treasure-hunters” and the ones that take the respective valuable objects abroad avoid, out of unawareness or, even worse, out of ill will, the institutions that are have all the rights to create a data base. There are very few people who go to the museums with their personal discoveries, offering the “comfort” that at least a small part

² The numerous publications of Eugen Chirilă and his collaborators: E.Chirilă, T. Bader, I. Némethi, *Tezaure monetare din județul Satu Mare*, Satu Mare, 1968; E. Chirilă, N. Gudea, Șt. Dănilă, *Tezaure monetare din Nordul Transilvaniei, secolele XVI-XVII*, Zalău, 1970; E. Chirilă, A. Socolan, *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din colecția Muzeului Județean Maramureș*, Baia Mare, 1971; E. Chirilă, N. Gudea, Gh. Moldovan, *Tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul Municipiului Sighișoara*, Sighișoara, 1972; E. Chirilă, N. Gudea, V. Lazăr, A. Zrinyi, *tezaure și descoperiri monetare din Muzeul Județean Mureș*, Tg. Mureș, 1980.

³ The fruitful and commendable initiative of our colleague, Dr. Viorel Butnariu from the History Institute of Iași: V. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculișă, Raisa Tabuică, *Tezaure din Muzeele orașului Chișinău*, Chișinău, 1994; V. Butnariu, Ana Boldureanu, C. Chriac, Elena Gherman, C. Hriban, A. Ioniuc, Adriana Moglan, Iulia Moldovan, E. Nicolae, Șeiva Sanie, Carmen Ungureanu, *Corpus Nummorum Moldaviae (2). Monnaies et parures du Musée d’ Histoire de Iași*, Iași, 2001.

of these discoveries get to be in museum collections, by way of purchase or, much less frequently, through donations. In most cases, we witness, powerlessly, the “migration” of certain objects, some of them exceptional ones, into foreign collections, or the scattering of some hoards among the more or less informed collectors.

At this point, we would like to present a difficult problem – but also an extremely serious and current one – that of the illegal “treasure-seekers”, endowed with an increasingly sophisticated and high-tech apparatus. Western countries, ones with a rich historical background, for instance: Italy, Greece, England, France, already had, for some years now, a clear and well-established legislation in what concerns the historic heritage movement, the search of this heritage with metal-detectors, as well as in what concerns the ownership of this heritage, discovered with suchlike methods⁴.

Regarding our country, the lack of funds, as well as the rightful persons or of the laws inflexibility and often the absolute incapability hinder the official archaeological investigations, also through the modern method of using the metal-detectors, as well as the purchase, by specialized institutions, with the price on the market, of important discoveries. This phenomenon ultimately leads to the loss of some priceless riches, to which we, the present people, have no contribution whatsoever, but towards which we should have a serious responsibility.

Therefore, with all the problems that have rained down on us lately, generated by a complete lack of the museum phenomenon understanding, accompanied, unfortunately, also by ill will, from the part of the same forums that should have supported us, we venture nonetheless to launch this first volume. It is designed to be a part of a **General numismatic discoveries corpus from the Romania territory**, drawn up on the model of the Medieval Documents collection from the Archives, in the A, B, C series, but, in our case, it is D. In the hope that our initiative will be followed by other museums or other historical and archaeological institutions from our country, we shall present, for starters, a series of hoards that have been found on the lands of Dobrudja.

⁴ Thus, in England, for example, an official framework, organized for the so-called “treasure-hunt”, in other words, the search for historical vestiges, with the help of metal detectors. There are a few official, registered associations of “treasure-hunters”, with well-delimited search areas, that function near the history museums from the provinces. All the things that are discovered by the “hunters” rightfully belong to them. But the objects are gathered at the headquarters of the respective association, and a primary identification is established, in accordance with important books; each object is given an identity file. Then the objects are taken to the specialists of the provincial museum to which the “treasure-hunter association” is affiliated. Here, the objects are re-identified, catalogued and introduced in the data base. From the provincial museum, the discovered objects leave for London, in order to reach the British Museum, so as to obtain the “export licence”. If the discovered objects do not form a unitary deposit, or if they do not fit in the patrimonial category of a “hoard” (national cultural and patrimonial goods), then the specialists of the museum issue them “an export license”. But, if the objects are an integral part of a deposit, or if they belong to the patrimonial category of a “hoard”, then they cannot leave the United Kingdom of Great Britain. If the owner – discoverer agrees to the offered price, they can be purchased by the British Museum, or by another museum or specialized institution from England. If the price is not satisfying, then the objects stay further in the possession of the discoverer, but he cannot get them out of the country, only leave them in the custody of a museum or of the “treasure-hunter association” to which he is affiliated (*Colchester Treasure Hunting Holidays in England*, www.colchestertreasurehunting.co.uk).

THE ARROWHEAD–MONETARY SIGNS HOARD, FOUNDED IN CONSTANȚA (CONSTANȚA COUNTY)

Gabriel Talmațchi,
Gheorghe Papuc

In the ancient city Tomis peninsular area, a hoard of arrowhead–monetary signs appeared in February 1987, on the Carpați Boulevard, 50 metres from Parcul Catedralei (the Cathedral’s Park). While performing the excavations for the archaeological vestiges terrain clearing, with a view to building several blocks of flats and the afferent sewage system, west of the “Jalea collection” premises, Constanța Art Museum, in a ditch oriented eastwards–westwards, at a depth of 2,35 metres, people have founded a crock (*olpé*) contained 141 arrowhead–monetary signs. From the antiquity, the pot lacked its upper part and its ear. It has an ovoid profile, a flat base, made of compact beige clay, and the decoration is represented by three outer circular stripes, two on the ear’s initial point, and a third at the base of the vessel; the dye that was utilized was reddish–brown¹.

Analogies have been made to our vessel, among the discoveries from Histria and Olbia. In Histria, such vessels have been found mainly in the archaic level II (dated to the beginning of the 6th century – 570/560), but also in the archaic levels I (the last quarter of the 7th century – the very early stages of the 6th century) and III (560 – the last decade of the 6th century)². In the necropolis of Olbia, ceramic pieces have been identified, similar to the analysed crock, which belonged to the category of conventional oriental Greek pottery, as in the graves 29, 60, 167, 217, dated also on the basis of other materials that make up the inventory, starting with 525 BC³.

Other discoveries of arrowhead–monetary signs have been also made, but in an isolate manner, following the archaeological excavations undertaken in the Cathedral’s Park and in the Arhiepiscopiei Street. At the site “Parcul Catedralei”, during the years 1971–1974, 54 samples turned up, 30 of which were specially cast

¹ The technical data of the vessel are the following: height 11,4 cm, maximum diameter 6,5 cm, the mouth’s diameter 3,3 cm, and the base’s diameter 4,5 cm; inv. NHAMC 23016.

² E. Condurachi et alii, *Histria. Monografie arheologică, I*, București, 1954, fig. 192, category 624; iidem, *Histria II*, București, 1966, categories 623, 624 and pl. 34; P. Alexandrescu, *Histria IV. La céramique d’époque archaïque et classique VIe – IVe*, București, 1978, p. 102, nr. 672–673; our colleague Emilian Telegă, from the Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest, also opted for a dating of the vessel to the first half of the 6th century, as there is a similar vessel, originating from the settlement of Bel’sk, R. Oposhniansk. We would like to thank him again for his help concerning the dating of the *olpé*; our colleague Livia Buzoianu, whom we also thank for her help, opted for a later dating, to the last quarter or the end of the 6th century or even the beginning of the 5th century BC.

³ V. M. Skudnova, *Arhaiceskii nekropoli Olvii*, Leningrad, 1988, p. 60, 167, 217.

and 24 were adapted to have a monetary value, on the XII–XI levels, that is, from the 6th century until the second half of the 5th century BC⁴. In 2001, a few arrowheads–monetary signs were collected from the Arhiepiscopiei Street, from a first level, probably dated to the middle or the second half of the 6th century BC, if not later⁵.

The hoard is composed of 141 pieces, 125 of which are arrowhead–monetary signs, specially cast in order to have a monetary role, and 16 others, adapted from battle arrowheads. The first category, i.e. 88,64% of the total can be subdivided into four types – α , β , γ and rejects – a listing that the late lamented Gh. Poenaru Bordea and that Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu have proposed as early as 1976, in a paper which was presented during the 2nd International Congress of Thracology, held in Bucharest⁶. There are 42 of the ones of α type (representing 33,6% of the total), 21 of β type (16,8% of the total), 47 of γ type (37,6% of the total), and the rejects occupy the last place, with only 15 pieces (totalizing 37,6%), in accordance with the catalogue presented below:

1st category

CATALOGUE Arrowhead–monetary signs of α type

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55570	2,27 g	3,6 cm
2.	55558	2,28 g	3,5 cm
3.	55593	2,55 g	3,5 cm
4.	55546	2,60 g	3,3 cm
5.	55497	2,60 g	3,4 cm
6.	55483	2,65 g	3,3 cm
7.	55561	2,66 g	3,0 cm
8.	55555	2,66 g	3,4 cm
9.	55579	2,77 g	3,3 cm
10.	55475	2,86 g	3,3 cm
11.	55544	2,86 g	3,7 cm
12.	55563	2,87 g	3,6 cm
13.	55498	2,88 g	3,7 cm
14.	55522	3,06 g	3,4 cm
15.	55471	3,10 g	3,7 cm
16.	55482	3,18 g	3,5 cm

⁴ A. Rădulescu, C. Scorpan, *Pontica*, 8, 1975, p. 34-36; C. Scorpan, *SCN*, 7, 1980, p. 25-36.

⁵ Gh. Papuc, T. Cliante, G. Talmațchi, C. Băjenaru, C. Dobrinescu, *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice. Campania 2001*, București, 2002, p. 108.

⁶ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Actes du II^{ème} Congrès International de Thracologie*, București, 1980, p. 144.

17.	55487	3,20 g	3,8 cm
18.	55578	3,21 g	3,3 cm
19.	55532	3,22 g	4,1 cm
20.	55494	3,25 g	3,5 cm
21.	55541	3,25 g	3,9 cm
22.	55520	3,28 g	3,7 cm
23.	55486	3,30 g	3,6 cm
24.	55481	3,33 g	3,5 cm
25.	55582	3,36 g	3,5 cm
26.	55588	3,45 g	3,7 cm
27.	55513	3,48 g	4,2 cm
28.	55523	3,54 g	3,7 cm
29.	55517	3,54 g	4,0 cm
30.	55516	3,64 g	4,2 cm
31.	55528	3,78 g	3,8 cm
32.	55537	3,80 g	3,7 cm
33.	55495	3,81 g	3,7 cm
34.	55534	3,92 g	3,7 cm
35.	55484	3,97 g	3,4 cm
36.	55472	4,00 g	3,7 cm
37.	55538	4,10 g	3,2 cm
38.	55525	4,14 g	4,0 cm
39.	55473	4,24 g	3,7 cm
40.	55529	4,29 g	3,7 cm
41.	55526	4,50 g	4,0 cm
42.	55551	4,69 g	3,6 cm

Arrowhead–monetary signs of β type

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55585	1,78 g	3,6 cm
2.	55592	2,22 g	3,3 cm
3.	55587	2,27 g	4,4 cm
4.	55568	2,46 g	4,0 cm
5.	55557	2,48 g	3,3 cm
6.	55566	2,49 g	3,3 cm
7.	55584	2,51 g	3,0 cm
8.	55539	2,56 g	3,4 cm
9.	55535	2,71 g	4,5 cm
10.	55591	2,80 g	3,7 cm

11.	55480	2,85 g	3,5 cm
12.	55577	2,99 g	3,8 cm
13.	55560	3,08 g	3,3 cm
14.	55518	3,10 g	4,1 cm
15.	55586	3,24 g	3,7 cm
16.	55573	3,30 g	3,0 cm
17.	55519	3,31 g	4,1 cm
18.	55562	3,32 g	4,0 cm
19.	55521	3,84 g	3,8 cm
20.	55548	3,93 g	4,0 cm
21.	55509	4,90 g	4,3 cm

Arrowhead–monetary signs of γ type

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55590	2,32 g	3,5 cm
2.	55506	2,33 g	4,5 cm
3.	55485	2,40 g	3,7 cm
4.	55496	2,42 g	3,7 cm
5.	55589	2,46 g	3,9 cm
6.	55478	2,48 g	3,4 cm
7.	55477	2,53 g	3,6 cm
8.	55565	2,79 g	3,2 cm
9.	55512	2,80 g	4,1 cm
10.	55511	2,87 g	4,1 cm
11.	55545	2,94 g	3,7 cm
12.	55499	2,96 g	3,5 cm
13.	55552	3,01 g	4,3 cm
14.	55567	3,06 g	3,7 cm
15.	55514	3,08 g	4,1 cm
16.	55508	3,09 g	4,2 cm
17.	55533	3,18 g	4,1 cm
18.	55504	3,28 g	4,4 cm
19.	55540	3,39 g	4,0 cm
20.	55553	3,41 g	3,7 cm
21.	55490	3,47 g	3,5 cm
22.	55491	3,48 g	4,1 cm
23.	55581	3,55 g	3,8 cm
24.	55549	3,58 g	4,2 cm
25.	55510	3,60 g	4,0 cm

26.	55543	3,64 g	4,0 cm
27.	55527	3,64 g	4,3 cm
28.	55547	3,68 g	4,0 cm
29.	55492	3,71 g	4,0 cm
30.	55536	3,74 g	3,9 cm
31.	55501	3,74 g	4,4 cm
32.	55476	3,85 g	3,5 cm
33.	55554	4,07 g	4,3 cm
34.	55503	4,09 g	4,9 cm
35.	55564	4,11 g	3,5 cm
36.	55515	4,12 g	4,2 cm
37.	55479	4,25 g	3,1 cm
38.	55493	4,28 g	4,0 cm
39.	55505	4,30 g	4,5 cm
40.	55542	4,40 g	4,4 cm
41.	55531	4,44 g	4,4 cm
42.	55530	4,45 g	4,4 cm
43.	55489	4,45 g	4,5 cm
44.	55502	4,48 g	4,9 cm
45.	55507	5,14 g	4,8 cm
46.	55488	5,24 g	4,5 cm
47.	55474	5,48 g	4,8 cm

Arrowhead–monetary signs of rejects class

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55610	0,58 g	1,1 cm
2.	55594	1,90 g	3,2 cm
3.	55569	2,03 g	3,1 cm
4.	55572	2,45 g	3,2 cm
5.	55500	2,51 g	3,1 cm
6.	55559	2,54 g	3,3 cm
7.	55576	2,59 g	3,9 cm
8.	55580	2,64 g	3,9 cm
9.	55575	2,68 g	2,8 cm
10.	55524	2,73 g	4,0 cm
11.	55583	2,79 g	3,1 cm
12.	55550	2,85 g	4,5 cm
13.	55556	2,88 g	3,7 cm
14.	55574	2,94 g	3,0 cm
15.	55571	2,97 g	3,0 cm

We would also like to draw your attention to the so-called rejects, considered thus due to the smaller weight of the pieces, as well as to some casting flaws. They all come from the arrowheads category that have been cast with a monetary purpose. Although we have classified them as rejects, we are not sure whether or not they were this at the moment of their forging, or whether or not they observed a certain weight limit, more or less supervised, even if their general aesthetic image would have been affected.

The second category composed of adapted battle arrowheads, in order to have a monetary value, represents 11,35% of the total of the ones that make up the hoard. We have made a classification of them, utilizing this time a classification that has been proposed by this type of arrowheads by Mihaela Mănuțu Adameșteanu scientific researcher in 1984⁷. Thus, from the IIA series, we have the existing groups, in the following manner: IIA1 with four samples (with a percentage of 25% of the total of the ones from the second category), IIA2 with one sample with a percentage of 6,2% of the total of the ones present in the second category), IIA3 with two samples (12,6%), and IIA4 with three samples (18,7%). Of the second series (IIB), only these have been confirmed: IIB2 with one sample (representing 6,2% of the total of second category pieces) and IIB3 with five pieces (31%).

2nd category

CATALOGUE

IIA1 – arrowhead–monetary signs with two edges, thorn and empty rod

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55606	1,98 g	2,5 cm
2.	55595	2,41 g	3,6 cm
3.	55598	4,53 g	3,5 cm
4.	55496	4,57 g	4,2 cm

IIA2 – arrowhead–monetary signs with two edges, thorn and lead rod

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55597	5,25 g	4,0 cm

⁷ M. Mănuțu-Adameșteanu, SCN, 8, 1984, p. 20.

IIA3 – arrowhead–monetary signs with two edges, no thorn and empty rod

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55611	3,10 g	3,9 cm
2.	55599	3,63 g	4,2 cm

IIA4 –arrowhead–monetary signs with two edges, no thorn and lead rod

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55608	2,72 g	3,7 cm
2.	55609	3,11 g	3,7 cm
3.	55607	4,50 g	3,8 cm

IIB2 - arrowhead–monetary signs with three edges, thorn and lead rod

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55605	4,51 g	3,8 cm

IIB3 - arrowhead–monetary signs with three edges, no thorn and empty rod

Current number	NHAMC inv. no.	Weight	Length
1.	55602	2,16 g	3,1 cm
2.	55604	2,64 g	2,9 cm
3.	55601	2,90 g	3,3 cm
4.	55603	3,61 g	3,0 cm
5.	55600	20,12 g	5,5 cm

We have to point out that, over the years, several hypotheses have been postulated regarding the origin of monetary signs manufacturers. But the hypothesis that has been supported the most also by the research of the last decades, with an increasingly high probability, is the one of their Hellenic origin, to be exact, deriving from the colonies of Miletus from the Euxine Sea western and north-western shore⁸.

From the point of view of circulation of these monetary signs, we notice their isolated and hoard-related appearance, especially in the rural territories, and in the

⁸ F. Preda, *AUB*, 16, 1961, p. 16; A. G. Zaginajlo, *MASP*, 8, 1976, p. 70; A. Aricescu, *SCN*, 6, 1975, p. 23; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Pontica*, 11, 1978, p. 62; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 147; C. Scorpan, *SCN*, 7, 1980, p. 29; H. B. Wells, *SAN*, 9, 1978, 2, p. 25; M. Mănușu-Adameșteanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 23; V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba, *Dacia Răsăriteană în secolele VI-I î. e. n. Economie și monedă*, Iași, 1990, p. 38; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Comunicări, Studii și Note*, Chișinău, 28-30 mai 2000, București, 2001, p. 9; G. Talmațchi, *AUDC*, 4, 2001, p. 133.

areas of influence of the colonies, as F. Preda observed for the first time⁹. They have been identified in some local population settlements, in Greek-indigenous sites of the *chora*, as well as in the coastal cities¹⁰. We must point out the presence of these monetary signs in necropoleis too, where they seem to have the function of “Charon’s obol”, the way they appear in Olbia¹¹. In the first two cases (local population settlements and Greek-indigenous sites), the pieces appear to be especially gathered in hoards of hundreds of units and less in isolated discoveries. The latter, made outside the rural territories of colonies, could indicate to us a possible presence of the local communities, situated on routes that were used by the Greek merchants who were looking for new and profitable lines of exchange or for some economically developed communities.

From what we know to date concerning the arrowhead–monetary signs of Tomis, all the pieces have been founded during systematic excavations, and the isolated ones appear in mud huts, next to Dacian and archaic Greek ceramics, as it was seen on the occasion of the excavations of the years 1971-1974¹² and 2001¹³. Tomis is also the only colony of Miletus where this unique hoard of arrowhead–monetary signs has been founded¹⁴, which offers new arguments for the status of emporium¹⁵ that the city presumably had at that time.

Of the two large categories of arrowheads-monetary signs from the hoards, the most are of the first category; thus, in Vișina (Tulcea County), their proportion is of 84,90%¹⁶, in Enisala (Tulcea County) 91,53%¹⁷, in the first hoard from Jurilovca (Tulcea County) 87%¹⁸, in Atya (Bulgaria) 100%¹⁹ and in our case, in Tomis, 88,64%.

Continuing with the discussion of the two categories, according to the unanimously accepted primary classification, from the metrological point of view, the differences are great. Within the first group, most of the pieces have a weight that fluctuates between 4 and 6 g²⁰ or between 4, 50 and 6, 50 g²¹. The variations in weight are probably due to the bad state of preservation and to their found in fragmented state, conditions that appear mainly in the case of the isolated finds. In the case of the

⁹ F. Preda, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ P. Balabanov, *Thracia Pontica*, 1, 1979, pp. 51-52; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Viața economică în Pontul Stâng în epoca elenistică în lumina izvoarelor arheologice și numismatice*, abstract of the doctorate thesis, București, 1978, p. 3; M. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, *Pontica*, 25, 1992, p. 61, footnote 25.

¹¹ A. G. Zaginajlo, *NAP*, 1982, p. 21; E. Roznovanu, *Labirint*, 1, 2001, Chișinău, p. 33.

¹² A. Rădulescu, C. Scorpan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27, 29, 34-36; C. Scorpan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-30.

¹³ Gh. Papuc, T. Cleante, G. Talmățchi, C. Băjenaru, C. Dobrinescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁴ Gh. Papuc, *The Thracian World at the Crossroads of Civilisations. Reports and Summaries, May 20-26 1996*, București, 1996, p. 317.

¹⁵ C. Preda, *Istro-Pontica. Muzeul tulcean la a 50-a aniversare 1950-2000. Omagiu lui Simion Gavrilă la 45 de ani de activitate 1955-2000*, Tulcea, 2001, p. 111; L. Buzoianu, *Civilizația greacă în zona vest-pontică și impactul ei asupra lumii autohtone (secolele VII-IV a. Chr.)*, Constanța, 2001, pp. 285, 301.

¹⁶ M. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁷ A. Aricescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁸ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁹ P. Balabanov, *loc. cit.*, pp. 41-49.

²⁰ C. Preda, *Istoria monedei în Dacia preromană*, București, 1998, p. 35.

²¹ V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

hoards, the situation is the following: in Atya, 72% of them vary between 4 and 5 g (the average weight is of 4,42 g)²²; in Vișina, the majority oscillates between 4 and 6 g (of which some fit in between 4,50 and 4,985 g)²³; in Jurilovca, a great number of samples (88%) have a weight that fluctuates between 4 and 5,50 g (with a significant average concentration at 4,50 g)²⁴, and in Tomis, the average is around 4 grams.

In the second group, the weight increases considerably, owing to the technology of the adaptation to the monetary function, through the introduction of the lead in the fixation tube. In the hoard of Jurilovca, the ones with an empty tube have an average weight of 4,27 g, and the majority of those with a filled tube have an average weight of 6,30 g, with a lower limit of 4,68 and an upper limit of 7,13 g²⁵.

From the point of view of the ancient weight system, certain weight ratios have been established. Thus, taking into account the discovery of a pound, with a weight of 28,65 g²⁶, which displayed on one of its sides the image of an arrowhead, Gh. Poenaru Bordea and E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu considered that 6 or 7 arrowheads were tantamount to a silver obol, and a drachma of the same metal was tantamount to 4 g of arrowheads, where the standard weight was 4,50 g of bronze²⁷. V. A. Anochin, starting this time from an average weight of 5,0 g and estimating the standard weight at 5,3 g, considered that an electrum stater of Miletus was tantamount to 2304 arrowheads²⁸. In his calculations, he took into account two pounds found in Berezani, one of which was already mentioned above, and the second one weighed 39,75 g²⁹. Trying to calculate the price of an arrowhead, P. Balabanov correlated the price of the gold with the one of the bronze, settled at 400/1, according to an inscription that was founded in Olbia. Its value is, allegedly, of 0,012 g of gold; so, if a stater has a weight that goes from 8 to 10 g, the price of the arrowhead would be 1/800e -1/1000e of a stater³⁰.

But Mihaela Mănuclu-Adameșteanu does not agree, on the one hand, with the establishing of a bronze-silver correlation, through the introduction of the arrowheads in a bimetallic monetary system, and on the other hand, with the hypothesis of the existence of a standard weight³¹. C. Preda does not rule out completely the possibility of the existence of a weight correlation, but he is circumspect in what concerns the connection between them and the monetary systems of those times³².

From what was mentioned above, one can easily deduce the existence of a differentiated stage of the research and of the analysis of the metrological aspects

²² P. Balabanov, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

²³ M. Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 122.

²⁴ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 143-144.

²⁶ B. Grakov, *VDI*, 1971, 3, pp. 125-127.

²⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 149.

²⁸ V. A. Anochin, *Ol'via i ee okrug*, Kiev, 1986, p. 87.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 76-77.

³⁰ P. Balabanov, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.

³¹ M. Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.

³² C. Preda, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

pertaining to the arrowhead–monetary signs, but the matter continues to raise more questions than coherent and convincing answers.

In the case of our hoard, the arrowhead–monetary sign with the inventory number of 55600 stands out; it is in the second category (transformed out of battle arrowheads), and it has the weight of no less than 20,12 grams. Consistent with our information, such a discovery is unique among the other hoards or isolated finds that we know of until now. Also, it is very difficult to explain its presence next to the ones with “normal” weights, which fit into the known limits. At this stage, we do not know if this value is accidental (the exception that confirms the rule), or if it really would correspond, in terms of weight, to a well-defined value.

There is some information that appeared during the last decade, which could bring new interpretations of a real interest on the chronology of these monetary signs, although it was considered that the interval that extends from the second half of the 6th century to the first half of the 5th century is the best grounded, from an archaeological point of view. In 1952, V. D. Blavatskij dated them starting with the end of the 6th century and going until 420 BC³³. In 1954, V. Canarache placed them within the 7th – 6th centuries BC³⁴, and F. Preda dated them starting with the second half of 6th century BC and going till the middle or even the end of the 5th century BC³⁵. In 1961, T. Gerasimov considered that they were present starting with the 6th century BC, after he had spoken previously of the 4th – 3rd centuries BC³⁶. A. Aricescu³⁷, Gh. Poenaru Bordea³⁸, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu³⁹ and Bucur Mitrea⁴⁰ integrate them to the second half of the 6th century BC and to the first half of the 5th century BC, and C. Scorpan considered that they circulated until the second half of the 5th century BC⁴¹.

C. Preda⁴² and M. Mănucu-Adameşteanu⁴³ have also sustained the idea of their dating to the second half of the 6th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC (for instance, the first three decades), while V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba opted for the middle of the 5th century BC⁴⁴.

At the same time, we notice the existence of a maximum chronology, starting from the middle of the 6th century BC (for example, ± 500), as V. V. Ruban⁴⁵

³³ V. D. Blavatskij, *Zapadnopontiiskie goroda v. VII-I čekah do našei e zry*, Moskva, 1952, pp. 40-41.

³⁴ V. Canarache, *SRIR*, 1, 1954, p. 183.

³⁵ F. Preda, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁶ T. Gerasimov, *Izvestija Sofia*, 12, 1939, 2, pp. 424-427; idem, *Arheologija*, 1, Sofia, 1959, pp. 85-87.

³⁷ A. Aricescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁸ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1972-1977*, International Commission Numismatic, Bern, 1979, p. 24; idem, *130 de ani de la crearea sistemului monetar românesc modern*, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 56.

³⁹ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴⁰ B. Mitrea, *Thraco-Dacica*, 5, 1984, 1-2, p. 114.

⁴¹ C. Scorpan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁴² C. Preda, H. Nubar, *Histria III. Descoperirile monetare 1914-1970*, Bucureşti, 1973, pp. 17-19; C. Preda, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴³ M. Mănucu-Adameşteanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁴ V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ V. V. Ruban, *NAP*, Kiev, 1982, pp. 17-18.

propounded in 1982, or as C. Preda⁴⁶ also tangentially mentioned, while Gh. Poenaru Bordea stopped at a date sometime after 550⁴⁷. We support, as a work hypothesis, the lowering of the emission date of these arrowhead–monetary signs to the middle of the 6th century and not to its second half, maybe even to the last two decades of the respective century first half. We shall bring further arguments for the grounding of this opinion.

Many of the arrowhead–monetary signs that were founded until the present time appear in the Greek-indigenous settlements or in the Greek cities, on the first level of habitation (usually in mud huts), dated, on the basis of the ceramics, to the second half of the 6th century BC. This situation does not rule out their presence in an earlier phase that we should have been able to see in Histria. It is just that, as we have already mentioned, the lack of some clear archaeological contexts does not permit us to infer anything. But in 1985, in Orgame, in a Greek centre, in a hut-dwelling, two arrowhead–monetary signs appeared in an archaeological context that was characteristic of the first half of the 6th century BC (to be exact, the second quarter), and they have been recovered from within an enclosed rectangular hearth⁴⁸.

The present hoard, found in Tomis, near the Cathedral's Park, was kept in an *olpé*-pot (crock), with already mentioned analogies that go as far back as 570/560 BC⁴⁹. Then, in a survey that was carried out in the temple of Aphrodite, a deposit of 6 coins with the wheel appeared, dated, judging by the archaeological level, to about 550 – first part of the 5th century BC⁵⁰. In this case, we are forced, from a monetary point of view, to push a little more towards the 6th century the circulation of the arrowhead–coins, considering that there probably existed a short parallel circulation of the two emissions.

Last, but not least, we mention the discovery of suchlike monetary signs in the settlements of the Berezani lagoon, and along the north-western area of the Dnieper's liman, up to the confluence with the Bug's liman, dated, on the basis of the archaeological material, to the first half of the 6th century BC⁵¹. Subsequently, in the settlements that appeared near Olbia and along the Bug's liman, from the second half of the same century, the arrowhead–coins disappear from the discoveries and are replaced by the little dolphins of Olbia⁵². In other words, the four samples raise some

⁴⁶ C. Preda, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Comunicări, Studii și Note*, Chișinău, 28-30 mai 2000, București, 2001, p. 9.

⁴⁸ M. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, *MCA*, new series, I, 1999, București, 2001, p. 148; we would like to thank our colleague Mihaela Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, for her explanations concerning the contexts of the appearance of the arrowheads – monetary signs in Orgame.

⁴⁹ See in this respect the whole discussion, in an initial form already, at G. Talmațchi, *Pontica*, 35-36, 2002-2003, pp. 360-361.

⁵⁰ N. Conovici, A. Avram, *Sur les traces des Argonautes, Actes du 6^e Symposium de Vani (Colchide)*, 22-29 septembre 1990, publiés sous la direction de O. Lordkipanidzé et P. Lévêque, Paris, 1996, p. 257.

⁵¹ V. V. Ruban, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁵² Idem, *PDKSZP*, 1981, p. 71.

chronological problems, connected chiefly with the initial date of emission of the arrowhead–monetary signs.

A special attention was given to the presence, on some of the arrowhead–monetary signs, of certain series of symbols that could be linked, presumably, to some of the west-Pontic colonies monetary workshops. We are interested, on the one hand, by the presence of the letter A, the way it appears on three samples (inv. nr. 55487, 55485, 55590), on the other hand, by the presence of a hatchet on one sample (inv. nr. 55486) of the hoard from Tomis. In what concerns the origin, the letter A was attributed to the city of Apollonia, as was the anchor⁵³. The two signs are typical of the silver and bronze emissions of the city, and can be interpreted as a mark of the god Apollo too, as they have been founded together with an arrowhead–monetary sign, but also separately – see in this respect the presence of the letter A as a part of the decoration in some isolated finds from Dobrudja⁵⁴. Also, the probable existence of the monetary sign workshop of Atya was associated with the activity of Apollonia, since the first name of Apollonia was Anthion, from which derived the current name of Atya (the peninsula). In other words, the workshop from Atya would have been subordinated to the colony of Pontic Apollonia, which explains the appearance of the mould in that environment⁵⁵. In the hatchet case, it appears on only one sample of the first category, and its manner of displaying the details (with the edge on its interior, bulging in the middle) reminds us of the one which was used at the beginning of the Iron Age, in the southern area⁵⁶. We know of some other suchlike discoveries also in Tomis, in the case of two pieces that appeared in an isolated manner, also in the Cathedral's Park⁵⁷. The fact that the sole samples of this sort have appeared only in Tomis would allow us to advance, with much cautiousness, the hypothesis of their possible casting just in Tomis, seeing as how this symbol of the hatchet had been adopted on a local level.

In conclusion, the pieces that we have discussed, which bore several designations, like ingot - coins⁵⁸, pre-monetary signs⁵⁹, monetary sign – objects⁶⁰, pre-coins⁶¹ and arrowhead–monetary signs⁶², have emerged as a response to the immediate necessities that the local market demanded, connected with the local rural development and urban productions and, consequently, with the commercial relations development from the areas of influence and of direct control. The economic and commercial contacts between the native population and the Greek communities have had early stages, in the course of which the former has taken up many innovative and

⁵³ I. Karajotov, *Thracia*, 11, Serdica, 1995, pp. 397-398.

⁵⁴ G. Talmațchi, *Analele Dobrogei*, 6, 2000, 1, p. 11, nr. 1-7.

⁵⁵ I. Karajotov, , *loc. cit.*, p. 398.

⁵⁶ C. Scorpan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ G. Severeanu, *BSNR*, 21, 57-58, 1926, p. 2.

⁵⁹ A. Aricescu, *loc. cit.*, p. 7; C. Scorpan, *loc. cit.*, p. 25; M. Mănucu-Adameșteanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

⁶⁰ B. Mitrea, *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

⁶¹ A. Wasowicz, *Olbia Pontique et son territoire*, Paris, 1975.

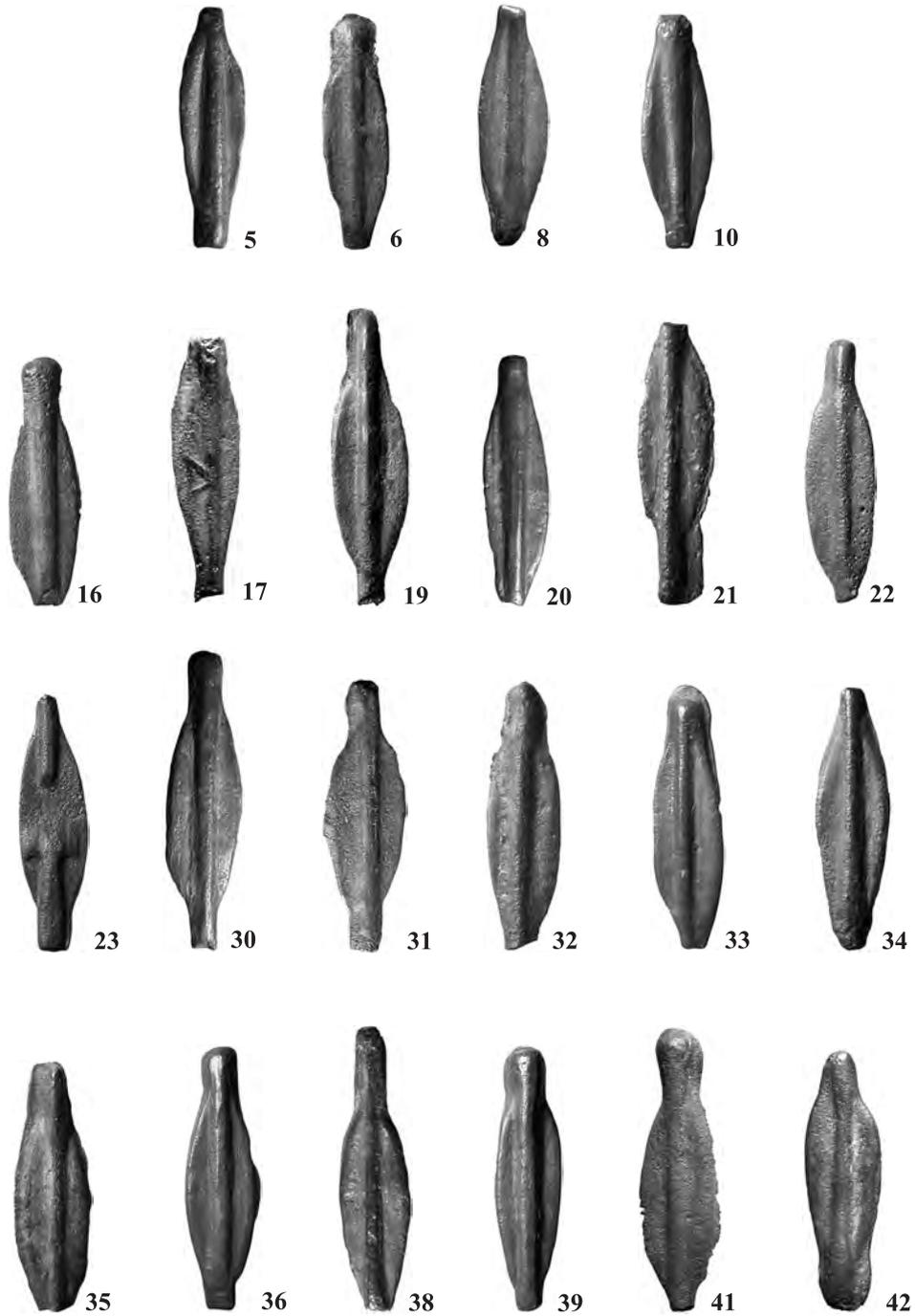
⁶² Gh. Poenaru Bordea, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 141.

superior aspects of material and social culture from the latter, which had a more advanced state of development, and an entire network of relations formed between the two, a network that involved the great majority of the aspects of everyday life. Once the economic transformations and the acceleration of the exchange based on the standard took place, the autochthonous Thracian-Dacian society also reaches a level of understanding and of knowledge of the economic mechanisms that were characteristic of the age⁶³, and also well-organized and well-defined in the Greek world. Although they were founded also in the cities from the western coast of the Euxine Sea, we believe that these monetary signs served right from the start to facilitate the trade that was practiced between the Greeks and the natives. On this evolutionary scale of the economic systems, the appearance, first of the monetary signs, then of the proper coin, has only emphasized and finalized the economic and commercial process as such.

⁶³ P. Lévêque, *Aventura greacă*, vol. II, București, 1987, p. 338.



α type



β type



1



2



10



11



12



14



17



21

γ type



2



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



γ type



γ type



rejects



IIA1



IIA2



IIA3



IIA4



IIB2



IIB3



FIVE ROMAN REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL COIN HOARDS FOUND IN DODRUDJA

Gabriel Talmațchi

In the next pages, we shall present four hoards, composed of Roman republican and imperial denars, found in Dobrudja, hoards which are in the NHAMC collection (the ones of Lipnița, Rachelu and Tuzla), in the IEMR Tulcea collection (the one from Slava Rusă) and in the private collection (the one from Costinești).

A. ROMAN REPUBLICAN COIN HOARDS

1. LIPNIȚA HOARD (CONSTANȚA COUNTY)¹

The hoard was found by chance in 1998, and it was recovered from a site situated near the commune of Lipnița (a kilometre from the commune towards exit Ostrov, on the road right side, in the plough land, near the Farm no. 7, at approximately 500 metres north by north-west, in a fragmentary amphora, which was lost). The small deposit is composed of 15 Roman republican denars and seems to have been purchased in 1999 entirely by the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța.

Lipnița is not yet known expressly in the literature of speciality for its vestiges from the Roman period, but in the commune radius we can mention the Roman and Roman-Byzantine stronghold of Izvoarele (Sucidava)² and the settlement from Gura Canliei, with a succession of levels, from Hallstatt until the early Middle Ages, along with numerous materials of great scientific interest³ and with coins discoveries from the time of Marcus Aurelius⁴. The military unit *Cohors II Chalcidenorum Sagittariorum* (the Legion XI Claudia auxiliary) stamped tiles⁵ have been founded in these just mentioned two sites. However, regarding Lipnița, one can mention different coins discoveries from the Roman republican and imperial periods, along with the Byzantine one⁶.

We show next the “Lipnița” hoard denars catalogue:

¹ This hoard was the subject of a paper called “*Tezaurul monetar roman republican descoperit la Lipnița (jud. Constanța)*” (“*The Roman republican monetary hoard discovered in Lipnița (Constanța County)*”), presented during the Pontica session of November 2001.

² For all the bibliography of speciality, see G. Talmațchi, *Analele Dobrogei*, IV, 1998, 1, pp. 25-31.

³ P. Diaconu, N. Angheliescu, *RevMuz*, 4, 1968, pp. 349-351; M. Irimia, *Pontica*, 13, 1980, p. 74; idem, *Pontica*, 14, 1981, pp. 67-122; C. Preda et alii, *Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României*, vol. II, D-L, București, 1996, p. 209; T. Papasima, *Pontica*, 30, 1997, pp. 305-315.

⁴ M. Băbulescu, R. Ocheșeanu, *Pontica*, 23, 1990, p. 230, no. 71 a.

⁵ M. Irimia, *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, pp.113-121; idem, *Pontica*, 35-36, 2002-2003, pp. 161-162.

⁶ R. Ocheșeanu, Gh. Papuc, *Pontica*, 5, 1972, p. 477, no. 91-92, p. 478, no. 102; G. Talmațchi, *Pontica*, 31, 1998, p. 278, no. 22.

CATALOGUE

T. CLOVLI

1. Denar; ⚡; 3,77 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 285, nr. 260/1, Rome (?),
128 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62422.

AP. CL, T. MAL OR T. MANL, Q. R

2. Denar; ⚡; 3,72 g; 16 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 312-313, nr. 299/1a,
Rome, 111 or 110 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62432.

P. LAECA

3. Denar; ⚡; 3,75 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 313-314, nr. 301/1, Rome,
a. 110/109 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62419.

M. LVCILI RVF

4. Denar; ⚡; 3,78 g; 21 mm.
RRC, p. 327, nr. 324, Rome, 101
BC
Inv. NHAMC 62428.

PISO; CAEPIO. / Q

5. Denar; ➡; 3,78 g; 19 mm.
RRC, p. 330-331, nr. 330/?, Rome,
100 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62424.

C. MALL, A. ALBINVS S.F., L. METEL

6. Denar; ⚡; 3,82 g; 18 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 334, nr. 335/9, Rome, ?
96 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62418.

L. PISO. FRVGI

7. Denar; ⚡; 3,68 g; 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 340-344, nr. 340/?, Rome,
90 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62425.

C. VIBIVS C.F. PANSA

8. Denar; ➡; 3,51 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 346-351, nr. 342/?, Rome,
90 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62430.

Nameless (GARGILIVS; OGVLNIVS; VERGILIVS)

9. Denar; ⚡; 3,85 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 366, nr. 350 A/2, Rome,
86 BC
Inv. NHAMC 62426.

MV. FONTEI C. F.

10. Denar; ⚡; 3,66 g; 21 mm.
RRC, p. 369, nr. 353/1a, Rome, 85
BC
Inv. NHAMC 62429.

L. LVCRETI. TRIO

11. Denar; ⚡; 3,89 g; 19,5 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 404, nr. 390/2, Rome, 76
BC
Inv. NHAMC 62431.

C. EGNATIVS CN. F. CN. N. MAXSVMVS

12. Denar; ⚡; 3,85 g; 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 405, nr. 391/1a, Rome, 75
BC
Inv. NHAMC 62423.

S.X.Q. – IMITATION

13. Denar; ⚡; 3,76 g; 19 mm.

RRC, p. 221, nr. 152, Rome (?),
189-180 BC (?)

Inv. NHAMC 62420.

L. CVIPIENNIVS – IMITATION

14. Denar; ⚡; 3,78 g; 18,5 x 20 mm.

RRC, p. 257, nr. 218, Rome (?),
147 BC (?)

Inv. NHAMC 62421.

C. N. LVCR. TRIO – IMITATION

15. Denar; ⚡; 4,01 g; 19 mm.

RRC, p. 269, nr. 237, Rome (?),
136 BC (?)

Inv. NHAMC 62427.

*

Returning to our hoard, after the short digression on the discoveries from the area and the catalogue presentation, we note that it belongs to the small number category of hoards discovered in Dobrudja⁷ that are composed solely of Roman republican denars, and we mention also that it is made up of Roman republican denars issued entirely by the central workshop, i.e. Rome, between the years 189/180 and 75 BC, the time to which the most recent piece has been dated. Of all 15 coins, they are disposed thus: six samples have been issued during the 2nd century, namely in the years 189/180 (theoretical), 147 (theoretical), 136 (theoretical), 128, 111/110, 101, while the remaining 10 coins concentrate between the years '90-80, 7 samples, to be specific: 99, 96, 90 (two samples), 86 (two samples), 85 B.C.; the last but one has been struck in 76 BC, and the most recent coin, as we have already mentioned, has been struck in 75 BC, bearing the name of *C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Sextus Quinctilius)*.

The coins are, for the most part, blunted, and their weight is below the theoretical one (of 3,90 g)⁸, namely 3,52 g and 3,86 g, and only in one case we have a denar (the one from 136 BC) with a weight of 4 g. The coins average weight that make up the hoard is of 3,77 g.

A number of three imitations attracted our attention, from *S. X. Q.*, *L. Cupienus* (in our record *L. CVO*-sic!) and *C. Egnatius Cn. F Cn N Maxsumus* (in our record *Masxvm* on the obverse-sic!). The three issues are, as it was generally mentioned for Dobrudja, rarities⁹. They are crudely made and easily identifiable, by the general aspect of their style and by some evident differences that appear at their legends¹⁰. Although, until now, the earliest imitation was considered to be after 84 BC, we see that the earliest one from Dobrudja is, probably, our sample (S.X.Q.), dated for an original sample to 189/180 BC, while our imitation could be dated, in our

⁷ A. Popescu, G. Talmațchi, A. Vertan, *BSNR*, 90-91, 199601997, 144-145, 2002, p. 23, 25.

⁸ C. Preda, *Istoria monedei în Dacia preromană*, București, 1998, p. 285.

⁹ G. Talmațchi, *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, 9, 2003, p. 280.

¹⁰ B. Mitrea, *Unitate și continuitate în istoria poporului roman*, București, 1968, p. 59 ; M. Chițescu, *Memoria Antiquitatis*, 3, 1971, p. 210.

opinion, as the other two imitations, to the 1st century BC. It has been also asserted that, through the imitations which have been founded, either in an isolated manner, or in hoards, Dobrudja can be integrated in a monetary circulation class, manifested in the Danubian area (Muntenia and Oltenia), where the discoveries from northern Bulgaria¹¹ are also integrated.

The hoard fits into the series of suchlike deposits found in Dobrudja, as the ones from Ostrov¹², Garvăn¹³, Tulcea¹⁴, Murighiol¹⁵, Costinești¹⁶, Mangalia¹⁷ and Oltina¹⁸, increasing their number at eight. The hoard structure is similar to the one of the hoards that have already been published, in which, from what we can gather from the details we have, the coins that were issued during the 1st century BC predominate, and the major part of them, to be specific, four of them, have been hidden during the second half of the 1st century BC.

In what concerns the causes for the hiding, we prefer to be cautious and not try to connect it to a certain political or military event from the rather troubled period that the communities of those times lived through in Dobrudja; the causes nature could also be different, as we do not have the complete certainty that the batch that was donated to the museum of Constanța is also the one which was recovered in its entirety.

¹¹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Pontica*, 7, 1974, p. 227.

¹² C. Moisil, *BSNR*, 41-42, 1922, 17, p. 52, no. 91; C. Moisil, *CNA*, 127-128, 1943, 17, p. 156, no. 1; C. Moisil, *Balcania*, 7, 1944, p. 11.

¹³ A. Barnea, *SCN*, 5, 1971, pp. 372-376.

¹⁴ C. Preda, G. Simion, *SCN*, 3, 1960, pp. 545-546.

¹⁵ C. Moisil, *BCMI*, 2, 1909, p. 89; O. Iliescu, *Pontica*, 7, 1974, pp. 205-211; O. Iliescu, *Pontica*, 7, 1974, pp. 205-211; R. Ocheșeanu, *Pontica*, 19, 1986, p. 84, no. 2.

¹⁶ B. Mitrea, *Pontica*, 3, 1970, p. 131-137.

¹⁷ A. Vertan, N. Georgescu, R. Ocheșeanu, *Pontica*, 23, 1990, pp. 221-224.

¹⁸ A. Popescu, G. Talmațchi, A. Vertan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23-26.

Planşa 1

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2. SLAVA RUSĂ HOARD (COMMUNE OF SLAVA CERCHEZĂ, TULCEA COUNTY) (We would like to thank our colleague Mihaela Iacob, from the Institute for Eco – Museum Research of Tulcea, for the good will to provide us with this hoard fragment, in order for it to be published)

Before the year 1999, a hoard composed of Roman republican denars was discovered by chance, in the stronghold of Ibida area. Unfortunately, a large part of it was sold by the discoverer, selectively, to a series of private collectors, so that the denars are now “lost” forever, to the research of speciality. We do not know their initial number, but we do know that the six samples that are present in the catalogue below were recovered:

CATALOGUE

CN. LVCR TRIO

1. Denar; ⬆; 3,41 g; 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 269, no. 237/1a, Rome, 136 BC
Inv. IEMR Tulcea 54018.

D. SILANVS L.F

2. Denar; ⬇; 3,31 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 336, no. 337/?, Rome, 91 BC
Inv. IEMR Tulcea 54017.

ANT. AVG. III VIR R.P.C.

3. Denar; ⬇; 3,14 g; 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 539/541, no. 544/?, mobile workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31 BC.

Inc. IEMR Tulcea 54016.

4. Denar; ⬇; 3,42 g; 17 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/15, mobile workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31 BC
Inv. IEMR Tulcea 54015.

5. Denar; ⬇; 3,11 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/16, mobile workshop for M. Anthony, 32-31 BC
Inv. IEMR Tulcea 54020.

6. Denar; ⬇; 3,55 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544-30, mobile workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31 BC
Inv. IEMR Tulcea 54019.

*

From an archaeological point of view, in Slava Rusă, we know of the Roman period presence stronghold of Ibida, mentioned in the literature of speciality as early as the end of the 19th century¹⁹, and numerous archaeological research campaigns have been undertaken at the stronghold and at its environs, campaigns which have revealed

¹⁹ M. Iacob et alii, *Cronica Cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2001*, București, 2002, p. 291.

to us a great array of vestiges that are of real interest²⁰. From a numismatic point of view, we know of many monetary discoveries existence in Slava Rusă, that are characteristic especially to the 4th century BC²¹, 1st – 3rd centuries²², 5th – 7th centuries²³, and 10th – 11th centuries AD respectively²⁴. We also mention the discovery of a piece that has been issued in Walachia during the time of Vlaicu I, and one belonging to Louis the XIV²⁵.

As we can see, our hoard seems to be made up only of republican issues, two issued in Rome (in 136 BC and in 91 BC respectively), and the other four have been issued by a mobile workshop of *Marc Anthony* (in the years 32-31 BC). Of all six coins, one sample was issued during the 2nd century BC (*CN. LVCR TRIO*) and the remaining five during the 1st century BC (*D. SILANVS L. F, ANT. AVG. III VIR R. P. C.*). The most recent ones all belong to *Marc Anthony*; the coins bear the numbers of three legions (III, IIII and XV), and one is illegible.

The coins are relatively well-preserved, except the ones belonging to *Marc Anthony*. The six samples weight varies between 3,11 and 3,55 g, so the average weight is of 3,32 g. For the *Marc Anthony* issued coins, the weight varies between 3,11 and 3,55.

We still do not know, if this really is, in a great measure, the hoard general structure. However, given the *Marc Anthony*'s denars presence, we would incline towards the hoard inclusion in the group of the ones that conclude in the second half of the 1st century BC, although we do not eliminate the Roman imperial's denars existence hypothesis in the initial structure from the discovery moment.

As we have already mentioned, the information about the discovery and about the hoard exact content is vague or even nearly inexistent, as it was not totally recovered (nay, even less than partially), and it had a deliberate selection. That is why we shall stop here with the contingent conclusions or attempts at interpretation. We should deal with its burial in somewhat the same manner, including the creation of a correspondence with a political or even a military event. Because of mentioned reasons, it is hard to establish, in these conditions, certain links between the numismatic document and the political and military fact.

²⁰ R. Vulpe, *Analele Dobrogei*, 11, 1930, p. 125; A Opaïț, C. Opaïț, T. Bănică, *RMI*, 59, 1990, 1, pp. 18-28; A Opaïț, *SCIVA*, 42, 1991, p. 21-56; M. Iacob et alii, *loc. cit.*, pp. 291-293; iidem, *Cronica Cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2003*, București, 2004, pp. 312-314; iidem, *Cronica Cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2004*, București, 2005, pp. 350-355.

²¹ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Peuce*, 8, 1980, p. 502, no. 17.

²² M. Munteanu, R. Ocheșeanu, *Pontica*, 8, 1975, p. 203, no. 47; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Peuce*, 8, 1980, p. 502, no. 16, 18-19, p. 504, no. 70; M. Bărbulescu, R. Ocheșeanu, *Pontica*, 23, 1990, p. 235, no. 47; G. Custurea, A. Vertan, G. Talmațchi, *Pontica*, 31, 1998, p. 323, no. 1955.

²³ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 509, no. 138-141; idem, *Peuce*, 9, 1984, p. 273, no. 99-100; A. Vertan, G. Custurea, 28-29, 1995-1996, p. 318, no. 1614-1616.

²⁴ Gh. Mănușu-Adameșteanu, *Pontica*, 25, 1992, p. 416, no. 340.

²⁵ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Peuce*, 8, 1980, p. 512, no. 191-192.

Plansa 2

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3. TUZLA HOARD (CONSTANȚA COUNTY)

In 2003, during the construction of a building in the commune of Tuzla inhabited area, a monetary hoard composed of an unknown number of Roman republican denars has been founded. It appeared at approximately 2,20 metres deep, and it had been kept in a vessel of a local nature, which was found broken at the discovery moment. There seem to have been about 60 samples of silver. From these, during one year, the discoverer sold selectively, depending on the better manner of presentation, a number of approximately 40 samples to private collectors. Unfortunately, we do not know the hoard initial structure, on issuers. Only the following twenty pieces have been recovered (the ceramic vessel's fragmented remains in which the hoard was found has also been lost), thus:

CATALOGUE

L. CENSOR

1. Denar; ⬆; 2,80 g; 16,5 x 15 mm.
RRC, p. 377, no. 363/1b, Rome, 82 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76552.

PHILIPPVS

2. Denar; ⬆; 3,19 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 448, no. 425, Rome, 56 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76556.

CALDVS III VIR

3. Denar; ⬆; 3,42 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 457, no. 437/1a?, Rome, 51 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76554.

CAESAR

4. Denar; ⬆; 3,03 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 471, no. 458/1, Africa, 47-46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76548.

M.N. CORDIS RVFVS III VIR

5. Quinarius; ⬆; 2,81 g; 18,5 mm.

RRC, pp. 473-474, no. 463/4a-4d,
Rome, 46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76567.

ANT. AVG. III VIR R.P.C.

6. Denarius; ⬆; 3,09 g; 14,5 x 15 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76566.
7. Denarius; ?; 3,07 g; 17 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76559.
8. Denarius; ?; 3,01 g; 15,5 x 16,5 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76565.
9. Denarius; ?; 2,78 g; 14,5 x 16 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC

- Inv. NHAMC 76561.
10. Denarius; ?; 2,78 g; 15 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76557.
11. Denarius; ?; 2,91 g; 17 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76550.
12. Denarius; ?; 2,85 g; 18 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76549.
13. Denarius; ♁; 2,66 g; 14 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76558.
14. Denarius; ♁; 2,65 g; 17 mm.
RRC, pp. 539-541, no. 544/?,
mobile workshop of M. Anthony,
32/31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76564.
15. Denarius; ♁; 3,21 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/12, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32/31
BC
- Observation: on the reverse, three
banners, CHORTIS .
SPECVLATORVM.
Inv. NHAMC 76551.
16. Denarius; ♁; 2,94 g; 14,5 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14 ?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32/31
BC
Obs: LEG II ?
Inv. NHAMC 76562.
17. Denarius; ♁; 3,45 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14 ?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32/31
BC
Obs: LEG II ?
Inv. NHAMC 76560.
18. Denarius; ♁; 2,81 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14 ?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32/31
BC
Obs: LEG II ?
Inv. NHAMC 76563.
19. Denarius; ♁; 3,64 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/26, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32/31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76555.
20. Denarius; ♁; 3,08 g; 16 x 17 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/37, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32/31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76553.

Plansa 3

Pagina alba

Plansa 4

Pagina alba

*

Before we continue, we consider that it is necessary to point out that, from the numismatic perspective, we know also of existence of some coins, from the discoveries from Tuzla, dating from the autonomous Greek epoch until the Roman one²⁶. From an archaeological point of view, an ancient settlement, identified with Stratonis Turris²⁷, has been authenticated here, with numerous materials of great scientific interest, mainly in the shape of ceramics, ancient edifices etc.²⁸

The present hoard, incompletely recovered, as we have already mentioned, seems to be made up only of republican issues, of which four have been issued by the eternal city (Rome), during the years 82, 56, 51 and 46 BC, one in a workshop from Africa (47/46 BC) and the other fifteen in a mobile workshop of Marc Anthony (32-31 BC). From the total of twenty denars, all have been dated to the 1st century BC (issuers *L. Censor, Philippus, Calvus III Vir, Caesar, MN. CORDIVS RVFVS III VIR – a quinarius -, ANT. AVG. III VIR R. P. C.*). We believe that this structure is due precisely to its partial recovery.

As we can see, most of the issues belong to the mobile workshop of *Marc Anthony*, and the coins bear the numbers of three legions: II, XII and XXI, while the rest are illegible. We put an emphasis on the last denar, because it is a rare issue, as it has already been mentioned²⁹. Also, we draw your attention to the sample no. 15 from the catalogue, which displays on its reverse three banners and the legend *CHORTIS – SPECVLATORVM*.

Unfortunately, the majority of the denars that have been issued by Marc Anthony are in a very bad state of preservation. The presence of denars for the legions in the hoards discovered in Dobrudja, issued in Ephesus by *Marc Anthony* (*legionsdenare*) is well known; they have a percentage of 33% in the Casicea hoard, 29% in the one from Adamclisi (Constanța County) and 42,85% in the one from Tulcea³⁰. They seem to have been hoarded in the Flavians epoch – maybe from the time of Nero's monetary reform of 64 AD. Until then, except for the hoards from Costinești, Slava Rusă and now Tuzla (which are nonetheless questionable in what concerns the last mentioned coin dating, due to their keeping in selective lines, truncated even), because of their low quantity of precious metal, they have been removed, owing to the local or the itinerant user lack of interest. The batch from Tuzla weight varies between 2,65 and 3,64 g, with an average weight of 3,11 g. The two

²⁶ A. Vertan, G. Custurea, *Pontica*, 12, 1979, p. 235, no. 52; G. Custurea, A. Vertan, G. Talmațchi, *loc. cit.*, p. 324, no. 1978-1981; G. Talmațchi, *AUDC*, 4, 2001, no. 58.

²⁷ P. Nicorescu, *Monumente nouă din teritoriul orașului Tomis*, București, 1920, p. 7; V. Pârvan, *Nuove considerazioni sul Vescovato della Scizia Minore*, Roma, 1925, p. 128.

²⁸ H. Slobozeanu, *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice*, 5, 1959, pp. 735-740; M. Irimia, *Pontica*, 24, 1991, p. 114-116.

²⁹ M. Chițescu, *Dacia*, N.S., 18, 1974, p. 147.

³⁰ G. Talmațchi, *loc. cit.*, 9, 2003, p. 279.

limits, the minimum and the maximum, also go for the batch composed only of the Marc Anthony's coins.

We stop here with the views concerning our hoard, given the uncertainty that hangs over its recovery, in an incomplete form, as it was subjected to a deliberate selection, depending on the state of preservation of each sample. On account of the situation, we refrain from expressing our opinions on the causes and on the moment of its burial, as it is extremely difficult to establish a connection between the coin and the possible historical moment of a political and military nature that could have created the necessary conditions for its concealment.

B. ROMAN EARLY IMPERIAL COIN HOARDS FOUND IN DODRUDJA

1. RACHELU HOARD (COMMUNE OF LUNCAVIȚA, TULCEA COUNTY)³¹

In 1996, the late lamented experts in numismatics Gh. Poenaru Bordea and Radu Ocheșeanu published in the Romanian Numismatic Society Bulletin, no. 140-141, on the years 1992-1993, which has appeared in 1996, a hoard that had been dated to the 1st century AD, found at the site called "La vârful dealului" ("On the hilltop"), on the village of Rachelu territory, commune of Luncașița, Tulcea County³². Thus, in 1993, during some agricultural activities, at a depth of about 0,70 metres, in a vineyard, on a surface of 1 metre, 5 Roman republican denars and an imperial denar appeared, the latter pinpointing the period of their burial during the Nero Emperor reign, between the years 64-68 AD. The five republican denars fit, chronologically, in the interval 117/116 BC (M. Calid, Q. Met, Cn Fovl) and 32/31 BC (Marc Anthony, for the legions). For the 2nd century BC, we have one piece, for the 1st century BC, we have four pieces and for the 1st century AD, we have again one piece. The coin workshops are Rome (three times), mobile workshop of Marc Anthony (twice), and Spain. After its publication, it was frequently mentioned in various papers that have discussed in great detail or briefly, the Roman republican denar circulation and presence between the Danube and the Black Sea territory³³.

³¹ A presentation made during the Pontica session, at the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța, in October of 2004. The third batch was announced at 21st National Numismatics Symposium, see *Rezumatul Comunicărilor (The Abstracts of the Presentations)*, Caransebeș, June 3-5 2004, p. 6, with the title "Completări la tezaurul de monede romane republicane și imperiale descoperite la Rachelu, com. Luncașița, jud. Tulcea" ("Additions to the Roman republican and imperial coin hoard discovered in Rachelu, commune of Luncașița, Tulcea County").

³² Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu, *BSNR*, 86-87, 1992-1993, 140-141, 1996, pp. 77-94; here, there is also some information concerning the numismatic and archaeological discoveries made until now in the area of the commune.

³³ G. Talmașchi, *Pontica*, 31, 1998, p. 280; C. Preda, *op. cit.*, p. 318; A. Vertan, *Circulația monetară în Dobrogea romană (secolele I-III)*, Cluj Napoca, 2002, p. 281, no. 23; G. Depeyrot, D. Moisil, *Les trésors de deniers antérieurs à Trajan en Roumanie*, Wetteren, 2003, p. 186, no. 184.

In 2003, in the same place and also during some agricultural activities, very close to the previous discovery position, a second batch of coins of the same hoard was found, one made up of 31 Roman denars, of which 30 were republican and one was imperial. The republican denars can be integrated, chronologically, between 211/208 BC (Rostrum Tridens coinage) and 32/31 BC (Marc Anthony for the legions). For the 3rd century BC, there is only one piece, for the 2nd century, we have six pieces and for the 1st century, we have 24 coins. In terms of coin workshops, we can enumerate Rome (19 times), Africa (once), Spain (once), Central Italy (once), Northern Italy (once), mobile workshop of Caesar (three times), mobile workshop of Octavian (once), mobile workshop of Marc Anthony (three times). The imperial denar was issued in 18/17 BC, in an uncertain Spanish workshop and it belongs to Caesar Augustus.

In 2004, in the exact same place, but from a somewhat greater depth, the third batch of this hoard appeared, made up of 45 coins, of which 44 denars can be integrated, from a chronological point of view, between 151 BC (P. Sulla) and 32/31 BC (M. Anthony). Nine coins have been issued in the 2nd century BC, and for the 1st century, there are 35 coins. The only Roman imperial denar belongs to Augustus and has been issued in Gaul, in Lugdunum, probably in 8 AD. The republican ones have as coin workshops Rome (29 times), mobile workshop of Sulla (once), Africa (once) and also mobile workshop of M. Anthony (13 times).

By joining the three batches, the mixed hoard composed of 82 Roman republican and imperial denars, of which 79 are republican and 3 are imperial, fits, chronologically, into the interval that spans from 211/208 BC to 64-68 AD. There is one denar from the 3rd century BC (1,21%), 16 denars from the 2nd century BC (19,51%), 63 denars from the 1st century BC (76,82%), and, finally, two denars from the 1st century AD, which means, from the percentage point of view, 2,43%.

From an archaeological perspective, the site is known due to the existence of a fortification with stone and brick walls³⁴, and in the commune, there are the ruins of an important Roman stronghold, situated strategically on the limes³⁵.

Given the data we possess at this time, from a monetary point of view, we can make some brief remarks concerning the analysed hoard. Thus, it seems to be a novelty among the other discoveries of this kind from Dobruđa, if we take into account the fact that it concludes with coins from Augustus, Claudius I and then they are followed by the series of hoards hidden during the Flavian dynasty. The year 68 can be considered as *terminus post quem* for the hoard burial³⁶.

Our attention is drawn to the large number of Marc Anthony's coinages for the legions: 18 denars, that is, approximately 22%. These issues have a weight that

³⁴ *TIR*, L 35, București, 1969, p. 60; A. Suceveanu, Al. Barnea, *La Dobrouđja Romaine*, București, 1991, p. 70 and 80.

³⁵ *TIR*, L 35, București, 1969, p. 49; E. Comșa, *SCIV*, 4, 1953, 3-4, pp. 752-754, no. 14-22; A. Suceveanu, Al. Barnea, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 and 80.

³⁶ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

fluctuates between 2,56 and 3,88 g, with an average weight of 3,44 g. The next legions are present: Leg II (2), III (2), IV (1), VIII (3), XI (1), XIV (1), XVII (1), XVIII (1), XIX (1), XX (1), XXI (1). Commonly, we notice a precarious state of preservation, with deterioration, here and there, due, on the one hand, to the fact that they remained in circulation for too long, and on the other, to the dies excessive use, so that the some coins are erased right from the striking. Because of the low quantity of precious metal, for a long time they were not included in the hoarding, owing also to the local or of the itinerant user disinterest. As it has already been mentioned, and with good reason, the coins that were struck with the legions numbers - I, XXIV–XXX - are rare, a fact that goes for our hoard too, which does not contain them at all. Their presence in this hoard, which appears to have been accumulated after Nero's reform of 64 AD, seems to indicate the first moment of hoarding; the denars for the legions were not hoarded until then, because of low quality silver and of their insufficient weight. Another sample from Marc Anthony also attracted our attention, one that was issued, however, earlier than 42 BC.

The entire hoard is composed of denars whose weight varies between 2,56 and 3,90 g, with an average weight of 3,48 g.

In terms of workshops, Rome stands out (51 samples), an uncertain Spanish workshop (1 sample), Spain (2 samples), Africa (2 samples), mobile workshop of Sulla (1 sample), mobile workshop of Octavian (1 sample), Central Italy (1 sample), Northern Italy (1 sample), mobile workshop of Marc Anthony (18 samples), mobile workshop of Caesar (3 samples) and Gallia Lugdunum (1 sample).

It was difficult for the ones that published the first batch of this hoard to link the last coin date with a specific event, and a north-Danubian populations possible foray is not out of the question³⁷. Thus, we know for a fact that Moesia was the Roxolanoi and the Dacians target repeated attacks, very frequent towards the end of Nero's reign, during the years 67-68 AD, in the first months of the year 69 AD and after that, in the Year of the Four Emperors, as well as in the following years. Any of events that were registered in the written records, perhaps even others of which we have no knowledge, could have occasioned the concealment of this hoard, maybe even of the one from Casicea, which concludes with coins from 69-70 AD.

³⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, R. Ocheșeanu, *loc. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

CATALOGUE

ROSTRVM TRIDENS

1. Denar; ↗; 3,28 g; 19 mm.
RRC, p. 164, no. 62/1, workshop
of Central Italy, a. 211-208 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69161.

P. SVLLA ?

2. Denar; ↗; 3,22 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 249, no. 205/1, Rome,
151 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76538.

C. ANTESTI

3. Denar; ↘; 3,71 g; 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 257-258, no. 219/1,
Rome, 146 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69162.

M. VARG

4. Denar; ↘; 3,52 g; 20 mm.
RRC, p. 283-284, no. 257/1,
Rome, 130 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69174.

M. FAN C.F

5. Denar; ↗; 3,61 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 295, no. 275/1, Rome,
123 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76539.

ANONYMOUS

6. Denar; →; 3,32 g; 18,5 x 20 mm.
RRC, p. 302, no. 287/1, Rome,
115 or 114 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76540.

C. FONT

7. Denar; ↓; 3,56 g; 18 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 304, no. 290/1, Rome,
114 or 113 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76541.

AP. CL, T. MAL or T. MANL, Q. VR.

8. Denar; ↖; 3,79 g; 16 x 17 mm.
RRC, p. 312, no. 299/1b, Rome,
111/110 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76542.

P. LAECA

9. Denar; →; 3,44 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 313-314, no. 301/1,
Rome, 110 or 109 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69169.

Q. LUTATI CERCO Q.

10. Denar; ↘; 3,49 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 315, nr 305/?, Rome, 109
or 108 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69168.

L. FLAMINI CILO

11. Denar; ↓; 3,70 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 314, no. 302/1, Rome,
109/108 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76543.

12. Denar; ↓; 3,58 g; 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 314, no. 302/1, Rome,
109/108 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76544.

M. N. FONTEI

13. Denar; ⚡; 2,56 g; 19 mm.
RRC, p. 316, no. 307, Rome, 108
or 107 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69170.

Q. THERM. M. F.

14. Denar; ⚡; 3,50 g; 18 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 324, no. 319/1, Rome, 103
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76545.

L. IVLII. F. CAESAR

15. Denar; ➡; 3,73 g; 13 mm.
RRC, p. 325, no. 320/1, Rome, 103
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69166.

M. LVCILI RVF

16. Denar; ➡; 3,64 g; 19 x 20 mm.
RRC, p. 327, no. 324/1, Rome, 101
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76546.

D. SILANVS L. F.

17. Denar; ⚡; 3,55 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 338, no. 337/3, Rome, 91
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76547.

C. VIBIVS C. F PANSA

18. Denar; ⚡; 3,60 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 346-351, no. 342, Rome, 90
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76510.

19. Denar; ⚡; 3,28 g; 18 x 20 mm.
RRC, p. 346-351, no. 342, Rome, 90
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76509.

Q. TITI

20. Denar; ⚡; 3,90 g; 18 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 344, no. 341/1, Rome, 90 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76507.

21. Denar; ⚡; 3,00 g; 15,5 mm.
RRC, p. 344, no. 341/1, Rome, 90
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76508.

22. Denar; ⚡; 3,76 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 344, no. 341/3, Rome, 90
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69171.

CN. LENTVL

23. Denar; ⚡; 3,24 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 356, no. 345/3, Rome, 88
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69154.

24. Denar; ⚡; 3,69 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 356, no. 345/3, Rome, 88
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69155.

C. CENSORIN

25. Denar; ⚡; 3,27 g; 15,5 x 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 357, no. 346/1a, Rome, 88
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76506.

L. RVBRI DOSSENI

26. Denar; ⚡; 3,75 g; 10 x 11 mm.
RRC, p. 362, no. 348/1, Rome, 87
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76505.

27. Denar; ⚡; 3,71 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 362, no. 348/3, Rome, 87
BC

Inv. NHAMC 69153.

GAR, OGVLL., VER.

28. Denar; ⚡; 3,50 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 364, no. 350A, Rome, 86
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76503.

29. Denar; ⚡; 3,26 g; 17 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 362, no. 350 A, Rome, 86
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76504.

C. LICINIUS L. F. MACER

30. Denar; ➡; 3,31 g; 20 mm.
RRC, p. 370, no. 354/1, Rome, 84
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69157.

L. SVLLA IMPER. ITERVM

31. Denar; ⚡; 3,28 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 373, no. 359/2, mobile
workshop of Sulla, 84/83 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76511.

Q. C. M. P. I. or IMPER

32. Denar; ⚡; 3,45 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 390, no. 374/2, workshop
of North Italy, 103 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69167.

L. PROCLLI F

33. Denar; ⚡; 3,73 g; 19 mm.
RRC, p. 396, no. 379/2, Rome, 80
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69159.

L. RVTILLI FLAC

34. Denar; ⚡; 3,61 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 403, no. 387/1, Rome, 77
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76516.

C. PISO L. F FRVGI

35. Denar; ⚡; 3,56 g; 21 mm.
RRC, p. 419, no. 408/1a, Rome, 67
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69158.

36. Denar; ⚡; 3,62 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 419-434, no. 408, Rome, 67
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76512.

37. Denar; ⚡; 3,64 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 425, no. 408/1b?, Rome, 67
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76513.

PALLVS LEPIDVS

38. Denar; ⚡; 3,68 g; 15,5 x 16,3 mm.
RRC, p. 441, no. 415/1, Rome, 62
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76514.

**M. SCAVR, P. HVPSAEVS AED.
CVR**

39. Denar; ⚡; 3,70 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 446-447, no. 422, 1a or
1b, Rome, 58 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76515.

40. Denar; ⚡; 3,79 g; 15,5 x 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 446-447, no. 422, 1a or
1b, Rome, 58 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76517.

Q. SICINIUS III VIR

41. Denar; ⚡; 3,36 g; 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 460, no. 440/1, Rome, 49
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69160.

MN. ACILIUS III VIR

42. Denar; ⚡; 3,62 g; 17 mm.

RRC, p. 461, no. 442/1a, Rome, 49 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69156.

43. Denar; ➔; 3,62 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 442/1a, Rome, 49 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69163.

CAESAR

44. Denar; ⚡; 3,44 g; 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 443/1, mobile workshop of Caesar, 49/48 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69177.

45. Denar; ⚡; 3,35 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 443/1, mobile workshop of Caesar, 49/48 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69178.

46. Denar; ⚡; 3,58 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 442/1a, mobile workshop of Caesar, 49/48 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69163.

C. VIBIVS C. F. C. N PANSIA

47. Denar; ⚡; 3,13 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 464, no. 449/1b, Roma, 48 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76518.

CAESAR

48. Denar; ⚡; 3,66 g; 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 471, no. 458/1, workshop of Africa, 47/46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69172.

49. Denar; ⚡; 3,56 g; 15,5 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 458/1, workshop of Africa, 47/46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76520.

MN. CORDIVS RVFVS III VIR

50. Denar; ⚡; 3,57 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 473, no. 463/1, Rome, 46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69173.

51. Denar; ⚡; 3,32 g; 14 x 15 mm.
RRC, p. 473, no. 463/1a or 1b, Rome, 46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76519.

52. Denar; ⚡; 3,57 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 473, no. 463/1?, Rome, 46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69165.

53. Denar; ?; 3,58 g; 16 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 473, no. 463/2, Rome, 46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76521.

T. CARISIVS III VIR

54. Denar; ⚡; 3,16 g; 16 x 17 mm.
RRC, p. 475, no. 464/1, Rome, 46 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76522.

CN. MAGNVS IMP. M. POBLICI

55. Denar; ⚡; 3,65 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 479, no. 469/?, workshop of Spain, 46/45 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69175.

L. VALERIVS ACISCVLVS

56. Denar; ⚡; 3,44 g; 17 mm.
RRC, p. 483, no. 474/1a, Rome, 45 BC
Inv. NHAMC 69176.

**L. LIVINEIVS REGVLVVS III
VIR A. P. F., P. CLODIVS M. F.
III VIR A. P. F., L. MVSSIDIVS T.
F. LONGVS III VIR A.P. F., C. V
(E)IBIVS V(A)ARVS**

57. Denar; ⚡; 3,39 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 506, no. 494/23, Rome, 42
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76523.

M. ANTONIVS IMP III VIR.R.P.C.

58. Denar; ⚡; 3,67 g; 15,5 mm.
RRC, p. 512, no. 496/1, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 42 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76524.

**C. CAESAR III VIR R. P. C. partly
with BALBVS PROPR**

59. Denar; ➡; 3,46 g; 15 mm.
RRC, p. 526, no. 518/1, Rome, 41
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69151.

ANT. AVG. III VIR R. P. C.

60. Denar; ⚡; 3,58 g; 14 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76526.

61. Denar; ⚡; 3,88 g; 14 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76525.

62. Denar; ⚡; 3,27 g; 14 x 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/15, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76527.

63. Denar; ⚡; 3,50 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/17, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76534.

64. Denar; ⚡; 2,56 g; 15 x 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/21, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76529.

65. Denar; ⚡; 3,34 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/21, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31 BC
Inv. NHAMC 76531.

66. Denar; ⚡; 3,64 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/21, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69179.

67. Denar; ⚡; 3,47 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/25, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69152.

68. Denar; ⚡; 3,47 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/29, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76536.

69. Denar; ⚡; 3,41 g; 16,5 x 17 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/32, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76530.

70. Denar; ↓; 3,16 g; 15 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/34, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69180.

71. Denar; ↓; 3,44 g; 13 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/35, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76532.

72. Denar; ↖; 3,48 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/36, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76535.

73. Denar; ↓; 3,45 g; 16 x 17 mm.
RRC, p. 540-541, no.?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76528.

74. Denar; ←; 3,60 g; 15 x 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540-541, no. ?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Inv. NHAMC 76533.

CAESAR AVGVSTVS

75. Denar; ?; 3,49 g; 20 mm.
BMC I, p. 60-61, no. 335-336,
Uncertain spanish workshop, 18-17
BC
Inv. NHAMC 69164.

AVGVSTVS

76. Denar; ↗; 3,72 g; 17,5 mm.
BMC I, p. 86, no. 500-502, Galia,
Lugdunum, probably 8 AD.
Inv. NHAMC 76537.

Plansa 5

Plansa 6

Plansa 7

Plansa 8

Plansa 9

Plansa 10

2. COSTINEȘTI HOARD (COMMUNE COSTINEȘTI, CONSTANȚA COUNTY)

In the winter of 2006 – 2007, it has come to our attention that people had found, in Costinești, during the year 2006, a coin hoard composed of Roman republican and imperial denars. Subsequently, getting into contact with its owner, we have been informed out that it has been founded in the new villa neighbourhood erected in Schitu, at a distance of approximately 1 km, in a straight line, from the beach nearby. It appears to have been founded at a depth of about 1,30 metres, and it was, in a very short while, sold on the antiquities market. Unfortunately, there is no other information concerning the existence or inexistence of a ceramic vessel in which it would have been kept. Although the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța has stated its wish to purchase the hoard at issue, it was sold in its entirety to a private collector. Nevertheless, by pure chance, we have managed to obtain all the necessary technical and scientific data. Unfortunately, taking their picture, at a date which had been previously established, could not be carried out any more, due to their selling. This hoard appears in a locality where, also in unspecified circumstances, another coin hoard had been found, one composed of Roman republican denars, of which 17 samples have been recovered (the last of them belong to Marcus Aurelius), and which have entered, in 1957, the “Vasile Pârvan” Archaeology Institute of Bucharest numismatic collection³⁸. By adding our discovery as well, we believe we can inscribe as Costinești I the first republican hoard that we mentioned, and Costinești II the one that was recently identified.

³⁸ B. Mitrea, *Pontica*, 3, 1971, p. 133.

CATALOGUE

NATTA

1. Denarius; ↑; 3,31 g; 15 mm.
RRC, p. 252, no. 208/1, Rome, 149 BC
Private collection.

Q. MARC LIBO

2. Denarius; ←; 3,45 g; 18,5 x 19 mm.
RRC, p. 255, no. 215/1, Rome, 148 BC
Private collection.

C. ANTESTI

3. Denarius; ←; 3,25 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 258, no. 219/1e, Rome, 146 BC
Private collection.

C. RENI

4. Denarius; →; 3,70 g; 16 x 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 264, no. 231/1, Rome, 138 BC
Private collection.

TI. VETVR

5. Denarius; ↓; 3,80 g; 17,5 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 266, no. 234/1, Rome, 137 BC
Private collection.

M. BAEBI Q. F TAMPIL

6. Denarius; →; 3,78 g; 18 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 268, no. 236/1a, Rome, 137 BC
Private collection.

M. OPEIMI

7. Denarius; ↑; 3,85 g; 18 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, no. 254/1, Rome, 131 BC
Private collection.

M. PORC LAECA

8. Denarius; →; 3,75 g; 17,5 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 293, no. 270/1, Rome, 125 BC
Private collection.

M. CARBO

9. Denarius; ↑; 3,75 g; 17 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 295, no. 276/1, Rome, 122 BC
Private collection.

CN. DOMI; Q. CVRTI, M. SILA

10. Denarius; ↑; 3,76 g; 19 mm.
RRC, p. 300, no. 285/1, Rome, 116 or 115 BC
Private collection.

MN. AEMILIO LEP

11. Denarius; ←; 3,88 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 305, no. 291/1, Rome, 114 or 113 BC
Private collection.

L. THORIVS BALBVS

12. Denarius; ↙; 3,82 g; 17,5 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 323, no. 316/1, Rome, 105 BC
Private collection.

M. LVCILI RVF

13. Denarius; ⬆; 3,95 g; 21 mm.
RRC, p. 327, no. 324, Rome, 101
BC
Private collection.

L. PISO L. F. L. N. FRVGI

14. Denarius; ⬆; 3,90 g; 18 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 340, no. 340/1, Rome, 90
BC
Private collection.

C. VIBIUS C. F. PANSA

15. Denarius; ⬇; 4,02 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 347, no. 342/5b, Rome, 90
BC
Private collection.

16. Denarius; ⬇; 3,99 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 347, no. 342/5b, Rome,
90 BC
Private collection.

C. CENSORIN

17. Denarius; ➡; 3,55 g; 17 x 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 357, no. 346/1b, Rome, 88
BC
Private collection.

L. IVLI BVRSIO

18. Denarius; ⬅; 3,78 g; 19 x 20,5 mm.
RRC, p. 368, no. 352/1a, Rome, 85
BC
Private collection.

C. NORBANVS

19. Denarius; ⬇; 3,86 g; 19 mm.
RRC, p. 372, no. 357/1b, Rome, 83
BC
Private collection.

20. Denarius; ⬆; 3,79 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 372, no. 357/1b, Rome, 83
BC
Private collection.

L. PAPI

21. Denarius (serratus); ⬇; 3,62 g;
17,5 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 398, no. 384/1, Rome, 79
BC
Private collection.

M. VOLTEI M. F.

22. Denarius; ⬇; 3,88 g; 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 399, no. 385/4, Rome, 78
BC
Private collection.

23. Denarius; ⬇; 3,94 g; 18 mm.
RRC, p. 399, no. 385/4, Rome, 78
BC
Private collection.

L. RVTILI FLAC

24. Denarius; ⬇; 3,72 g; 17,5 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 403, no. 387/1, Rome, 77
BC
Private collection.

M. PLAETORIVS M. F. CESTIANVS

25. Denarius; ⬆; 3,56 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 415, no. 405/2, Rome, 69
BC
Private collection.

L. ROSCI FABATI

26. Denarius; ⬇; 3,83 g; 17,5 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 439, no. 412/1, Rome, 64
BC
Private collection.

PAVLLVS LEPIDVS

27. Denarius; ↓; 3,34 g; 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 441, no. 415/1, Rome, 62 BC
Private collection.

LIBO

28. Denarius; ↓; 3,54 g; 17,5 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 441, no. 416/1a, Rome, 62 BC
Private collection.

PHILIPPVS

29. Denarius; ⚡; 3,19 g; 16 mm.
RRC, p. 448, no. 425, Rome, 56 BC.
Private collection.

C. MEMMI C. F.

30. Denarius; ⚡; 3,33 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 451, no. 427/1, Rome, 56 BC
Private collection.

Q. SICINIUS III VIR

31. Denarius; ↓; 3,36 g; 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 460, no. 440/1, Rome, 49 BC
Private collection.

CAESAR

32. Denarius; ⚡; 3,70 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 443, mobile workshop of Caesar, 49-48 BC
Private collection.

33. Denarius; ⚡; 3,80 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 443, mobile workshop of Caesar, 49-48 BC
Private collection.

34. Denarius; ↓; 3,83 g; 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 461, no. 443, mobile workshop of Caesar, 49-48 BC
Private collection.

L. HOSTILIUS SASERNA

35. Denarius; ↑; 3,95 g; 17 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 463, no. 448/1a, Rome, 48 BC
Private collection.

C. VIBIUS C. F. C. N. PANSA

36. Denarius; ↑; 3,69 g; 17 x 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 464, no. 449/1b, Rome, 48 BC
Private collection.

37. Denarius; ↑; 3,71 g; 17 x 17,5 mm.
RRC, p. 464, no. 449/1b, Rome, 48 BC
Private collection.

38. Denarius; ↓; 3,94 g; 17,5 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 464, no. 449/1b, Rome, 48 BC
Private collection.

39. Denarius; ⚡; 3,99 g; 18 x 18,5 mm.
RRC, p. 464, no. 449/1b, Rome, a. 48 BC
Private collection.

40. Denarius; ↓; 4,08 g; 17,5 x 18 mm.
RRC, p. 464, no. 449/1b, Rome, a. 48 BC
Private collection.

MN. CORDIUS RVFVS III VIR

41. Denarius; ↓; 3,32 g; 14,5 x 15 mm.
RRC, p. 473, no. 463/1, Rome, 46 BC
Private collection.

42. Denarius; ↓; 3,34 g; 14 x 15 mm.
RRC, p. 473, no. 463/1, Rome, 46
BC
Private collection.

ANT. AVG. III VIR R. P. C.

43. Denarius; ↓; 3,48 g; 14 x 15 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Private collection.

44. Denarius; ↓; 3,57 g; 14 x 14,5 mm.
RRC, p. 540, no. 544/14, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Private collection.

45. Denarius; ↖; 3,50 g; 16 x 16,5 mm.
RRC, p. 541, no. 544/36, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Private collection.

46. Denarius; ↑; 3,56 g; 15,5 x 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540-541, no.?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Private collection.

47. Denarius; ↓; 3,66 g; 15 x 16 mm.
RRC, p. 540-541, no.?, mobile
workshop of M. Anthony, 32-31
BC
Private collection.

AVGVSTVS

48. Denarius; ↑; 3,80 g; 18,5 x 19 mm.
BMC I, p. 60, no. 334, uncertain
workshop (CAESARA
AUGUSTA?), 18-17 BC
Private collection.

NERO

50. Denarius; ↗; 3,56 g; 17 mm.
BMC I, p. 212, no. 98, Rome, 64-68
AD
Private collection.

GALBA

49. Denarius; ↓; 3,33 g; 16,5 x 17 mm.
BMC I, p. 310, no. 8, Rome, 68-69
AD
Private collection.

VESPASIANUS

51. Denarius; ↙; 3,55 g; 17 mm.
BMC II, p. 3, no. 17-19, Rome,
69-70 AD
Private collection.

52. Denarius; ↓; 3,39 g; 16 x 17 mm.
BMC II, p. 4, no. 26, Rome, 69-70
AD
Private collection.

53. Denarius; ↗; 3,44 g; 16,5 mm.
BMC II, p. 4, no. 29, Rome, 69-70
AD
Private collection.

54. Denarius; ↓; 3,66 g; 17 x 17,5 mm.
BMC II, p. 12, no. 65, Rome, 72-73
AD
Private collection.

55. Denarius; ↓; 3,57 g; 17,5 x 18 mm.
BMC II, p. 34, no. 179, Rome, 76 AD
Private collection.

56. Denarius; ↙; 3,49 g; 18 x 18,5
mm.
BMC II, p. 34, no. 183, Rome, 76 AD
Private collection.

VESPASIANUS : DOMITIANUS

Private collection.

57. Denarius; ⚡; 3,23 g; 17,5 x 18,5 mm.

BMC II, p. 43, no. 240 ?, Rome,
77-78 AD

*

It seems that the 57 samples represent all the pieces discovered in the hoard. That is, unlike other times, we have the possibility of studying a complete set of Roman republican and imperial coins. In what regards the recent years discoveries and not only them, this represents a pleasant rarity for any researcher interested in the monetary realities which are characteristic to the 1st century AD. The hoard is composed of republican issues coined in Rome, in mobile workshops, with Caesar and Mark Antony. Chronologically speaking, the Roman republican issues extend from 149 to 32-31 BC. Of all 47 republican samples, 13 samples (27,66% of all republican and 22,80% of the pieces entirety in the hoard) have been struck in the second half of the 2nd century BC, 17 samples (36,17% of all republican and 29,82% of the pieces entirety in the hoard) have been struck in the first half of the 1st century BC, and the other 17 pieces (36,17% of all republican and 29,82% of the pieces entirety in the hoard) during the last half of the same century. From the weight point of view, the republican denars weigh between 3,19 and 4,08 grams, with an average of approximately 3,62 – 3,63 g. As we can notice, unlike other deposits of this genre, we have a modest number of issues that belong to the mobile workshop with *Mark Antony*, and the coins have the following legions numbers: II and XX, while the rest are illegible.

Aside from the republican coinage, we have a number of 10 Roman imperial denars, one from Augustus and another 9 samples from the 1st century AD, one from Nero, one from Galba and seven from Vespasian; the last ones come from the chronological level of 69-70, 72-73, 76 and 77-78 (Vespasian: Domitian). From a chronological point of view, the Roman imperial denars present in the catalogue have been issued between 18/17 BC and 77-78 AD. All of them have been issued in the “Eternal City”, Rome, workshop except for the one of Augustus, probably minted in Caesarea Augusta. From the weight point of view, the Roman imperial denars weigh between 3,23 and 3,80 g, with an average of about 3,50-3,51 g.

During the 1st century AD, the republican denars remain present in Dobrudja, in early imperial hoards (as in the empire), in proportions varying approximately from 25% and 97%. In our hoard, the republican denars are present in a percentage of 82,45%, while the imperial ones are in a percentage of 17,55%; in other words, this percentage seems to approach the minimal known level for the hoards of the 1st century, in accordance with the hoards from Rachelu situation (see the present

volume) and Viile³⁹. During the age of Augustus, most of the denars that were circulating on the Dobrudjan monetary market were republican issues. Generally, we can notice a Julio-Claudian dynasty's denars timid participation at the forming of the circulating coin fund. It is not the same with the Flavian dynasty issues, present in the imperial denars category in a proportion of 100%. Most of the hoards have appeared in the rural area; the Julio-Claudian dynasty issues were totally absent from Belica and Adamclisi, a situation that can be explained, on the one hand, by the first emperor monetary politics, and, on the other hand, by the great quantity of silver contained by the denars that were anterior to Nero's reform, which have been put circulation, in accordance with Gresham's law⁴⁰. Also, the hoards that have been discovered in the rural area seem to have, adopting it from the local market, an older type of specie, chiefly republican, as the imperial one was usually inferior.

The Tulcea hoard structure is different from the one of the others, as it contained a new kind of coin, and the cash that had been accumulated in a military camp or near it was different from the one that had been collected in the rural area, as it was much "fresher". But these too, along with the ones from Belica and Adamclisi, form a group of hoards that have been buried because of some special situations with a political and military character, anterior to Domitian's action at the Danube, on which the sources are silent, except for the numismatic ones⁴¹.

To conclude, the causes for the hiding of most of the hoards that end with the imperial coin from the 1st century AD seem to be connected with a series of military events, manifested either towards 69-70 AD, or at the '80s beginning. In the first case, it is because of the frequent attacks that took place in the province towards the end of Nero's reign, but also subsequently, from the Roxolani and the Dacians⁴². In the second case, we are dealing with actions with a profound military character in Dobrudja (perhaps even a vast barbarian foray), which have preceded the Roman intervention at the Danube, coordinated by the emperor Domitian⁴³.

This last situation becomes more and more accurate, as new hoards appear which have, as most recent samples, coins issued a little while before or around the respective supposed events.

³⁹ R. Ocheșeanu, Gh. Papuc, *loc. cit.*, p. 127-141.

⁴⁰ R. Ocheșeanu, *SCN*, 12, 1998, p. 25.

⁴¹ R. Ocheșeanu, *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 97.

⁴² D. M. Pippidi, *Contribuții la istoria veche a Dobrogei*, București, 1967, p. 318-319.

⁴³ R. Ocheșeanu, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



Cat. 6



Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9



Cat. 10



Cat. 11



Cat. 12



Cat. 13



Cat. 14



Cat. 15

Lipnița Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4

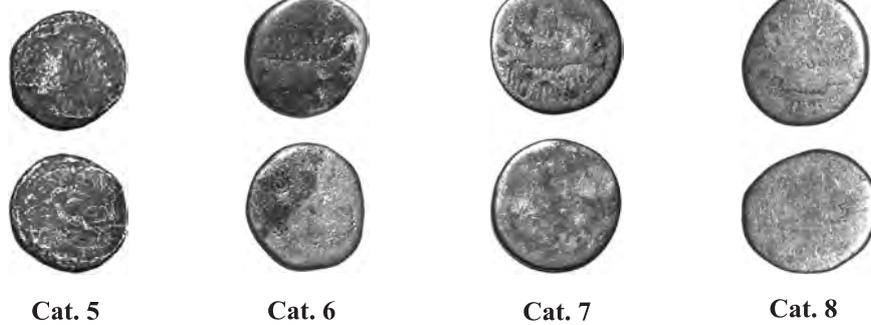


Cat. 5



Cat. 6

Slava Rusă Hoard (Commune of Slava Cercheză, Tulcea County)



Tuzla Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 12



Cat. 13



Cat. 14



Cat. 15



Cat. 16



Cat. 17



Cat. 18



Cat. 19



Cat. 20

Tuzla Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



Cat. 6



Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9



Cat. 10



Cat. 11



Cat. 12



Rachelu Hoard (Commune of Luncavița, Tulcea County)



Cat. 13



Cat. 14



Cat. 15



Cat. 16



Cat. 17



Cat. 18



Cat. 19



Cat. 20



Cat. 21



Cat. 22



Cat. 23



Cat. 24



Rachelu Hoard (Commune of Luncavița, Tulcea County)



Cat. 25



Cat. 26



Cat. 27



Cat. 28



Cat. 29



Cat. 30



Cat. 31



Cat. 32



Cat. 33



Cat. 34



Cat. 35



Cat. 36

Rachelu Hoard (Commune of Luncavița, Tulcea County)



Cat. 37



Cat. 38



Cat. 39



Cat. 40



Cat. 41



Cat. 42



Cat. 43



Cat. 44



Cat. 45



Cat. 46



Cat. 47



Cat. 48

Rachelu Hoard (Commune of Luncavița, Tulcea County)



Cat. 49



Cat. 50



Cat. 51



Cat. 52



Cat. 53



Cat. 54



Cat. 55



Cat. 56



Cat. 57



Cat. 58



Cat. 59



Cat. 60

Rachelu Hoard (Commune of Luncavița, Tulcea County)



Cat. 61



Cat. 62



Cat. 63



Cat. 64



Cat. 65



Cat. 66



Cat. 67



Cat. 68



Cat. 69



Cat. 70



Cat. 71



Cat. 72



Cat. 73



Cat. 74



Cat. 75



Cat. 76



Rachelu Hoard (Commune of Luncavița, Tulcea County)

ROMAN IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS HOARD FOUND IN MANGALIA

Mihai Dima
Gabriel Talmațchi

This specific hoard was found in 1994 at about 1 – 1,5 km from Mangalia, on the road edge connecting Mangalia to Albești, in springtime, in freshly ploughed soil. All the 13 coins are kept now at the National History and Archaeology Museum in Constanța.

The hoard consists of Roman imperial bronze coins, issued during the 1st – 2nd centuries A.D.: Claudius I 1 (Agrippina I) = 7,69%, Trajan I = 7,69%, Hadrian I = 7,69%, Antoninus Pius 8 (Diva Faustina 2, Faustina II 4) = 61,53%, Marcus Aurelius 2 (Faustina II) = 15,38%. All of them were struck in Rome.

Concerning the denominations, the hoard contains 4 sestertii (30,76%), 2 dupondii (15,38%), 7 ases (53,84%). All the pieces are more or less deteriorated, and bear the action traces of the metallic compounds that were removed during the restoration process.

Among the coins that make up this small coin hoard, there is one which is not present in the main catalogues. It is an as that was issued during the reign of Antoninus Pius for Faustina II, whose obverse legend does not appear either in RIC¹, or in BMC². A piece with a similar obverse, but associated with another type of reverse, was recently published by A. Popescu³.

There is no other known bronze coin hoard in Dobrudja that could have been hidden during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Only a small funerary deposit, found in a grave in Mangalia, and composed of five pseudo-autonomous issues of Callatis, could have the most recent pieces from the same interval⁴. Also, the Dăeni hoard (Tulcea County)⁵, which has the latest coins from Antoninus Pius, could have been buried after 161. We mention here another funerary deposit, the one of Neptun-Mangalia Nord, hidden during the reign of Commodus, and composed of eight imperial and provincial bronze coins⁶.

¹ H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage, III, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, Londra, 1930.

² H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, IV, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, Londra, 1940.

³ A. Popescu, CN, 7, 1996, p. 40, no. 2.

⁴ Liana Oța, Steluța Grămăticu, *Simpozion Chișinău 2002*, p. 65-90.

⁵ B. Mitrea, *Dacia, N.S.*, 15, 1978, p. 270, no. 78; idem, BSNR, 70-74, 1976-1980, p. 584, no. 171; Antoaneta Vertan, *Circulația monetară în Dobrogea romană (secolele I-III)*, Cluj, 2002, p. 274, no. 12.

⁶ R. Ocheșeanu, Gh. Papuc, *Pontica*, 6, 1973, pp. 370-371, no. 193-200.

CATALOGUE

CLAUDIUS I: AGRIPPINA I

1. Sestertius. OR ⚡ 21,32 g; 35,9 x 36,9 mm.
RIC, I, p. 132, no. 85; BMC, I, p. 194, no. 219; Rome, undated, under Claudius I; RIC, I², p. 128, no. 102, Rome, the years approx. 50 (?+)-4.
NHAMC, inv. 64682.

TRAJAN

2. Sestertius. OR ⚡ 24,93 g; 33,5x35 mm.
RIC, II, p. 281, no. 523, Rome, the years 103-111; BMC, III, p. 172, no. 817 gen. type, Rome, the years 104-111; Hill, p. 138, no. 335, Rome, year 107.
NHAMC, inv. 64684.

HADRIAN

3. As. AE ⚡ 8,60 g; 24,7x26,4 mm.
RIC, II, p. 426, no. 662, Rome, the years 125-128; BMC, III, p. 437, no. 1335, Rome, the years 119-138; Hill, p. 160, no. 323, the year 126.
NHAMC, inv. 64686.

ANTONINUS PIUS

4. Sestertius. OR ⚡ 13,68 g; 28,4x30 mm.
Av. ANTONINVS AVG – PIVS PP IMP II, laurel wreathed head towards the right
Illegible reverse.
Hill, -; a frequent reverse legend on the sesterces, between the years

155-158, cf. RIC, III, p. 143-147; BMC, IV, p. 334-346.
NHAMC, inv. 64683.

5. Dupondius. OR ⚡ 7,95 g; 23,9x25,2 mm.
RIC, III, p. 144, no. 953; BMC, IV, p. 336, ‡; Rome, the years 155-156.
NHAMC, inv. 64687.

ANTONINUS PIUS: DIVA FAUSTINA

6. Dupondius. OR ↓ 8,67 g; 25,9x27,3 mm.
RIC, III, p. 168, no. 1178; BMC, IV, p. 252, no. 1581; Rome, after the year 141.
NHAMC, inv. 64685.
7. As. AE ⚡ 10,61 g; 24,3x26,1 mm.
RIC, III, p. 166, no. 1161; BMC, IV, p. 249, no. 1558; Rome, after the year 141.
NHAMC, inv. 64691.

ANTONINUS PIUS: FAUSTINA II

8. As. AE ⚡ 10,14 g; 23,5x25 mm.
RIC, III, p. 191, no. 1367, Rome, the years 145-146; BMC, IV, p. 383, no. 2202, Rome, no dating.
NHAMC, inv. 64689.
9. As. AE ⚡ 8,77 g; 22,6x25,8 mm.
RIC, III, p. 191, no. 1367, Rome, the years 145-146; BMC, IV, p. 383, no. 2202, Rome, no dating.
MINAC, inv. 64693.

10. As. AE ↑ 7,94 g; 24x25,5 mm.
RIC, III, p. 193, no. 1399, Rome,
the years 145-146; BMC, IV, p.
380, no. 2188 A, but with the bust
towards the left, Rome, no dating.
NHAMC, inv. 64694.

11. As. AE ↓ 8,61 g; 24x25,6 mm.
RIC, III, -, cf. for the type of
reverse p. 193, no. 1400, Rome,
the years 145-146; BMC, IV, -, cf.
for the type of reverse p. 380, II,
Rome, no dating. Cf. for the
obverse A. Popescu, CN, 7, 1996,
p. 40, no. 2.
NHAMC, inv. 64692.

**MARCUS AURELIUS: FAUSTINA
II**

sestert

12. OR ↗ 22,94 g; 30,7x32,3 mm.
RIC, III, p. 345, no. 1638, Rome,
no dating; BMC, IV, p. 531, no.
905, Rome, the years 161-176.
NHAMC, inv. 64688.

as

13. AE ↖ 8,20 g; 24,6x25,2 mm.
RIC, III, p. 344, no. 1629, Rome,
no dating; BMC, IV, p. 530, no.
897, Rome, the years 161-176.
NHAMC, inv. 64690.



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 4



Cat. 3



Cat. 5



Cat. 6



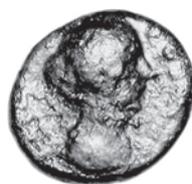
Mangalia Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9



Cat. 10



Cat. 11



Cat. 12



Cat. 13



Mangalia Hoard (Constanța County)

A TOMITAN BRONZE COINS HOARD FOUND IN CONSTANȚA

Mihai Dima
Gariel Talmațchi

The hoard in question was found in the 90's by Aurel Spătaru of Constanța, during some labours that he performed in his own garden, situated in the Palas district. He found 24 bronze coins, which he offered for purchase to the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța. All the pieces were issued in Tomis, during the first four decades of the 3rd century A.D.

The hoard structure, arranged by issuers, is the following: Caracalla 2, Plautilla 2, Geta Caesar 1, Geta Augustus 3, Elagabalus 3, Severus Alexander 9, Maximinus I 2, Maximus Caesar 1. Five pieces have been issued during the Septimius Severus' reign (Plautilla 2, Caracalla Augustus 1, Geta Caesar 1, Geta Augustus 1), between 202 and 210/211. Another two coins (Geta Augustus) date from the period when the two brothers, Caracalla and Geta, ruled the empire together (211-212). The second coin of Caracalla Augustus was issued between 211 - 217, perhaps during his sole reign

From Elagabalus we have four coins (Elagabal 3, Iulia Paula 1). The most numerous issuings are from the time of Severus Alexander's reign (9). The hoard ends with the three pieces from the Maximinus I emperor time (235-238), one of which was coined for his son Maximus. Although the highest percentages go to the long stages (198-217 = 33,33%, 218-222 = 16,66%, 222-235 = 37,50%, 235-238 = 12,50%), coin / stage year coefficients register the highest value for the reigns of Elagabalus and Maximinus (198-217 = 0,42, 218-222 = 1, 222-235 = 0,69, 235-238 = 1).

Concerning the denominations, nearly all the pieces belong to the category of the ones marked with Δ (22 = 91,66%), only two of them displaying a Γ on the reverse (8,33%). The coins average weight which are also known as *tetrassaria* is of 11,27 grams, and that of the others, *triassaria*, less relevant, as it was calculated on only two samples, is of 8,51 grams.

The majority of the pieces that make up the hoard of Constanța-Palas are to be found in the K. Regling's catalogue. Only the coins number 8 and 11 are unpublished, and the ones from number 13, 18 and 21 represent obverse variants, unlike the samples reviewed by the corpus author.

Only a few pieces are relatively deteriorated, while the rest have not been affected too much during the period of their circulation. Moreover, the three coins from the time of Maximinus I, the most recent ones, seem not to have been circulated. With the piece from number 3 exception, cut up in three parts, the others have been preserved in a very good condition. They all display, here and there, a blue-green layer, proving the fact that they have been stored together.

The present hoard has just one analogy. We are referring to the hoard that was found also in Constanța, inside a military base, known as Constanța-Grăniceri¹.

¹ Antoaneta Vertan, *Circulația monetară în Dobrogea romană (secolele I-III)*, Cluj, 2002, p. 273, no. 11.

Unfortunately, the accessible data referring to this discovery are far from being accurate, which prevents us from making comparisons.

CATALOG

TOMIS

Caracalla

1. OR ⚡ 9,30 g; 25,4x27 mm.
Ov. AVT K M AVP – ANTΩNEINOC; bust of Caracalla, laureate, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠ ΠΟ – ΝΤΟV ΤΟΜ // ΕΩC / Δ in the field, left; Demeter, holding wheat ears and torch, towards the left.
Regling, p. 737, no. 2841.
NHAMC, inv. 67.369.

2. OR ⚡ 11,97 g; 27,2x28,7 mm.
Ov. A K M AV – ANTΩNINOC; bust of Caracalla, laureate, draped, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠ Π – Ο – Ν ΤΟΜΕΩ // C / Δ in the field, left; Tyche, with a mural crown, towards the left; holding a sceptre in her right hand, and in her left hand the cornucopia. To the right, down, Pontos.
Regling, p. 750, no. 2899.
NHAMC, inv. 67.361.

Plautilla

3. OR ⚡ 9,70 g; 26,2x27 mm; cut up in four pieces.
Ov. ... ΟVΛ ΠΛΑ – ΥΤΙΛΛΑ C; bust of Plautilla right.
Rv. ... ΡΟΠ ΠΟΝΤΟ – V ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, right;

Afrodita towards the left, holding an apple in her right hand.
Regling, p. 761, no. 2945.
NHAMC, not put in an inventory.

4. OR ↑ 7,96 g; 22,5x24,2 mm.
Ov. ΦΟΥΛ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ CΕΒ; bust of Plautilla right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ Π – ΟΝ – ΤΟΜΕΩC / Γ in the field, left; Nike going leftwards, holding a wreath and a palm leaf.
Regling, p. 764, no. 2959.
NHAMC, inv. 67.382.

Geta Caesar

5. OR ⚡ 10,69 g; 26,6x27,9 mm.
Ov. ... – ΓΕΤΑC·K·; head of Geta Caesar right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠ·ΠΟΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, right; Nemesis winged towards the left, holding her right hand level with her face, and in her left hand a little strap; down, leftwards, a wheel.
Regling, p. 768, no. 2973.
NHAMC, inv. 67.380.

Geta Augustus

6. OR ⚡ 10,29 g; 26x26,8 mm.
Ov. AV·K·Π·CΕΠ– ΓΕΤΑC; head of Geta Augustus, laureate, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠ – Ο·Π – ΟΝ·ΤΟ // ΜΕΩC / Δ in the field; tetrastyle

temple where we can see the statue of a male divinity, standing leftwards, holding patera and sceptre.

Regling, p. 779, no. 3018.

NHAMC, inv. 67.377.

7. OR ⚭ 12,64 g; 26,4x28,2 mm.
Ov. AVT·K Π ... – ΓΕΤΑC·AV;
bust of Geta Augustus, laureate, draped, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ ΠΟΝΤΟV // ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field;
Dioscuri standing stretched rightwards, looking leftwards; the first holding a patera in his right hand.
Regling, p. 783, no. 3032.
NHAMC, inv. 67.378.

8. OR ⚭ 12,49 g; 26,6x27,3 mm.
Ov. AVT K Π CΕΠ – ΓΕΤΑC AV;
bust of Geta Augustus, laureate, draped, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ ΠΟΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕ // ΩC / Δ in the field;
Caracalla and Geta holding hands.
Regling –.
NHAMC, inv. 67.379.

Elagabal

9. OR ⚭ 11,99 g; 25,3x26,6 mm.
Ov. M AVPH ANT – ΩΝΙΝΟC AVT;
bust of Elagabal, laureate, draped, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ... ΠΟ Π – ΟΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΟC / Δ in the field, right;
Serapis from the front, with the head turned rightwards, holding the right hand up and a sceptre in the left hand.
Regling, p. 789, no. 3045.
NHAMC, inv. 67.375.

10. OR ⚭ 11,67 g; 25x26,8 mm.
Ov. ... AVPH ANTΩ – ΝΙΝΟC AVTO;
bust of Elagabal, laureate, draped, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ Π – ΟΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΟC / Δ in the field, right;
Serapis from the front, with the head turned rightwards, holding the right hand up and a sceptre in the left hand.
Regling, p. 789, no. 3046. The same revers die as for no. 9.
NHAMC, inv. 67.363.

11. OR ⚭ 9,89 g; 24,1x26 mm.
Ov. ΜΑΡ AVPH ... – ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC;
bust of Elagabal, radiate, cuirassed, right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ ΠΟΝ – ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, left;
Heracles rightwards, choking a bull.
Regling –.
NHAMC, inv. 67.367.

Iulia Paula

12. OR ⚭ 12,52 g; 25,7x26,6 mm.
Ov. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ ΠΑΥΛ[A];
bust of Iulia Paula right.
Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝ – Τ – ΟV ΤΟΜΕΩ // [C] / Δ in the field, left;
Ares standing leftwards, resting his right hand on a shield and holding a spear in his left hand.
Regling, p. 805, no. 3122.
NHAMC, inv. 67.371.

Severus Alexander

13. OR ↗ 12,34 g; 25,7x26,5 mm.

Ov. AVT·K·M·AVP. ☐EVH – AΛEΞAN[Δ]PO☐; head of Severus Alexander, laureate, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠ ΠΟΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, left; Artemis running rightwards; down, rightwards, a dog.

Regling –, cf. for the rv. p. 817, no. 3169.

NHAMC, inv. 67.381.

14. OR ↙ 10,34 g; 23,8x25,8 mm.

Ov. AYT K M AYP CEV – AΛEΞANΔPOC; bust of Severus Alexander, laureate, cuirassed, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠ ΠΟΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, left; Hygieia rightwards, feeding from a patera the snake that she is holding with her right hand.

Regling, p. 820, no. 3186.

NHAMC, inv. 67.374.

15. OR ↑ 11,57 g; 24,6x26,4 mm.

Ov. AVT K M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC; bust of Severus Alexander, laureate, draped, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝ – ΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΩ // C / Δ in the field, left; Hygieia rightwards, feeding from a patera the snake that she is holding with her right hand.

Regling, p. 821, no. 3193.

NHAMC, inv. 67.366.

16. OR ↗ 10,97 g; 24,5x25,8 mm.

Ov. ·AVT K M AVP ☐EVH AΛEΞANΔP – O☐; head of Severus Alexander, laureate, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝ – ΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, right.

Hygieia rightwards, feeding from a patera the snake that she is holding with her right hand.

Regling, p. 821, no. 3198.

NHAMC, inv. 67.362.

17. OR ↙ 12,47 g; 25x26 mm.

Ov. AVT K M AVP ☐EVHP AΛEΞANΔPO☐; head of Severus Alexander, laureate, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝ – ΤΟV ΤΟΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, left; Tyche, wearing a kalathos, from the front; holding a sceptre in her right hand, and in the left hand the cornucopia. Rightwards, down, Pontos.

Regling, p. 831, no. 3250.

NHAMC, inv. 67.376.

18. OR ↙ 10,81 g; 25,5x26,1 mm.

Ov. AVT K M AVP CEVH – AΛEΞANΔPOC; bust of Severus Alexander, laureate, draped, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΤΟV ΤΟ // ΜΕΩC / Δ in the field, right; Gryphon rightwards, with the left paw on a wheel placed on a base.

Regling –, cf. pentru rv. p. 833, no. 3263.

NHAMC, inv. 67.373.

19. OR ↑ 9,26 g; 24,7x27 mm.

Ov. AVT K M [AV]P CEVH – AΛEΞANΔPO – C; bust of Severus Alexander, laureate, draped, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟ – ΝΤΟV ΤΟΜΕ // [ΩC] / Δ in the field, left; eagle from the front, its wings spread

and with its head turned rightwards, holding a wreath in its beak.

Regling, p. 833, no. 3258.

NHAMC, inv. 67.372.

20. OR ⚡ 10,84 g; 24x26,1 mm.

Ov. ·AVT K M AVP ☐EVH
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ – Ο☐; head of
Severus Alexander, laureate, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟ – ΝΤΟV
ΤΟΜΕΩ☐ / Δ in the field, left;
eagle from the front, its wings
spread and with its head turned
upwards, holding a wreath in its
beak.

Regling, p. 833, no. 3261.

NHAMC, inv. 67.360.

21. OR ⚡ 12,69 g; 26,6x28 mm.

Ov. AVT K M AVP CEVH
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ – ΟC; head of
Severus Alexander, laureate, right.

Rv. ΜΗ / ΤΡΟ Π / ΟΝΤΟV Τ /
ΟΜΕΩ☐ / Δ; the legend on four
lines, in a laurel wreath.

Regling –, cf. for the rv. p. 836,
no. 3280.

NHAMC, inv. 67.368.

Maximinus I

22. OR ⚡ 10,97 g; 26,8x27,7 mm.

Ov. AVT ΜΑΪΜΕΙΝΟ☐ ΕV☐EB
AVT; bust of Maximinus, laureate,
draped, cuirassed, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΤ – ΟV
ΤΟΜΕΩ☐ / Δ in the field, left; Ares
standing leftwards, resting his
right hand on a shield and holding
a spear in left.

Regling, p. 843, no. 3310.

NHAMC, inv. 67.370.

23. OR ⚡ 12,62 g; 26,3x28,6 mm.

Ov. AVT ΜΑΪΜΕΙΝΟ☐
ΕV☐EB☐ AV☐; bust of Maximinus,
laureate, draped, cuirassed, right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΤ – Ο – V
ΤΟΜΕΩ☐ / Δ in the field, left;
Maximinus, in a military costume,
standing leftwards, holding his
right hand up and a spear in left
hand.

Regling, p. 848, no. 3333.

NHAMC, inv. 67.364.

Maximus Caesar

24. OR ⚡ 9,06 g; 24,5x25,5 mm.

Ov. Γ ΙΟVΑ ΟVHP ΜΑΪΜΟ☐
ΚΑΙ☐; head of Maximus Caesar
right.

Rv. ΜΗΤΡΟ – ΠΟΝΤΟV –
ΤΟΜΕΩ☐ / Γ in the field, left;
Nike going leftwards, holding a
wreath and a palm leaf.

Regling, p. 854, no. 3357.

NHAMC, inv. 67.365.



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



Cat. 6

Tomitan Bronze Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9



Cat. 10



Cat. 11



Cat. 12

Tomitan Bronze Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 13



Cat. 14



Cat. 15



Cat. 16



Cat. 17



Cat. 18



Tomitan Bronze Hoard (Constanța County)



Cat. 19



Cat. 20



Cat. 21



Cat. 22



Cat. 23



Cat. 24



Tomitan Bronze Hoard (Constanța County)

A COIN HOARD FOUND AT VALUL LUI TRAIAN (10TH CENTURY)

Gabriel Custurea
Ionel Matei

Over the last years, the study of the Byzantine coin discoveries from the 9th-10th centuries has brought important information concerning the circulation and the development of the monetary economy, and the stages of the penetration of these coins in the Danubian – Pontic region. This activity materialized itself in several articles¹, in a monographic study on Silistra² and in a numismatic monograph of the Dobrudja of the 9th – 11th centuries³. The illegal use of metal detectors has brought to the forefront more coin discoveries of precious metal⁴, this probably being the case also for the coins that we will present.

The set of coins has been purchased, over the period of several years, by one of the authors, and the information, even if it is initially inaccurate⁵, have been corrected through investigations amidst collectors from Bucharest. The eight pieces have been part of a more important set (about 50 items), found in the area of the locality of Valul lui Traian during the years 1999-2000 and scattered by the discoverers. All the present samples are issues of Constantine VII associated with his son Roman II, type DOW, III, 2, p. 552, class XV.

Restarted during the reign of Theophilos⁶, the monetary circulation from the Danubian–Pontic region develops and becomes general towards the end of the 10th century, a fact which was proven by the isolated coin discoveries and by hoards⁷.

If we analyse it strictly quantitatively, we notice that the reign of Constantine VII, with all its stages, is placed behind the previous one, from the point of view of the bronze coin's penetration. However, the study of its issuers has led to the conclusion that the

¹ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, SCN, 7 (1980), pp. 163-165; R. Ocheșeanu, Pontica, 14 (1981), pp. 309-314. Gh. Poenaru-Bordea, I. Donoiu, BSNR, 75-76 (1981-1982), 129-130, pp. 237-251; Gh. Mănuș Adameșteanu, RESEE, 34 (1996), 3-4, pp. 275-289; G. Custurea, Pontica, 33-34 (2000-2001), pp. 583-593; V. Parușev, Dobrudja, 10 (1993), pp. 145-166. Isolated coins have been also published in the Dobrudjan numismatic chronicles. A. Vertan, G. Custurea, Pontica, 28-29 (1995-1996), p. 315, no. 1568, p. 318, no. 1610, p. 320, no. 1640; G. Custurea, A. Vertan, G. Talmațchi, Pontica, 32 (1999), p. 312, no. 1933.

² E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Dobrudja, 12 (1995), pp. 137-172; idem, Cerc. Num., 7 (1996), pp. 97-127.

³ G. Custurea, *Circulația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (sec. IX-XI)*, Constanța, 2000.

⁴ E. Nicolae, BSNR, 88-89 (1994-1995), 142-143, p. 271, no. 4, 5; V. Ivanov, Dobrudja, 12 (1995), pp. 310-312; G. Custurea, M. Ionel, Pontica, 35-36 (2002-2003), pp. 433-438.

⁵ G. Custurea, M. Ionel, *Monede bizantine de aur descoperite în sud-vestul Dobrogei*, a study that was presented during the 18th National Numismatic Symposium, Constanța, 18th-19th of May, 2001.

⁶ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Cerc. Num., 7 (1996), p. 108.

⁷ G. Custurea, *Circulația...*, pp. 89-102.

amount of issued coins had decreased by a proportion of 12 to 15 times⁸ and, at the same time, we notice the massive overstriking of Leon VI's coins⁹. If for the bronze denominations we have these observations, we must note the numerous discoveries, isolated ones and hoards, discoveries of coins made of precious metal. These are explained mainly by the military expenses occasioned by Byzantine – Bulgarian wars, waged during the reign of the tsar Simeon, and also by the subsidies that he granted from the imperial treasury to his successor, Peter. It is possible to classify the emissions of Constantine VII – Roman II in this category, without excluding the likelihood of their use for the expenses caused by the politics of Nikephoros II and John Tzimiskes in the area¹⁰. For one reason or another, what is certain is this unprecedented increase in the number of discoveries of coins made of precious metal, all from the second half of the 10th century.

The diffusion of the discoveries in the territory confirms an important penetration on the usual channels – the Danube and the Black Sea – with a significant concentration around some centres like Silistra, Isaccea, Constanța, and Mangalia¹¹. This concentration determines us to think that, in the course of the 10th century, within the Danubian–Pontic province, there were certain power centres towards which a part of the generous subsidies granted by the emperors from Constantinople were directed. To support this hypothesis, there are numerous traces of settlements from these areas, found over the years during some expeditionary or salvaging investigations¹², but also some inscriptions from Mircea Vodă¹³ and Basarabi¹⁴, which confirm the existence of some local magnates. Also, only a few decades later, local leaders are confirmed to have come to pledge allegiance to the emperor John Tzimiskes¹⁵.

In the area of Valul lui Traian, investigations have identified two settlements from the 10th – 11th centuries¹⁶, and the materials that were discovered accidentally – coins, reliquary crosses, brackets coins¹⁷ and also the monetary hoards from the Duduca Hill¹⁸ and the present one demonstrates the existence of such a power centre.

⁸ D.M. Metcalf, BSNR, 75-76 (1981-1982), 129-130, p. 253.

⁹ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁰ DID III, pp. 71-74.

¹¹ On the insular development of the monetary economy, see E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *op. cit.*, p. 113, and for the catalogue of the discoveries, see G. Custurea, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-168.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 29-39.

¹³ E. Comșa, D.P. Bogdan, P.P. Panaitescu, Studii, 6, 1951, 3, pp. 122-128, D.P. Bogdan, Romanoslavica, 1, 1958, pp. 88-104; DID III, p. 69.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 114.

¹⁵ G. Kedrenos in FHDR III, p. 141.

¹⁶ Following some expeditions, a settlement has been unearthed, and in the site called “La nuci” (“At the Nut Trees”), a poll has been conducted during the 1970s, remaining unpublished.

¹⁷ For the coins, see Gh. Poenaru-Bordea, B. Mitrea, Dacia, NS, 35, 1995, p. 226, no. 88 and Gh.

Poenaru-Bordea, Radu Ocheșeanu, Al. Popeea ms., NHAMC; the reliquary cross at G. Custurea, Pontica, 32, 1999, pp. 303-304, unpublished brackets coins in the NHAMC collections.

¹⁸ B. Mitrea, in Dacia, NS, 1961, p. 593, no. 55; the hoard can be found in the NHAMC collections.

PI 1.

Pagina alba

CATALOGUE

1. AV Solidus ↓ 4,46 g, 20 mm, deformed.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A4111R
2. AV Solidus ↓ 4,43 g, 20 mm.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A499IR
3. AV Solidus ↓ 4,40 g, 18 mm.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A499IR
4. AV Solidus ↓ 4,40 g, 20 mm, cracked flan.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A499IR
5. AV Solidus ↓ 4,39 g, 19,5 mm.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A4111R
6. AV Solidus ↓ 4,37 g, 18,5 mm.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A499IR
7. AV Solidus ↓ 4,35 g, 18,5 mm.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A499IR
8. AV Solidus ↓ 4,32 g, 18,9 mm.
Av. + IHSXPSREXRE9NANTI4M'
Rv. CONSTANZ' CEROMAN' A499IR

Pagina alba

APPENDIX

The catalog of the coin discoveries pertaining to the Constantine VII (913/959) reign.

1. **Aratmagea** (Poprusanovo - Silistra)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
2. **Balcic**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 4 AE
Romanus I – Constantine VII – 1 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 2
AV; 1 AE
3. **Balik** (Tervel)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 2 AV
Pliska – Preslav, 7, 1995, p. 162,
no. 30.
4. **Basarabi**
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AV
National History and Archaeology
Museum of Constanța (NHAMC),
inv. 6075
5. **Bdinți** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AV
6. **Brestnița** (Tervel)
Hoard, AV, ?
Constantine VII – Romanus II –
10 AV
V. Parușev, Dobrudja, 17-18, 2000,
p. 76, no. 13.
7. **Caliacra**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
Romanus I – 1 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II –
1 AV
8. **Constanța**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 3 AE
Romanus I – 1 AV; 1 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 2
AV; 1 AE
9. **Debrene** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 4 AE
10. **Dolina** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1
AV
11. **Durankulak**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
12. **Esechioi**
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1
AV
13. **Gurkovo** (Balcic)
Hoard 20 AE, 1995, recovered
Leo VI – 2 AE
Constantine VII – Zoe – 5 AE
14. **Hârșova**
Romanus I – 1 AE
15. **Isaccea**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 2 AE
Romanus I – 3 AE
Constantine VII – 3 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 2 AE
A hoard discovered during 1989–
1990 years
Romanus I – Christopher – 1 AV

- Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AV
16. **Kladenți** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
17. **Mangalia**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 3 AE
Romanus I – 1 AE
Constantine VII – 1 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AE
18. **Nufăru**
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AV
19. **Odărți** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AE
20. **Oltina**
Constantine VII – 1 AV
Fake gilding, inv. 6129 NHAMC
21. **Onogur** (Tervel)
Hoard, AV, ?
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 9 AV
V. Parușev, Dobrudja, 17 – 18, 2000, p. 76, no. 14.
22. **Ovcearovo** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – 1 AE
23. **Pecineaga**
Romanus I – 1 AE
24. **Popina** (Silistra)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
25. **Rasova**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
26. **Silistra**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 10 AE
Romanus I – 1 AV; 8 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 3 AV; 7 AE
27. **Tichilești** (Tulcea)
Romanus I – 1 AE
28. **Topola** (Balcic)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
29. **Tulcea**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
Romanus I – 1 AE
Hoard AE, 1941, recovered
Romanus II – 1 AE
30. **Tvărdița** (Șabla)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
31. **Țar Asen** (Silistra)
Romanus I – 1 AE
32. **Urluia**
Hoard, AR, AE, 1936
Constantine V – Leo IV – 1 AE
Leo IV – Constantine VI – 3 AR; 8 AE
Constantine VI – Irene – 1 AR; 4 AE
Leo V – Constantine – 2 AE
Basil I – 1 AE
Constantine VII – Zoe – 2 AE
Romanus I – 6 AE
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AE
33. **Valu lui Traian**
Hoard – Duduca Hill, AV, 1935
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 9 AV
Nikephorus II – 1 AV

34. **Vasilevo** (Gen. Toševo)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
35. **Vetren** (Silistra)
Romanus I – 1 AV; 1 AE
G. Atanasov, Iv. Iordanov,
Srednovekovnijat Vetren na Dunav,
Šumen, 1994, p. 65, no. 127-128.
36. **Vodnianți** (Dobrici)
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
37. **Voinikovo** (Tervel)
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AV
38. **Southern Dobrudja**
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 1 AV
39. **Northern Dobrudja**
Hoard, AV, ?, recovered
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 10
AV
40. **Dobrudja**
Constantine VII – Zoe – 1 AE
Romanus I – 1 AV
Constantine VII – Romanus II – 5 AE

Cf. G. Custurea, *Circulația...*, p.
131-168.

Plansa 2 - harta



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



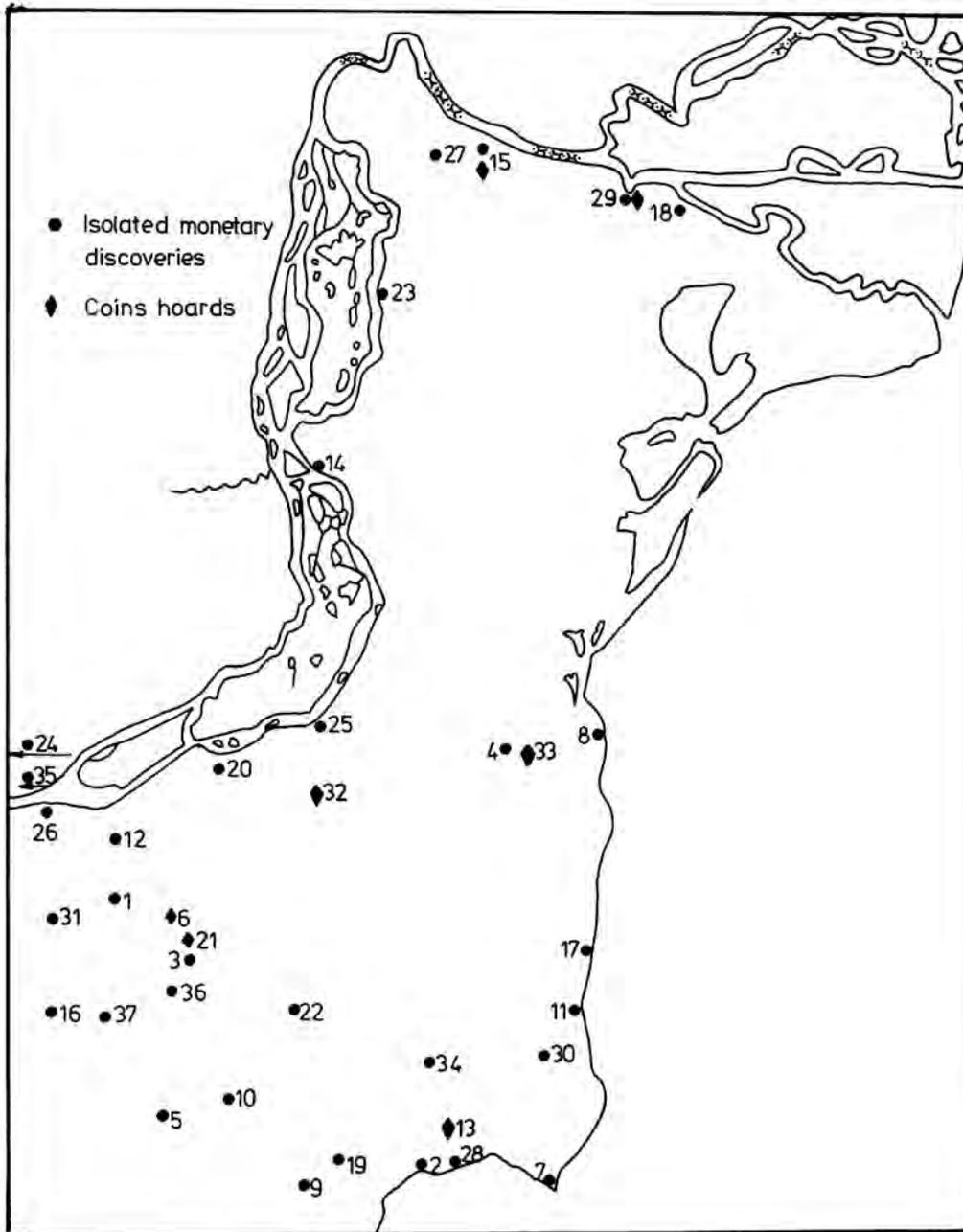
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Cat. 7



Cat. 8



MEDIEVAL COINS HOARDS FROM THE 16TH-17TH CENTURY FOUND IN DOBRUDJA

Ana-Maria Velter
Gabriel Custurea

In what follows, we shall present five hoards discovered in Dobroudja. The hoards from “Eforie Sud I”, “Eforie Sud II” and from “Cotu Văii”, which are now in the NHAMC (National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța) collections, the “Siliștra” hoard, in the NMHR (National History Museum of Romania) collection, as well as the “Babadag” hoard, belonging to a private collector.

We have chosen to analyse them together because their composition is very similar, and the problems they raise are common and can be the subject of a sole study. Our presentation shall be done in the chronological order of the hoards *post quem* term.

A. The “Babadag” hoard

The first hoard that we shall present was discovered in Babadag, in 1998. The small hoard was initially composed of 18 coins, probably part of a more substantial discovery. Among these coins, one sample – a lion-thaler, issued by the United Provinces of the Netherlands – has been included in the patrimony of the *Institute for Eco – Museum Research of Tulcea*, another, an ort from Poland, was sold to an antiques shop from Bucharest, and 16 samples were purchased by a private collector from Constanța. Through the good-will of the latter, we present the 16 coins of the “Babadag” hoard, with the brief data that we could get without the illustration.

This first batch is composed of 16 silver coins with a high value, and the samples that form it have been issued in 6 countries and cities: Spain, as motherland, and its colonies – 7 samples; Poland/Danzig – 4 samples; the United Provinces of the Netherlands – 2 samples, and the Holy Roman Empire, one sample for each of the following cities: Deventer, Embden and Oldenburg.

We present now the “Babadag” hoard’s coins catalogue:

CATALOGUE

SPAIN

Philip II (1556–1598)

1. 2 Reals; AR; ↙, 23,5x27 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 99, no. 246–247 (?); metropolitan mint: Cuenca, mintmaster? (“A” or a little fir tree; Andreas de Contreras, or ?); n.d. (1556–1589); private collection.

Philip III (1598–1621)

2. 8 Reals; AR; ↗, 34,5x38 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 161, no. 651–652a; colonial mint: Mexico, mintmaster F; 1606–1607; private collection.
3. 4 Reals; AR; ↙, 28x31 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 153, no. 607; metropolitan mint: Segovia, mintmaster B or TB in ligature; 1613; private collection.
4. 2 Reals; AR; →; 23 x 24 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 155, no. 618–620, or p. 158, no. 635-643; metropolitan mint: Sevilla or Toledo, mintmaster ? (V or V, VC, VT, P), 1613–1614 or 1613–1621; private collection.

Philip IV (1621–1665)

5. 8 Reals; AR; ↖, 31x28 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 216, no. 884, 885; colonial mint: Potosi,

mintmaster T., 1624–1629; private collection.

6. 8 Reals; AR; ↑; 31x36 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 183, no. 751; metropolitan mint: Segovia, mintmaster P (Esteban de Pedrera), 1629; private collection.
7. 8 Reals; AR; →; 33x35 mm.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 181, no. 739-742; metropolitan mint: Madrid, mintmaster B or I B, 164? (1642–1649); private collection.

UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS

Overijssel

8. Lion-thaler; AR; ↗, 39,5 mm.
Delm. 856 var.; WC&T 4860; Overijssel, 1612; private collection.

Geldern

9. Lion-thaler; AR; ←, 40 mm
Delm. 825 var.; WC&T 4849; Geldern, 1641; private collection.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Deventer

10. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR; ↗, 38 mm.
Delm. 1110 var.; Deventer, 1621; private collection.

Oldenburg**Anthony Gunther (1603–1667)**

11. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR; ↓, 40 mm.

SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637–1656; private collection.

HC/I 1480; Danzig, 1623; private collection.

14. Ort; AR; ↑; 28 mm.

HC/I 1506; Danzig, 1624; private collection.

Embden

12. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR; ↑; 39 mm.

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, 1637–1657; private collection.

15. Ort; AR; ↑; 28 mm.

HC/I 1507; Danzig, 1624; private collection.

16. Ort; AR; ↑; 27 x 28 mm.

HC/I 1523; Danzig, 1625; private collection.

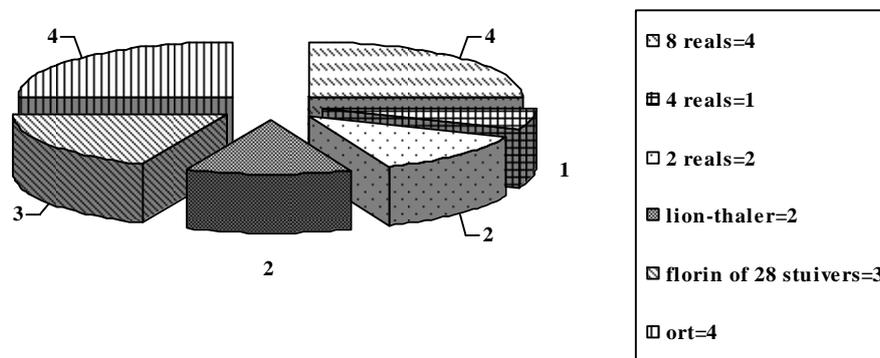
POLAND**Danzig****Sigismund III (1587–1632)**

13. Ort; AR; ↑; 28 mm.

The examination of the coins chronological repartition that form the “Babadag” hoard points out the fact that the samples stretch over a period of 68–82 years; the oldest is the coin of 2 reals issued by Philip II between 1556–1589 from Cuenca, and the most recent is the gulden of 28 stuivers struck in Embden during the reign of Ferdinand III (1637–1657). The greatest accumulation ratio has been seen between the years 1620–1629.

A homogenous specie corresponds to the rather great unity, concerning the places of origin of the samples. On the whole, the hoard is composed of 3 samples of thaler, 4 samples of 8 reals, 3 samples of 28 stuivers, 1 sample of 4 reals, 2 samples of 2 reals and 5 samples of ort. Through its total, 12 thalers and $\frac{1}{4}$, the “Babadag” hoard represents a modest sum of money (the price of two horses, for instance)¹.

¹ DRH, B, vol. XI, pp. 322-323, no. 244.



Graph no. 1. The „Babadag” Hoard structure

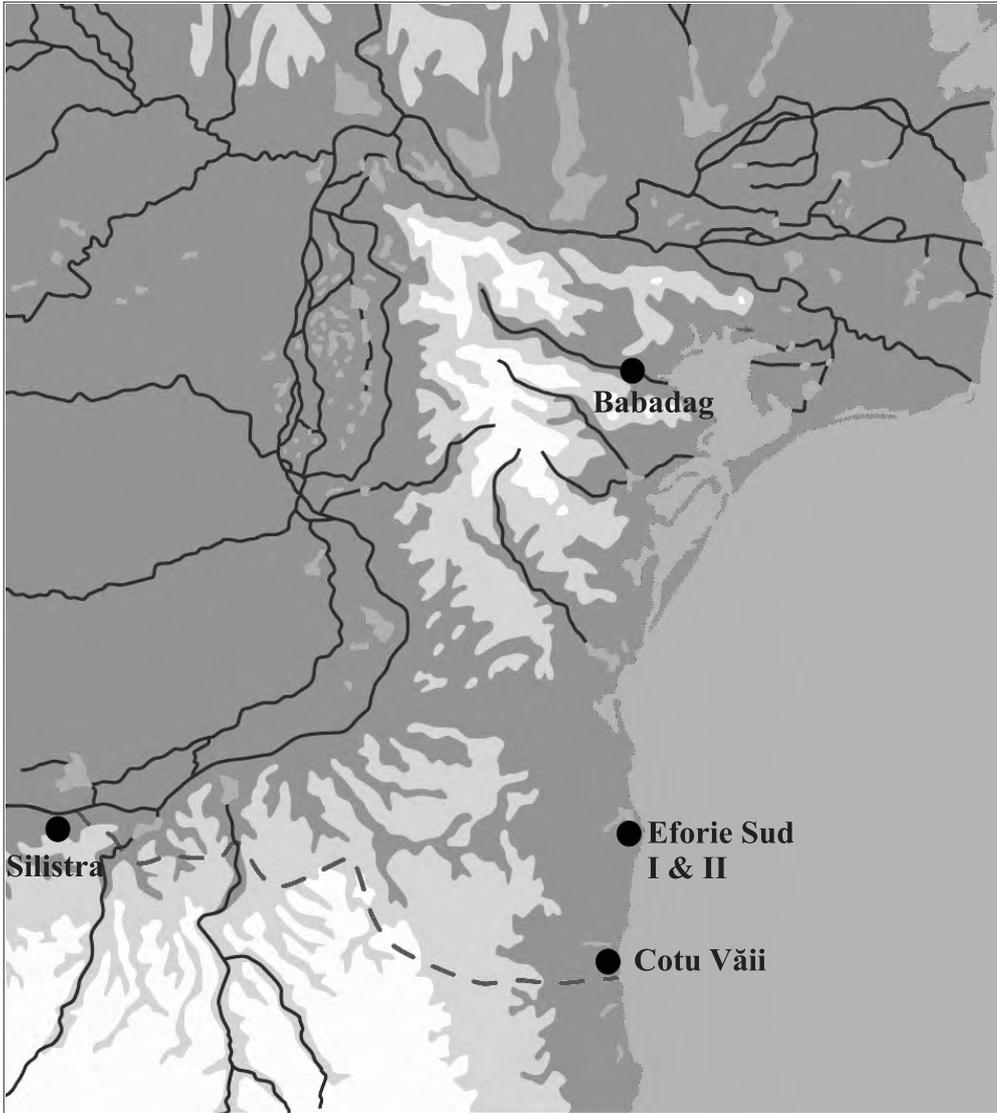
The most numerous are the Spanish emissions (43.75%). They are followed by the coins of Danzig (25%), of the ones of the Holy Roman Empire (18.75%) and of the United Provinces of the Netherlands (12.50%). The deposit from Babadag has a real numismatic importance and a historical and economic significance. It is the fourth hoard which mainly consists of Spanish reals.

The small deposit from Babadag represents a modest accumulation. As we have shown in what was written above, it contains a small quantity of coins, both with high and with medium value. Therefore, the hoard's value is minute. Measured against the thalers or the costandas, the entire sum amounts to 10 thalers, or to 100 triple grossus.² With such a specie, one could have bought 750 pounds of wine, 33 fathoms of land, about 660 pounds of wheat, and approximately 42 pounds of wax³. However, we must consider the fact that both the prices and the equivalence between the different coins in use varied from one region to another.

² We considered the following equivalences: in 1635 1 thaler = 10 triple grossus, “*costandas*” (DRH-B, XXV, p. 191-192, no. 180); 1 ducat = 1 ½ thalers; 1 ort = ¼ thalers; 28 stuivers = 2/3 thalers = 60 kreuzers; 5 orts and 10 grossus = 1 thaler (e. Hutten-Czapski, *Catalogue de la Collection de médailles et monnaies polonaises*, II-reprint, Graz, 1957, p. 131); in 1642, in Bucharest 1 thaler = 200 akçes (DRH-B, XI, doc. 442).

³ In 1641, at Vernești, Buzău, 30 pounds of wine were sold for 4 “*costandas*” and 2 bans (CD Țara Rom – AIC, V, p. 188, no. 388); at Cislău, in 1635, one fathom of land was sold for 3 “*costandas*”, (DRH-B, XXV, p.204, no. 192); in times of famine, 66 pounds of wheat were sold for 1 thaler, (DRH-B, XXII, p. 333, no. 331, document from August 5th, 1629); in 1632, at Costești, Muscel, 3 pounds of wax were sold for 7 “*costandas*”, (DRH-B, XXIII, p. 592, no.391).

Harta cu localitati



Map with hoards location founded at Eforie Sud I & II, Cotu Văii, Silistra and Babadag.

B. The “Eforie Sud I” hoard

During the 2000–2001 years, about 200 samples of high value coins have been recovered from the Black Sea. They have been found at a depth of 2–3 metres, 200 metres north of “Capul Turcului” (*Turk’s Promontory*), 30–40 metres from the shore. Initially, the information has been fallacious, being thus communicated at the National Numismatics Symposium of Constanța – May 2002¹.

Unfortunately, the hoard was scattered by the discoverer, especially in Bucharest. The museum of Constanța managed to purchase, from three sources, only 25 pieces (2 golden ones and 23 silver ones). In a private collection of Constanța, there are another three pieces, and the discoverer kept an ort from Danzig, issued by Sigismund III. An important batch (55 samples) has been identified in a preliminary manner, by one of the authors², before being scattered. The pieces have a grey–black patina, sometimes with a shiny metallic aspect, owing to the long time they have spent in the seawater.

We present next the “Eforie Sud I” hoard coins catalogue:

¹ G. Custurea, *Un nou tezaur monetar descoperit în Dobrogea*. Initially, we have been informed that the pieces had been found in the coastal area situated between Mamaia and Capul Midia.

² G. Custurea; the identified samples are included in the present catalogue.

CATALOGUE

ITALY

Venice

Francesco Erizzo (1631-1646)

1. Sequin, AV; →; 3.48 g; 21 mm; very good.
Obv.: FRANC.ERIZZO.-S.M.
VENET./DVX
Rv: SIT.T.XPE.DAT.Q.TV-REGIS.
ISTE . DVCA .
CNI/ VIII, p. 165, no. 185-193;
Venice, 1631-1646; NHAMC, inv.
no. 6132.

Francesco Molino (1646-1655)

2. Sequin, AV;↑; 3.50 g, 21 mm; very good.
Obv. DVX/FRANC.MOLINO -
.S.M.VENET.
Rv. SIT.T.XPE.DAT.Q.TV -
REGIS.ISTE.DVCA.
Fried. 1318; CNI/VIII, p. 195, no.
180-196; Venice, 1646-1655;
NHAMC, inv. no. 6131.

SPAIN

Philip II - Philip IV (1527-1598 / 1621-1665)

3. 8 Reals; AR; ↓; 10.59 g; 25.5 mm; octagonally cut; unsatisfactory, much deteriorated, the legend is completely erased.
General type Pelicer I Bru; 1527-1665; NHAMC inv. no. 67095
4. 8 Reals; AR; ↓; 10.32 g; 26.5 x 23.9 mm; unevenly cut; much

deteriorated, the image is almost totally erased.

General type Pelicer I Bru; 1527-1665; NHAMC inv. no. 67096.

5. 8 Reals; unevenly cut; much deteriorated, legend illegible.
General type Pelicer I Bru; Mexico, 1527-1665; private collection.

POLAND

Danzig

Sigismund III (1587-1632)

6. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480; Danzig, 1617; dispersed batch..
7. Ort, AR., ←; 5.67 g; 29 mm; General type HC/I, no. 1480; Danzig, 1623; dispersed batch.
8. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480; Danzig, 1623; dispersed batch.
9. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480; Danzig, 1623; dispersed batch.
10. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480; Danzig, 1624; private collection.
11. Ort, AR; ↑; 5.51 g; 28.5 mm; pierced, cut on the edge.
Obv. SISI.III:D:G:REX.POL.M:D.
L. R:PR.

- Rv.*MONETA.CIVIT.GEDANE
(N)SIS.
HC/I, no. 1480; Danzig 1624;
NHAMC inv. no. 67094
12. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
13. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
14. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
15. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
16. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
17. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
18. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1624; dispersed batch.
19. Ort, AR., ↑ 5.95 g; 29 mm;
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1625; dispersed batch.
20. Ort, AR., ↑ 5.81 g; 29 mm;
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1625; dispersed batch.
21. Ort, AR.
- General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1625; dispersed batch.
22. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1625; dispersed batch.
23. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1625; dispersed batch.
24. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1625; dispersed batch.
25. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1626; dispersed batch.
26. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 1626; dispersed batch.
27. Ort, AR.
General type HC/I, no. 1480;
Danzig, 162?; dispersed batch.
- The duchy of Prussia (Polish fief)
George Wilhelm (1619–1640)**
28. Ort, AR.
General type SWC, 2001, p. 313;
Brandenbourg, 1626; dispersed
batch.
- THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE**
- The duchy of Lorraine and Bar
Charles IV (1624–1634; 1641–1675)**
29. Teston, AR.
Obv. CAROLVS D G
DVX.LOTH. MARCH DCBG

Rv. MONETA NOVA NANCEN.
CVSA 1-6-2-9
E&S/MC, p. 191; Nancy, 1629;
dispersed batch.

Oldenburg

Anton Günther (1603–1667)

30. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR.

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, 1619–
1637; dispersed batch

31. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR. ←;
16.83 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. (FL)OR . AN . GV . C(28) O
. E . D . D . I . (I) . E . K

Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM .
I(MP) . SEM . AVG .

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657); NHAMC, inv. 67104.

32. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →;
17.90 g; 41.5 mm; worn, low
quality alloy.

Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28)
E . D . D . I . I . E . K ж

Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM .
IMP . SEMP . AVG .

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657); NHAMC, inv. no. 67105

33. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR. ↓ 13.53
g; 41 mm; worn, cracked on the
edge.

Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28)
E . D . D (. I . I .) E . K ж

Rv. . FERD . III . D . G . ROM .
IMP . SEM . AVG .

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657); NHAMC, inv. no. 67106

34. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR. ↓; 16.48
g; 41.5 mm; worn, cracked on the
edge, porous metal.

Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . (28) O
E . D . D . I . I . E . H

Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM .
IMP . SEMP . AVG .

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657); NHAMC, inv. no. 67107.

35. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR. ↗; 18.63
g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . (28) O
E . D . D . IE . E . H

Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM .
IMP . SEM . AVG .

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657); NHAMC, inv. no.

36. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657).

37. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657).

38. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657).

39. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 534 Oldenburg; (1637–
1657).

40. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637–
1657).

- 41 Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637-1657).
42. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637-1657).
43. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637-1657).
44. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637-1657).
45. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637-1657).
46. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 534; Oldenburg, (1637-1657).
- Embden**
47. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 16.80 g; 39 mm; worn, blunt edge.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28)
CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67098.
48. Florin of 28 stuivers; silvered, ⚭; 19.04 g; 40 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28)
CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67099.
49. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
50. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
51. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
52. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
53. Florin of 28 stuivers; Silvered, →; 16.04 g; 40 mm; worn, cracked, porous metal, the upper silver foil peeled here and there.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28)
CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVG .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67100.
54. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR. →; 16.37 g; 41 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28)
CIVITAT . EM(B)
Rv. FERDINA(N . II)I . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVG .

- SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67101.
- 55.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR. ⚔; 15.26 g; 41 mm; worn, notched.
Obv. (F)LOR . AR[GEN (28) CI]VITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . III (. ROM . IMP .) SEM . AV .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67102.
- 56.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR. →; 16.16 g; 41 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28) CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERD(INA)N . III . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVG .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67103.
- 57.** Florin of 28 stuivers; Silvered, →; 18.05 g; 40.5 mm; broken in the field, low-quality alloy.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28) CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVG .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); NHAMC, inv. no. 67111.
- 58.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR. ↓; 18.49 g, 39 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28) CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM . (AVG :) .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.
- 59.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR; good.
- Obv. FLOR . ARGEN (28) CIVITAT . EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVG .
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.
- 60.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 61.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 62.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 63.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 64.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 65.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 66.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 67.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).
- 68.** Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.
Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).

69. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Dispersed batch

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637).

Dewenter – Imperial city

70. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Delm. p. 255, no. 1106. In the catalogue, there are no issues of 1611, as the coins of 28 stuivers start to appear from 1617. It could be exactly that year, 1617: Dewenter, 1611 (!?!); dispersed batch.

71. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Delm. 1107; Dewenter, 1618; dispersed batch.

Zwolle – Imperial city

72. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, o.d. (1608–1618); dispersed batch.

73. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR.

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, o.d. (1608–1618); dispersed batch.

ITALY

Modena

Francesco I d'Este (1629–1658)

74. Scudo per Levante, an Embden florin imitation; AR; ↓; 17.40 g; 41.5 mm; worn.

Obv. RVET . DIVI (28) SA . CIVITAS .

Rv. FERIT . ET TVETVR GEMINO ROSTRO

CNI/9, no. 295, 261; Modena, NHAMC, inv. no. 67097.

UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS,

Zwolle

75. Lion-thaler; AR.

Delm. 866b; Zwolle, 1649; dispersed batch.

Campen

76. Lion-taler; AR.

Delm. 862; Campen, 1652; dispersed batch.

Geldern

77. Lion-thaler; AR; ↑; 25.24 g; 40 mm; worn, slightly corroded by oxides.

Obv. (MO . NO .) ORDI – GEL . VA . HOL . – (00 or 02)

Rv. ⌘ CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR .

Delm. 824; Geldern, 16(00)? or 16(02)?; NHAMC, inv. no. 67110.

78. Lion-thaler; AR.

Delm. 825; Geldern, 1640; dispersed batch.

79. Lion-thaler; AR; ↑; 22.83 g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . C – ONFOE . BEL . GEL

Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 16 + 48

Delm. 826 var.; Geldern, 1648; NHAMC, inv. no. 67109.

Westfriesland

80. Lion-thaler; AR.

Delm. 836; Westfriesland, 1648; dispersed batch.

81. Lion-thaler; AR.
Delm. 836; Westfriesland, 1648;
dispersed batch.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON . –
FOE . BELG . TR .
Rv. (CON)FIDENS + DNO +
NON + MOVETVR + 16 : 16

82. Lion-thaler; AR.
Delm. 836; Westfriesland, 1650;
dispersed batch.

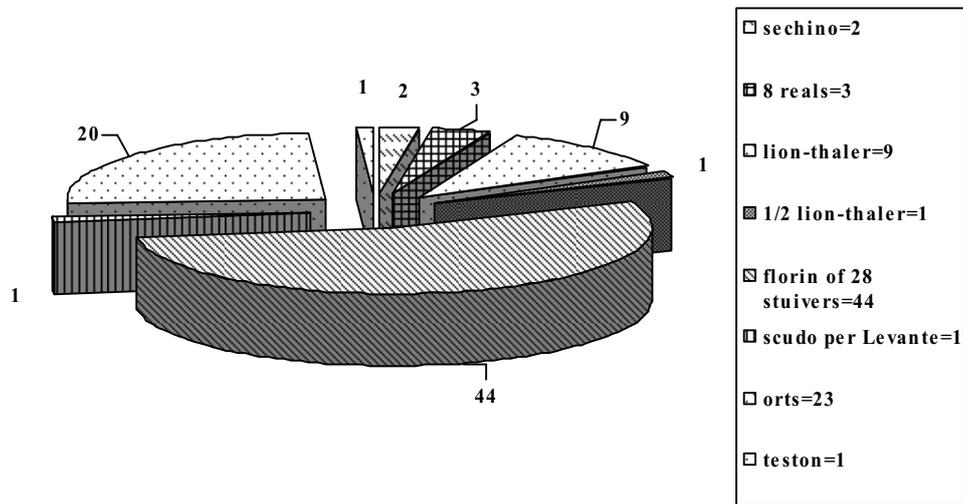
Delm. 843; Utrecht, 161(6);
NHAMC, inv. no. 67108.

Utrecht

83. Lion-thaler; AR; ↑; 24.30 g; 40.5
mm; worn.

84. Half Lion-thaler; AR.
Delm. 879; Utrecht, 1649;
dispersed batch.

Thus, the 79 samples from the “Eforie Sud I” hoard that we have examined total – sequins (2), 8 reals (3), orts (20), teston (1), florin of 28 stuivers (42), scudo per Levante (1), thaler (9), ½ taler (1). The coins as issued from 15 states, listed as follows: Italy – Venice - 2, Modena - 1; Spain – 3; Poland – Danzig - 19, Prussia – Brandenburg – 1; the Holy Roman Empire – Lorraine and Bar - 1; Oldenburg – Oldenburg – 16, Embden - 22; Deventer, imperial city - 2; Zwolle, imperial city - 2; the Netherlands/ United Provinces – Zwolle – 1; Campen – 1; Geldern – 3; Westfriesland - 3; Utrecht - 2.



Graph no. 2. The „Eforie Sud I” Hoard structure

As we can notice, the majority of the coins from this hoard consist of issues of florins of 28 stuivers, 45 samples, i.e. 53.58% of the total amount of coins. These are followed by the orts from the Polish territories, 23 pieces, 27.38%. In decreasing succession there are the United Provinces lion-thalers – 10 samples, 11.90%, the Spanish reals – 3 samples, 3.57%, the Venetian sequins – 2 samples, 2.38% and the teston of Lorraine and Bar – 1 sample, 1.19%.

Given the uncertainty of the issuing moment for the majority of the samples from the “Eforie Sud I” hoard, it is quite difficult to establish exactly the time period that it covers. They occupy a time span situated between the years 1527/1598–1621/1665. In this situation, both the early ones and the most recent samples are represented by the 8 real coins of Spain, issued during the reigns of Philip II (1527–1598), Philip III (1598–1621), or Philip IV (1621–1665) kings. If we do not count the Spanish emissions, and we deem the hoard to be a deposit from the first half of the 17th century, then the earliest coin would be a florin of 28 stuivers, issued in 1611 by Deventer, as an imperial city. In this case, one could consider as the most recent samples, besides the Spanish minting, both some of the florins of 28 stuivers issued by Oldenburg or Embden, during the reign of Mathias II (1637–1657) emperor, and the sample of *scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante*, an Embden florin imitation, struck in Modena during the reign of Francesco I d’Este (1629–1658). Anyway, the samples that we have seen from the hoard of Eforie Sud do not transcend the sixth decade of the 17th century.

The batch recovered from the “Eforie Sud I” deposit represents an accumulation of medium value. It is composed only of coins with great and medium value: 2 gold coins – sequins, 3 samples of 8 reals, 9 thalers, 42 samples of florins and a *scudo per Levante*; they are accompanied by the coins with medium value – an sample of a ½ thaler, 20 samples of orts and a teston. If we measure the total of the coins against the thalers or the 3 grossus (“*costanda*”) coins, we obtain a number of 35 thalers or 350 “*costandas*”. However, we must take into account the fact that the initial package was much larger, amounting on the whole to a value of approximately 100 thalers. With such a value, they could have bought 2610 pounds of wine, 111 fathoms of land, approximately 2310 pounds of wheat, or about 150 pounds of wax.



Cat. 1

Cat. 2



Cat. 3

Cat. 4

Cat. 11



Cat. 31

Cat. 32

Cat. 33



Cat. 34



Cat. 47



Cat. 48



Cat. 53



Cat. 54



Cat. 55



C. The “Eforie Sud II” Hoard

In 2006, the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța was requested to identify a batch of high value silver coins, coming from Eforie Sud. The coins were found in the sea, probably in 2005. Unfortunately, the discoverers of the new batch of coins from Eforie Sud did not wish to reveal where exactly they found it or if all the coins had been recovered. Under these circumstances, regrettably, it is not possible to have a professional research of the site or a complete recovery of the archaeological vestiges. The entire batch of coins might as well be part of a bigger batch of vestiges, originating, probably, from the wreck of a ship coming towards the Dobroudjan shores. The samples of the new batch of coins from Eforie Sud have a grey-black patina, sometimes with a metallic shine, due, obviously, to their long stay in the seawater.

The batch of coins from Eforie Sud II which we determined is made up of 124 silver samples of high value. They are minted by: The United Provinces of the Netherlands – Holland (2), Friesland (1) and Overijssel (2); The Holy Roman Empire – the Principality of Bouillon-Sedan (1), Dewenter (2), Campen (3), Zwolle (5), Oldenburg (12), Embden (27); Italy: Modena (2); Spain (67).

We shall hereby present the “Eforie Sud II” hoard coins catalogue:

CATALOGUE

UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS

Holland

1. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 22.54 g; 38.5 mm; worn.

Obv. MO x NO x (ARG) x – x ORDIN x HOL x. / (15)-76

Rv. ⚡ x CONFIDENS x DNO x NON x MOVETVR

Delm. 830, Amsterdam, 1576; private collection.

2. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 18.73 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. MO x NO x (ARG) x 15–76 x ORDIN x HOL x.

Rv. ⚡ x CONFIDENS x DNO x NON x MOVETVR

Delm. 830, Amsterdam, 1576; private collection.

Friesland

3. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 22.91 g; 41 mm; good, worn.

Obv. MO. ARG.PRO.CO – NFOE. BELG. FR

Rv. CONFIDENS. DNO. NON. MOVETVR. 1612

Delm. 852, Leeuwarden, 1612; private collection.

Overijssel

4. Half Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 12.31 g; mm; worn.

Obv. MO.ARG.PRO.CON-FOE.BELG. TRAN/16 (16 or 26)

Rv.

CONFIDENS.DNO.NON.MOVETVR.

Delm. 885, Overijssel, 16(16 or 26); private collection.

5. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 17.23 g; 39.5 mm; worn, corroded by oxides.

Obv. MO. ARG. PRO. CON – (FOE.BEL.TR)AN

Rv. (CON)FIDENS. (D)NO. NON. MOVET(VR). 164(?)

Delm. 856, Overijssel, 1640–1647 (?); private collection.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Principality of Bouillon-Sedan Henri de La Tour D’Auvergne (1591-1623)

6. Écu of 30 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 18.24 g; 40.5 mm; very good, slightly cracked.

Obv. •HENRICVS. DE. LA. TOUR. DVX. BULLIONÆvs / 1613-xxx

Rv. SVPREMVS. PRINCEPS. SEDANENSIS

Dav. 3816; SWC, p. 265; Sedan, 1613; private collection.

Campan – Imperial city

7. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 16.95 g; 38 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP. CAMPEN.

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE. SEM. AV (G)

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619); private collection.

8. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 14.71 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP. CAMPEN. / 16??

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE. SEM. AV G

Delm. 1113; Campen, 16?? (1611-1619); private collection.

9. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 18.22 g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP. CAMPEN.

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE. SEM. AVG

Delm. 1113; Campen, n.d. (1611-1619); private collection.

Zwolle – Imperial city

10. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 18.51 g; 37.5 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP. ZWOL.

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM. AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, n.d. (1611-1619); private collection.

11. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 19.40 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP. ZWOL.

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM. AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, n.d. (1611-1619); private collection

12. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 18.34 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP.
ZWOL.

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM.
AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, 1621; private
collection

13. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 17.02
g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP.
ZWOL. / 16-15

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM.
AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, 16??; private
collection.

14. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;
16.88 g; 38.5 mm; worn

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP.
ZWOL. / 16-45

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM.
AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, 16??; private
collection.

Dewenter – Imperial city

15. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;
17.84 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP.
DAVENT: / 1618

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE.
SEM. AV (G)

Delm. 1107; Dewenter, 1618; private
collection

16. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↗; 18.43
g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP.
DAVENT.

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE.
SEM. AV (G)

Delm. 1107; Dewenter, 1618; private
collection

Oldenburg

Anton Günther (1603-1667)

17. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 17.12
g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GVN. C (28)O. E.
D. D. I. IE. E. (K.✠)

Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
V

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-
1657; private collection.

18. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 17.49
g; 41.5 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C.O (28) E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K.✠

Rv. FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP
AV

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-
1657; private collection.

19. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 15.96
g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. K

Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEM(P.AV
G)

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-
1657; private collection.

20. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 16.66
g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. K

Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
V

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657, private collection.

21. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.11 g; 41 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K.✠
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AV..
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

22. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.45 g; 40 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. AN. GVN. C (28)O. E. D.
D. D. I. I. E. K.
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
.
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

23. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.57 g; 40 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ANT. GVN. (28)C. O. E.
D. D. I. IE. K.
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
..
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

24. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.83 g; 40.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. I. E. K.
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
.
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

25. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 16.61 g; 40.5 mm; worn, broken.
Obv. FLOR. ANT. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K.✠
Rv. FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP'AV
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

26. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.48 g; 41 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. E. H
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

27. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.86 g; 41 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C. O (28) E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K.✠
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AV
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

28. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ?; 17.05 g; 41 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C. O (28) E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K.✠
Rv.
FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AV
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

Embden - Imperial city

29. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.75 g; 39mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28)
(C)IV(I)TA. EMBD

Rv. FERDIN(AN). II. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

30. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 16.47
g; 38.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

31. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 18.25
g; 39 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

32. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 17.61
g; 39.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

33. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 18.10
g; 39.5 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

34. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 17.85
g; 37.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

35. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 17.86
g; 39.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

36. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↗; 18.70
g; 40 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

37. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 18.26
g; 39.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

38. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 18.30
g; 39.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

39. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 17.73 g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

40. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 16.55 g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM. A(VG).

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

41. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 13.15 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

42. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 17.94 g; 40 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

43. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 18.97 g; 38.5 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEMP. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

44. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 17.25 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

45. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 18.62 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEMP. AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637); private collection.

46. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 18.83g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEMP. AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

47. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 18.25 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

48. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓;17.33 g; 40 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

49. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡;15.59 g; 40.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

50. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓;17.54 g; 40.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

51. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡;17.30 g; 40.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

52. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡;17.37 g; 42 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

53. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓;17.57 g; 40 mm; worn, broken on the edge.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

54. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;17.01 g; 39.5 mm; worn, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDIN(---) ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637-
1657); private collection.

55. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑;18.51 g; 38.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAND. (---) ROM. IMP.
SEM. AV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637-
1657); private collection.

ITALY

Modena

Francesco I d'Este (1629-1658)

56. Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante, the Embden florin of 28 stuivers imitation, AR; →; 16,17 g; 39,5 mm; good, worn.

Av. . RVET . DIVI (28) SA .
CIVITAS .

Rv. FERIT . ET TVETVR GEMINO
ROSTRO
CNI/9, no. 295, 261; Modena, 1629-
1658; private collection.

57. Scudo da 28 bolognini per il
Levante, the Embden florin of 28
stuivers imitation, AR; ←; 17.45 g; 40
mm; worn.
Obv. RVET. DIVI (28) SA. CIVITAS.
Rv. FERIT. ET TVETVR GEMINO
ROSTRO
CNI/9, no. 295,261; Modena, 1629-
1658; private collection.

SPAIN

Philip III (1598-1621)

58. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 12,63 g; 27x31,5
mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv.MNIV.... / S B / VIII
Rv. ..ISPA.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 154-155, no. 613-
615; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S,
mintmaster B, 1599-1612; private
collection.

59. 4 Reals, AR; ↙; 10.05 g; 31x27
mm; very worn, cut edge.
Ov...../ S (V) / IIII
Rv. ...1614

Pellicer I Bru, p. 155, no. 620;
metropolitan mint: Sevilla S,
mintmaster V (?), 1614; private
collection.

60. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 19,56 g;
30,5x28,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. / P R / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162, no. 662; colonial
mint: Potosi P, mintmaster R, before
1616; private collection.

61. 8 Reals, AR; ↖; 21,25 g; 37x32
mm; very worn, cut edge.

Av. ...SPA...VM.... / P R / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162, no. 662; colonial
mint: Potosi P, mintmaster R, before
1616; private collection.

62. 4 Reals, AR; ←; 10.41 g; 26 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

Obv. ...LIPP..... / ? / o IIII o

Rv. 16 ...

Pellicer I Bru, p. 152, nr 603, 604
(according to the iconography on the
obverse); metropolitan mint: (Madrid),
mintmaster ?, 1620-1621; private
collection.

Philip III (1598-1621) or Philip IV (1621-1665)

63. 4 Reals, AR; ↖; 9.16 g; 30x26.5
mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.DG.... / ?? / ?

Rv.PA.....

Pellicer I Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-
646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786,
(according to the iconography on the
obverse); metropolitan mint: ?,
mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private
collection.

64. 4 Reals, AR; ↗; 8.83 g; 23 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-
646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786,
(according to the iconography on the

obverse); metropolitan mint: ?; mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

65. 4 Reals, AR; ↑; 9.95 g; 24x22 mm; very worn, cut edge

Av.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

66. 4 Reals, AR; ↑; 8.14 g; 26.5 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: (Mexico), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

67. 8 Reals, AR; →; 20,39 g; 32 mm; very worn, cut edge, hollowed.

Obv. P..... / ? ? / 8

Rv.ISP.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

68. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 20,18 g; 35x33 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according

to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

69. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 20,53 g; 28x24,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

70. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 19,01 g; 31x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.VS..... / ? ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse; but the iconography style and model look more like the Sevilla issues from the reign of Philip IV - Pellicer i Bru, p. 185, no. 765, year 1633, mintmaster R); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

71. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 19,28 g; 32x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (P) ? / o 8 o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

72. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 21,19 g; 31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P R (FR ?) / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162, no. 662, or p.

217, no. 888-890; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster R (FR ?), 1598-1621-1665; private collection

73. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 18,29 g; 31x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (P) ? / o VIII o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

74. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 20,00 g; 34 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. PH..... / P ? /

Rv.VM . R.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

75. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 18,43 g; 36x33,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.ILIP..... / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

76. 8 Reals, AR; ↖; 17,76 g; 32x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. ..ILIPPV.... / (P) ? / ?

Rv. X . AN.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

77. 8 Reals, AR; →; 19,73 g; 33,5x32,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

78. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 19,02 g; 30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

79. 8 Reals, AR; →; 17,67 g; 31,5x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (P) ? / o 8 o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

80. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 19,58 g; 32x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

81. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 19,86 g; 28 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

82. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴; 16,10 g; 33x31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

83. 8 Reals, AR; ⤵; 19,19 g; 29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?
State of preservation: very worn, cut edge

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); private collection.

84. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴ și ⤵; 20,09 g; 32x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

1598-1621-1665

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

85. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴; 18,57 g; 34x28 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 651-661 or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

86. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴; 18,83 g; 33x26 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

87. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴; 18,27 g; 31 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.HIS..NIAR.... / (P) ? / ?

Rv.RVM.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse; but, given the coinage slipshod aspect, it is more likely to be Philip IV); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

88. 8 Reals, AR; ⤵; 18,76 g; 32x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / M ? / 8

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

89. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴; 15,93 g; 36x32,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Mexico (M), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

90. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 21,58 g; 39x35 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M ? / 8
Rv. H.....
Colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?
State of preservation: very worn, cut edge
Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

91. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 16,58 g; 34x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M ? / ?
Rv.RV....
Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

92. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 18,87 g; 33x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / S ? / ?
Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 154-157, no. 613-627, or p. 184-185, no. 760-773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S, mintmaster ?, 1599-1621 or 1624-1648; private collection.

93. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 17,69 g; 29,5x27

mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. . PHILL..... / ? ? / o VIII o
Rv.ANIARVM....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1599-1621 or 1621-1662; private collection.

94. 8 Reals, AR; →; 17,42 g; 31x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.
Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-782, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1599-1621 or 1621-1662; private collection.

95. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 20,25 g; 36x34 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M ? / ?
Rv.IARV.....
Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?, 1606-1620 or 1622-1661; private collection.

96. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 20,51 g; 30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / S (D ?) / ?
Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 156, no. 622-623, or p. 184-185, no. 762-773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S, mintmaster (D ?), 1616-1617 or 1629-1648; private collection.

97. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 21,61 g; 31,5x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / 8 o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, before 1616-1620 or 1621-1665; private collection.

Philip IV (1621-1665)

98. 4 Reals; AR; ⚡; 8.75 g; 28x25 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216, no. 882, 885; colonial mint: Potosi P; mintmaster ?, 1621-1631; private collection.

99. 8 Reals, AR; →; 21,04 g; 31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / 8

Rv.ARVM65

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-220, no. 882-914; (it could be mintmaster E, year 1665, Pellicer i Bru, p. 220, no. 913); colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1621-1665; private collection.

100. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 16,26 g; 30,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 914a-936, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Mexico (M), mintmaster ?, 1622-1661; private collection.

101. 4 Reals, AR; ⚡; 9.11 g; 27x27 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv. / MP / ?

Rv

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220, no. 915, or p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico M; mintmaster P, 1623 or 1636-1661; private collection.

102. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 18,51 g; 30x26,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / P T / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216, no. 884-885; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster T, 1624-1632; private collection.

103. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 15,53 g; 31x27,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / P T / ?

Rv. . INDI.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-217, no. 884-887; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster T, 1624-1632; private collection.

104. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 21,77 g; 37x31 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / P T / O

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-217, no. 884-887; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster T, 1624-1632; private collection.

105. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 18,06 g; 31x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / S R / VIII

Rv.IA.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 184-185, no. 760-773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S,

mintmaster R, 1624-1648; private collection.

106. 4 Reals, AR; ⚔; 9.79 g; 26 mm; very worn, cut edge
Obv.I.... / SR / IIII
Rv. . HI..... (2 or 4)8.
Pellicer I Bru, p. 184, no. 761, or p. 185, no. 773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S; mintmaster R, 1628 or 1648; private collection.

107. 8 Reals, AR; ⚔; 21,17 g; 35x34 mm; very worn, cut edge.
oo
Obv. PHIL..... / P ? / ?
Rv.M . RNO . 16(3 or 5)?
Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1630-1639 or 1650-1659; private collection.

108. 8 Reals, AR; ⚔; 20,82 g; 36x33,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv.
Rv.O . 16(3 or 5)?
Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-220, no. 885-907, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1630-1639 or 1650-1659; private collection.

109. 4 Reals, AR; ⚔; 9.20 g; 26x23.5 mm; very worn, cut edge
Obv. PH...../ (T?) P / IIII
Rv.....X.I.....
Pellicer I Bru, p. 186, no. 783; metropolitan mint: Toledo (?); mintmaster P?, 1635; private collection.

110. 4 Reals, AR; ⚔; 10.90 g; 31x28 mm; very worn, cut edge
Obv. / (MP) / 4
Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-928 (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Mexico (M); mintmaster (P), 1636-1651; private collection.

111. 8 Reals, AR; ⚔; 17,58 g; 37x34 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o
Obv. / M P / ?
Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private collection.

112. 8 Reals, AR; ⚔; 22,55 g; 39x33 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (M) P / 8
Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico (M), mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private collection.

113. 8 Reals, AR; ⚔; 21,83 g; 40x37 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / M P / ?
Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private collection.

114. 8 Reals, AR; ⚔; 22,08 g; 38x37 mm; very worn, cut edge

o
Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, p. 921-936;
colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster
P, 1636-1661; private collection.

115. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20,94 g; 34 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

o
Obv. / M P / ?
Rv.T . INDI.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,
mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection.

116. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20,94 g; 33,5
mm; very worn, cut edge.

o
Obv. / M P / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,
mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection

117. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 22,70 g; 35x31
mm; very worn, cut edge.

o
Obv.G 16.... / M P / 8
Rv.INPIA.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,
mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection.

118. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 19,20 g; 33 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

o~
Obv. / M P / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,

mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection.

119. 4 Reals, AR; ⚡; 9.96 g; 30x29
mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv. / P FR / ?
Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P; mintmaster
FR; 1638-1646; private collection

120. 8 Reals, (cut for 4 Reals) AR; ⚡;
15,25 g; 29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P FR / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster
FR, 1638-1646; private collection.

121. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 18,38 g; 31x29
mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P FR / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster
FR, 1638-1646; private collection.

122. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 21,01 g; 35 mm;
very worn, cut edge, double struck on
the lion of quarter 2 on the reverse.

Obv. PH.....M / P FR (?) / 8
Rv.16..

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster FR
(?), 1638-1646; private collection.

123. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20.38 g; 34 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (P) V (?) / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 891; colonial
mint: Potosi P, mintmaster V (?), 1646

(?); private collection.

124. 4 Reals, AR; ⚔; 10.73 g; 25 mm;
very worn, cut edge
Obv. / ?? / 4

Rv. H.....52

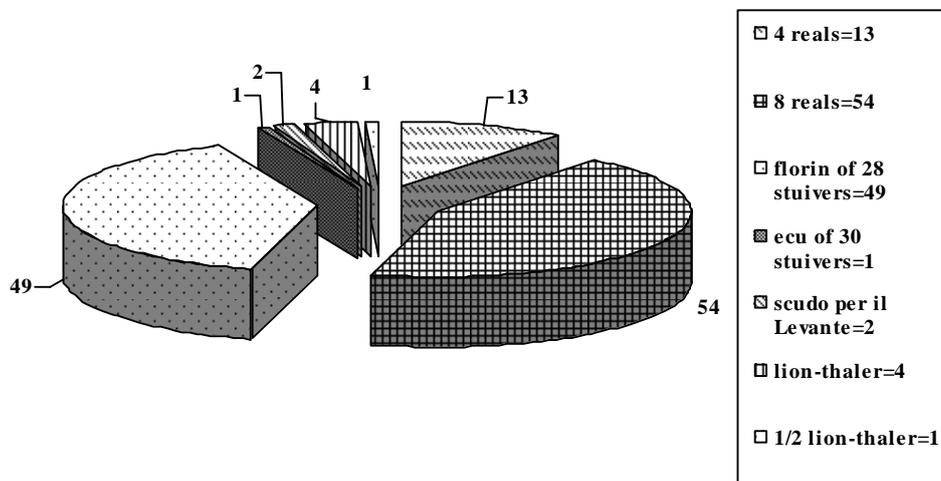
Pellicer I Bru, p. 179-186, no. 728-786
(according to the iconography on the
obverse); metropolitan mint: ?;
mintmaster ?, 1652; private collection.

The examination of the coins chronological distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard reveals that they are placed at an interval between 61-89 years, ceasing at the half of the 17th century, more accurately in the seventh decade middle of this century. The earliest sample is the Holland lion-thaler, dating from 1576, and the most recent are the Spanish issues of Philip IV, 1621-1665. Unfortunately, due to their precarious state of preservation, none of the late Spanish samples has a specific date. The highest rate of accumulation is registered between 1621-1657.

We notice in the „Eforie Sud II” deposit case as well a remarkable unity, as far as the areas of origin and the monetary type are concerned. All the samples are high value silver coins – lion-thalers, (4 samples), coins of 8 reals (54 samples), écu of 30 stuivers (1 sample), florins of 28 stuivers (49 samples), imitations of florins of 28 stuivers – *scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante* (2 samples), ½ lion-thaler (1 sample), coins of 4 reals (13 samples). The Spanish issues are the most numerous (54.92%).

We wish to emphasise the fact that the 67 Spanish coins are, up to now, the highest number of reals to be found in the hoards discovered in Romania¹. These are followed by the Holy Roman Empire coins (40.16%), by those of the United Provinces of the Netherlands (3.38%) and by the duchy of Modena (1.63%).

¹ If, up to the present, the hoard from Vadu, Constanța county, came first as far as the number of Spanish reals was concerned – 26 samples of reals – now the recently found deposit *Eforie Sud II*, with its 67 samples of reals, outranks it by far, thus becoming the most important monetary batch which includes Spanish coins.



Graph no. 3. The „Eforie Sud II” Hoard structure

The „Eforie Sud II” batch, beside its numismatic importance, has a real historical and economical significance. Being the fifth hoard which contains mainly Spanish reals, it supports and backs up the documents of the time by showing the economic interests of both the western states and the Sublime Porte in the area. As we have mentioned before, the number of Spanish reals from the „Eforie Sud II” batch is the highest from the hoards which include such coins and which have been foundet so far in Romania.

The distribution of these coins on issuers and mints is very important as far as the Spanish money penetration and circulation on the Romanian territories during the 17th century are concerned.

Table I.

The reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard on issuers and mints:

Type of issues	Mint / Mintmaster	Denominations	Dating	Number
Philip III (1598-1621)				
Metropolitan issues				
	Sevilla / V (?)	4 Reals	1614	1
	Sevilla / B	8 Reals	1599-1612	1

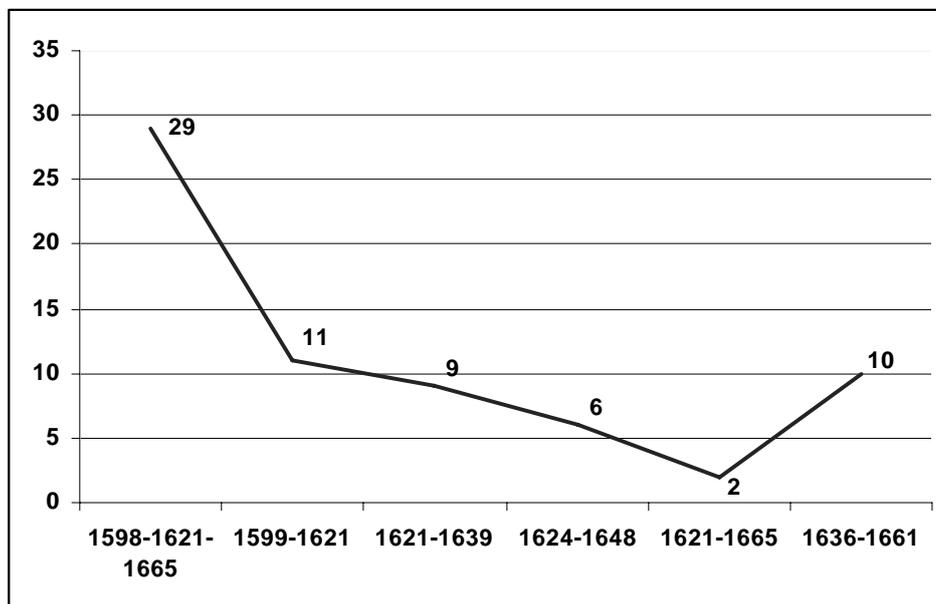
				Total = 2
	Madrid / ?	4 Reals	1620-1621	1
				Total = 1
Colonial issues				
	Mexico			Total = 0
	Potosi / R	8 Reals	before 1616	2
				Total = 2
Philip IV (1621-1665)				
Metropolitan issues				
	Sevilla / R	4 Reals	1628 or 1648	1
	Sevilla / R	8 Reals	1624-1648	1
				Total = 2
	Toledo / P	4 Reals	1635	1
				Total = 1
	Indeterminate /?	4 Reals	1652	1
				Total = 1
Colonial issues				
	Mexico / P	4 Reals	1623 or 1636-1661	1
	Mexico / P	4 Reals	1636-1651	1
	Mexico / ?	8 Reals	1622-1661	1
	Mexico / P	8 Reals	1636-1661	8
				Total = 11
	Potosi / ?	4 Reals	1621-1631	1
	Potosi / FR	4 Reals	1638-1646	1
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1621-1665	1
	Potosi / T	8 Reals	1624-1632	3
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1630-1639 or 1650-1659	2
	Potosi / FR	8 Reals	1638-1646	3
	Potosi / V (?)	8 Reals	1646 (?)	1

				Total = 12
Philip III (1598-1621) or Philip IV (1621-1665)				
Metropolitan issues				
	Sevilla / ?	8 Reals	1599-1621 or 1624-1648	1
	Sevilla / D (?)	8 Reals	1616-1617 or 1629-1648	1
				Total = 2
	Indeterminate / ?	4 Reals	1598-1621-1665	7
	Indeterminate / ?	8 Reals	1599/1621 or 1621/1662	2
				Total = 9
Colonial issues				
	Mexico / ?	4 Reals	1598-1621-1665	1
	Mexico / ?	8 Reals	1598-1621-1665	4
	Mexico / ?	8 Reals	1606-1620 or 1622-1661	1
				Total = 6
	Potosi / FR (?)	8 Reals	1598-1621-1665	1
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1598-1621-1665	16
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1616-1620 or 1621-1665	1
				Total = 18

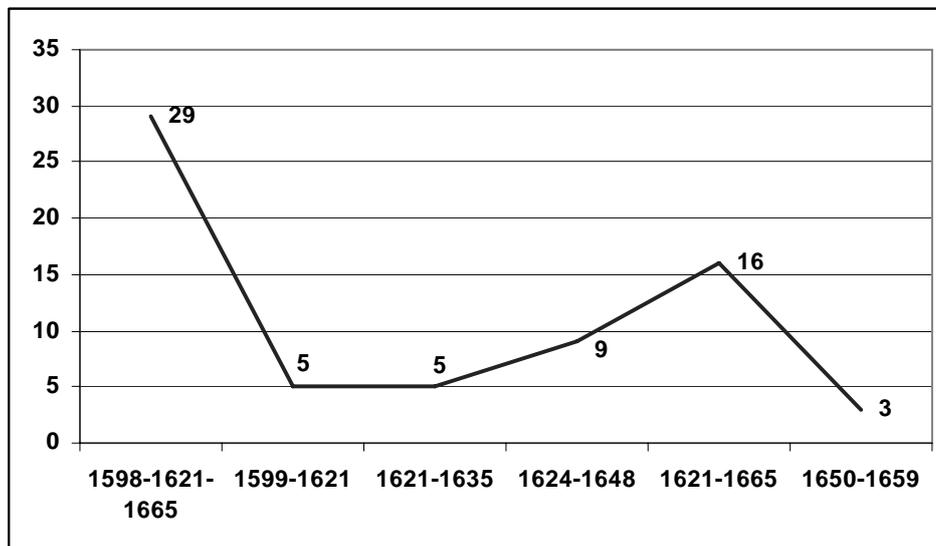
According to the reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard on issuers and mints, most of the samples are uncertain, coined during the reign of Philip III or Philip IV. They amount to 35 samples, out of which there are 11 metropolitan issues (Sevilla 2, Indeterminate 9), and 24 colonial issues (Mexico 6, Potosi 18). Next there are the reals minted during the reign of Philip IV, a total of 27 samples. There are only 4 samples of metropolitan issues (Sevilla 2, Toledo 1, Indeterminate 1), and 23

colonial ones (Mexico 11, Potosi 12). The smallest number of reals comes from the reign of Philip III – 5 samples. These are distributed as follows – metropolitan issues 3 samples (Sevilla 2, Madrid 1), and colonial 2 (Potosi 2). We notice that the balance is clearly in the issues from the period of Philip IV favour – 27 samples, compared to 5 samples from the time of Philip III. The indeterminate samples careful analysis gives a substantial advantage to the issues from the reign of Philip IV. The less aesthetic style, the arrangement order of the heraldic pieces on the coin's field, the coinage slipshod appearance for most of the samples in this group, as well as the metal visibly low quality, rather place them during the reign of Philip IV.

Regarding the place of minting of these reals, most of the samples come from the colonial mints. The majority were coined in the workshop in Potosi, Bolivia today – 32 samples out of 67. They are followed by the issues from the workshop in Mexico – 17 samples. The metropolitan mints are less represented – 18 samples. Unfortunately, the majority of these issues are those whose place of coinage is indeterminate – 10 samples. This situation is due to the coins' precarious state of preservation and, beside their advanced deterioration, the samples were „clipped” and hammer-wrought. Under these circumstances, we find it impossible to establish the workshop of origin, as there is no set of initials on the coins. We were able to determine the workshops for only 8 samples – Sevilla 6 samples, Madrid 1 sample, Toledo 1 sample.



Graph no. 4. The reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard, according to the minting period. - A



Graph no. 5. The reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” Hoard according to the minting period. - B

As far as the period of minting is concerned, due to the high number of indeterminate samples we grouped the reals in two groups – A and B. In the first group the indeterminate coins are distributed during the reign of Philip III – 1598-1621. In the second group, the indeterminate samples are attributed to the Philip IV reign period – 1621-1665. According to the minting years in which the coins are distributed, both groups are divided into six sequences of years. Thus, according to the distribution in group A, from the reign of Philip III we would have 11 coins, from the time of Philip IV we would have 27 samples, and the samples which were impossible to determine and which are present in the reigning years sequence of the two rulers put together, would be 29.

The distribution in group B offers us a slightly different image. From the reign of Philip III we would have 5 coins, from the reign of Philip IV we would have 33 samples, and the number of reals which could not be determined is the same – 29. However, in both cases, the majority is formed by the issues from the reign of Philip IV. The 29 indeterminate samples, as we have shown, due to the slipshod style and the low quality metal, are more likely to be from the time of Philip IV.

The entire batch of coins from „Eforie Sud II”, in reference to thalers / 3 grossus, represents ≈ 98 thalers / ≈ 980 of 3 grossus. Thus, the hoard represents a fairly good amount of money, the price of almost 17 horses, for instance², of 2380 litres of wine, 333 fathoms of inheritable land, 100 bushels of wheat or 426 pounds of wax.

² DRH, B, tome XI, p. 322-323, no. 244.

C. The “Eforie Sud II” Hoard

In 2006, the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța was requested to identify a batch of high value silver coins, coming from Eforie Sud. The coins were found in the sea, probably in 2005. Unfortunately, the discoverers of the new batch of coins from Eforie Sud did not wish to reveal where exactly they found it or if all the coins had been recovered. Under these circumstances, regrettably, it is not possible to have a professional research of the site or a complete recovery of the archaeological vestiges. The entire batch of coins might as well be part of a bigger batch of vestiges, originating, probably, from the wreck of a ship coming towards the Dobroudjan shores. The samples of the new batch of coins from Eforie Sud have a grey-black patina, sometimes with a metallic shine, due, obviously, to their long stay in the seawater.

The batch of coins from Eforie Sud II which we determined is made up of 124 silver samples of high value. They are minted by: The United Provinces of the Netherlands – Holland (2), Friesland (1) and Overijssel (2); The Holy Roman Empire – the Principality of Bouillon-Sedan (1), Dewenter (2), Campen (3), Zwolle (5), Oldenburg (12), Embden (27); Italy: Modena (2); Spain (67).

We shall hereby present the “Eforie Sud II” hoard coins catalogue:

CATALOGUE

UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS

Holland

1. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 22.54 g; 38.5 mm; worn.

Obv. MO x NO x (ARG) x – x ORDIN
x HOL x. / (15)-76

Rv. ⚡ x CONFIDENS x DNO x NON
x MOVETVR

Delm. 830, Amsterdam, 1576; private collection.

2. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 18.73 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. MO x NO x (ARG) x 15–76 x
ORDIN x HOL x.

Rv. ⚡ x CONFIDENS x DNO x NON
x MOVETVR

Delm. 830, Amsterdam, 1576; private collection.

Friesland

3. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 22.91 g; 41 mm; good, worn.

Obv. MO. ARG.PRO.CO – NFOE.
BELG. FR

Rv. CONFIDENS. DNO. NON.
MOVETVR. 1612

Delm. 852, Leeuwarden, 1612; private collection.

Overijssel

4. Half Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 12.31 g; mm; worn.

Obv. MO.ARG.PRO.CON-FOE.BELG. TRAN/16 (16 or 26)

Rv.

CONFIDENS.DNO.NON.MOVETVR.

Delm. 885, Overijssel, 16(16 or 26); private collection.

5. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 17.23 g; 39.5 mm; worn, corroded by oxides.

Obv. MO. ARG. PRO. CON – (FOE.BEL.TR)AN

Rv. (CON)FIDENS. (D)NO. NON. MOVET(VR). 164(?)

Delm. 856, Overijssel, 1640–1647 (?); private collection.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Principality of Bouillon-Sedan

Henri de La Tour D’Auvergne (1591-1623)

6. Écu of 30 stuivers, AR; ⚔; 18.24 g; 40.5 mm; very good, slightly cracked.

Obv. •HENRICVS. DE. LA. TOUR. DVX. BULLIONÆVS / 1613-xxx

Rv. SVPREMVS. PRINCEPS. SEDANENSIS

Dav. 3816; SWC, p. 265; Sedan, 1613; private collection.

Campen – Imperial city

7. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⤴; 16.95 g; 38 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP. CAMPEN.

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE. SEM. AV (G)

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619); private collection.

8. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⤴; 14.71 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP. CAMPEN. / 16??

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE. SEM. AV G

Delm. 1113; Campen, 16?? (1611-1619); private collection.

9. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⤴; 18.22 g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP. CAMPEN.

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE. SEM. AV G

Delm. 1113; Campen, n.d. (1611-1619); private collection.

Zwolle – Imperial city

10. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⤴; 18.51 g; 37.5 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP. ZWOL.

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM. AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, n.d. (1611-1619); private collection.

11. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⤴; 19.40 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP. ZWOL.

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM. AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, n.d. (1611-1619); private collection

12. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⤴; 18.34 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP.
ZWOL.

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM.
AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, 1621; private
collection

13. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 17.02
g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP.
ZWOL. / 16-15

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM.
AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, 16??; private
collection.

14. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;
16.88 g; 38.5 mm; worn

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIVITA. IMP.
ZWOL. / 16-45

Rv. MATTH. I. D. G. RO. IMP. SEM.
AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, 16??; private
collection.

Dewenter – Imperial city

15. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;
17.84 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP.
DAVENT: / 1618

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE.
SEM. AV (G)

Delm. 1107; Dewenter, 1618; private
collection

16. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↗; 18.43
g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARG. CIV (28) IMP.
DAVENT.

Rv. MATTH.I.D : G. ROM. IMPE.
SEM. AV (G)

Delm. 1107; Dewenter, 1618; private
collection

Oldenburg

Anton Günther (1603-1667)

17. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 17.12
g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GVN. C (28)O. E.
D. D. I. IE. E. (K.✠)

Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
V

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-
1657; private collection.

18. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 17.49
g; 41.5 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C.O (28) E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K.✠

Rv. FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP
AV

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-
1657; private collection.

19. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 15.96
g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. K

Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEM(P.AV
G)

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-
1657; private collection.

20. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 16.66
g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. K

Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
V

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657, private collection.

21. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.11 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K. ☾
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AV..
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

22. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.45 g; 40 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GVN. C (28)O. E. E.
D. D. I. I. E. K.
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
.
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

23. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.57 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ANT. GVN. (28)C. O. E.
D. D. I. IE. K.
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
..
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

24. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.83 g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. I. E. K.
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
.
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

25. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 16.61 g; 40.5 mm; worn, broken.

Obv. FLOR. ANT. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K. ☾

Rv. FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP'
AV

SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

26. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.48 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C (28)O. E. D.
D. I. IE. E. H
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AVG
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

27. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.86 g; 41 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C. O (28) E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K. ☾
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AV
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

28. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ?; 17.05 g; 41 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR. AN. GV. C. O (28) E. D.
D. I. IE. E. K. ☾
Rv.

FERD.III.D.G.ROM.IMP.SEMP.AV
SWC / 2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; private collection.

Embden - Imperial city

29. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 17.75 g; 39mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28)
(C)IV(I)TA. EMBD

Rv. FERDIN(AN). II. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

30. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;16.47
g; 38.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

31. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑;18.25
g; 39 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

32. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →;17.61
g; 39.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

33. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 18.10
g; 39.5 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

34. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 17.85
g; 37.5 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

35. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;17.86
g; 39.5 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

36. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↗; 18.70
g; 40 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

37. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘;18.26
g; 39.5 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

38. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;18.30
g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB
Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

39. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 17.73
g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

40. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 16.55
g; 39.5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
A(VG).

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

41. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 13.15
g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

42. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 17.94
g; 40 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. II. ROM. IMP. SEM.
AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

43. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 18.97
g; 38.5 mm; good, worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

44. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 17.25
g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVGV.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

45. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↖; 18.62
g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637);
private collection.

46. Florin of 28 stuivers,
AR; ↖; 18.83g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEMP. AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

47. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↖; 18.25
g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR. ARGEN (28) CIVITAT.
EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP.
SEM. AVG.

SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657);
private collection.

48. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓;17.33 g; 40 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

49. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↯;15.59 g; 40.5 mm; good, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

50. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓;17.54 g; 40.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

51. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↯;17.30 g; 40.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

52. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↯;17.37 g; 42 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

53. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓;17.57 g; 40 mm; worn, broken on the edge.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III. ROM. IMP. SEM. AVG.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); private collection.

54. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;17.01 g; 39.5 mm; worn, worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDIN(---) ROM. IMP. SEM. AVGV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637-1657); private collection.

55. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑;18.51 g; 38.5 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR. ARGENT (28) CIVITAT. EMB

Rv. FERDINAND. (---) ROM. IMP. SEM. AV.
SWC, p. 449; Embden, (1619-1637-1657); private collection.

ITALY

Modena

Francesco I d'Este (1629-1658)

56. Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante, the Embden florin of 28 stuivers imitation, AR; →; 16,17 g; 39,5 mm; good, worn.
Av. . RVET . DIVI (28) SA . CIVITAS .

Rv. FERIT . ET TVETVR GEMINO ROSTRO
CNI/9, no. 295, 261; Modena, 1629-1658; private collection.

57. Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante, the Embden florin of 28 stuivers imitation, AR; ←; 17.45 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. RVET. DIVI (28) SA. CIVITAS.
Rv. FERIT. ET TVETVR GEMINO ROSTRO
CNI/9, no. 295,261; Modena, 1629-1658; private collection.

SPAIN

Philip III (1598-1621)

58. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 12,63 g; 27x31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.MNIV.... / S B / VIII

Rv. ..ISPA.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 154-155, no. 613-615; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S, mintmaster B, 1599-1612; private collection.

59. 4 Reals, AR; ↙; 10.05 g; 31x27 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Ov...../ S (V) / III

Rv. ...1614

Pellicer I Bru, p. 155, no. 620; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S, mintmaster V (?), 1614; private collection.

60. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 19,56 g; 30,5x28,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P R / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162, no. 662; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster R, before 1616; private collection.

61. 8 Reals, AR; ↖; 21,25 g; 37x32 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Av. ...SPA...VM.... / P R / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162, no. 662; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster R, before 1616; private collection.

62. 4 Reals, AR; ←; 10.41 g; 26 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. ...LIPP..... / ? / o III o

Rv. 16 ...

Pellicer I Bru, p. 152, nr 603, 604 (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: (Madrid), mintmaster ?, 1620-1621; private collection.

Philip III (1598-1621) or Philip IV (1621-1665)

63. 4 Reals, AR; ↖; 9.16 g; 30x26.5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.DG.... / ?? / ?

Rv.PA.....

Pellicer I Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

64. 4 Reals, AR; ↗; 8.83 g; 23 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the

obverse); metropolitan mint: ?; mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

65. 4 Reals, AR; ↑; 9.95 g; 24x22 mm; very worn, cut edge

Av.

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

66. 4 Reals, AR; ↑; 8.14 g; 26.5 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: (Mexico), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

67. 8 Reals, AR; →; 20,39 g; 32 mm; very worn, cut edge, hollowed.

Obv. P..... / ? ? / 8

Rv.ISP.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

68. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 20,18 g; 35x33 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according

to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

69. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 20,53 g; 28x24,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection

70. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 19,01 g; 31x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.VS..... / ? ? / ?.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse; but the iconography style and model look more like the Sevilla issues from the reign of Philip IV - Pellicer i Bru, p. 185, no. 765, year 1633, mintmaster R); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

71. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 19,28 g; 32x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (P) ? / o 8 o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

72. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 21,19 g; 31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P R (FR ?) / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162, no. 662, or p.

217, no. 888-890; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster R (FR ?), 1598-1621-1665; private collection

73. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 18,29 g; 31x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. / (P) ? / o VIII o
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

74. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 20,00 g; 34 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. PH..... / P ? /
Rv.VM . R.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

75. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 18,43 g; 36x33,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv.ILIP..... / P ? / ?
Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

76. 8 Reals, AR; ↖; 17,76 g; 32x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. ..ILIPPV.... / (P) ? / ?
Rv. X . AN.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

77. 8 Reals, AR; →; 19,73 g; 33,5x32,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

78. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 19,02 g; 30 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

79. 8 Reals, AR; →; 17,67 g; 31,5x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv. / (P) ? / o 8 o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

80. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 19,58 g; 32x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

81. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 19,86 g; 28 mm; very worn, cut edge.
Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

82. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 16,10 g; 33x31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

83. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 19,19 g; 29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?
State of preservation: very worn, cut edge

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); private collection.

84. 8 Reals, AR; ↑ și ↙; 20,09 g; 32x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

1598-1621-1665

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

85. 8 Reals, AR; ↗; 18,57 g; 34x28 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 651-661 or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

86. 8 Reals, AR; →; 18,83 g; 33x26 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

87. 8 Reals, AR; ↖; 18,27 g; 31 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.HIS..NIAR.... / (P) ? / ?

Rv.RVM.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914, (according to the iconography on the reverse; but, given the coinage slipshod aspect, it is more likely to be Philip IV); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

88. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 18,76 g; 32x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / M ? / 8

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

89. 8 Reals, AR; →; 15,93 g; 36x32,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Mexico (M), mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

90. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 21,58 g; 39x35 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M ? / 8

Rv. H.....

Colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?

State of preservation: very worn, cut edge

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

91. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 16,58 g; 34x29,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M ? / ?

Rv.RV....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?, 1598-1621-1665; private collection.

92. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 18,87 g; 33x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / S ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 154-157, no. 613-627, or p. 184-185, no. 760-773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S, mintmaster ?, 1599-1621 or 1624-1648; private collection.

93. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 17,69 g; 29,5x27

mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. . PHILI..... / ? ? / o VIII o

Rv.ANIARVM....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-786, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1599-1621 or 1621-1662; private collection.

94. 8 Reals, AR; →; 17,42 g; 31x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 151-159, no. 597-646, or p. 179-186, no. 728-782, (according to the iconography on the obverse); metropolitan mint: ?, mintmaster ?, 1599-1621 or 1621-1662; private collection.

95. 8 Reals, AR; ↘; 20,25 g; 36x34 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M ? / ?

Rv.IARV....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 161-162, no. 651-661, or p. 220-221, no. 914a-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster ?, 1606-1620 or 1622-1661; private collection.

96. 8 Reals, AR; ↙; 20,51 g; 30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / S (D ?) / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 156, no. 622-623, or p. 184-185, no. 762-773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S, mintmaster (D ?), 1616-1617 or 1629-1648; private collection.

97. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 21,61 g; 31,5x30 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / 8 o

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 162-164, no. 662-673, or p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, before 1616-1620 or 1621-1665; private collection.

Philip IV (1621-1665)

98. 4 Reals; AR; ⚡; 8,75 g; 28x25 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / ?

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 216, no. 882, 885; colonial mint: Potosi P; mintmaster ?, 1621-1631; private collection.

99. 8 Reals, AR; →; 21,04 g; 31,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P ? / 8

Rv.ARVM65

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-220, no. 882-914; (it could be mintmaster E, year 1665, Pellicer i Bru, p. 220, no. 913); colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1621-1665; private collection.

100. 8 Reals, AR; ↑; 16,26 g; 30,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 914-936, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Mexico (M), mintmaster ?, 1622-1661; private collection.

101. 4 Reals, AR; ⚡; 9,11 g; 27x27 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv. / MP / ?

Rv

Pellicer I Bru, p. 220, no. 915, or p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico M; mintmaster P, 1623 or 1636-1661; private collection.

102. 8 Reals, AR; ↓; 18,51 g; 30x26,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / P T / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216, no. 884-885; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster T, 1624-1632; private collection.

103. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 15,53 g; 31x27,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / P T / ?

Rv. . INDI.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-217, no. 884-887; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster T, 1624-1632; private collection.

104. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 21,77 g; 37x31 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / P T / O

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-217, no. 884-887; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster T, 1624-1632; private collection.

105. 8 Reals, AR; ←; 18,06 g; 31x29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o o

Obv. / S R / VIII

Rv.IA.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 184-185, no. 760-773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S,

mintmaster R, 1624-1648; private collection.

106. 4 Reals, AR; ⚡; 9.79 g; 26 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv.I.... / SR / IIII

Rv. . HI..... (2 or 4)8.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 184, no. 761, or p. 185, no. 773; metropolitan mint: Sevilla S; mintmaster R, 1628 or 1648; private collection.

107. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 21,17 g; 35x34 mm; very worn, cut edge.

oo

Obv. PHIL..... / P ? / ?

Rv.M. RNO . 16(3 or 5)?

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-220, no. 882-914; colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster ?, 1630-1639 or 1650-1659; private collection.

108. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20,82 g; 36x33,5 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv.

Rv.O . 16(3 or 5)?

Pellicer i Bru, p. 216-220, no. 885-907, (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Potosi (P), mintmaster ?, 1630-1639 or 1650-1659; private collection.

109. 4 Reals, AR; ⤴; 9.20 g; 26x23.5 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv. PH...../ (T?) P / IIII

Rv.....X.1.....

Pellicer I Bru, p. 186, no. 783; metropolitan mint: Toledo (?); mintmaster P?, 1635; private collection.

110. 4 Reals, AR; ⚡; 10.90 g; 31x28 mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv. / (MP) / 4

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-928 (according to the iconography on the reverse); colonial mint: Mexico (M); mintmaster (P), 1636-1651; private collection.

111. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 17,58 g, 37x34 mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private collection.

112. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 22,55 g; 39x33 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (M) P / 8

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico (M), mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private collection.

113. 8 Reals, AR; ⤴; 21,83 g; 40x37 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-936; colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private collection.

114. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 22,08 g; 38x37 mm; very worn, cut edge

⊖

Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.
Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, p. 921-936;
colonial mint: Mexico M, mintmaster
P, 1636-1661; private collection.

115. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20,94 g; 34 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.T . INDI.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,
mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection.

116. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20,94 g; 33,5
mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,
mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection

117. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 22,70 g; 35x31
mm; very worn, cut edge.

o

Obv.G 16.... / M P / 8

Rv.INPIA.....

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,
mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection.

118. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 19,20 g; 33 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

o ~

Obv. / M P / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 220-221, no. 921-
936; colonial mint: Mexico M,

mintmaster P, 1636-1661; private
collection.

119. 4 Reals, AR; ⚡; 9.96 g; 30x29
mm; very worn, cut edge

Obv. / P FR / ?

Rv.

Pellicer I Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P; mintmaster
FR; 1638-1646; private collection

120. 8 Reals, (cut for 4 Reals) AR; ⚡;
15,25 g; 29 mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P FR / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster
FR, 1638-1646; private collection.

121. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 18,38 g; 31x29
mm; very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / P FR / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster
FR, 1638-1646; private collection.

122. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 21,01 g; 35 mm;
very worn, cut edge, double struck on
the lion of quarter 2 on the reverse.

Obv. PH.....M / P FR (?) / 8

Rv.16..

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 888-890;
colonial mint: Potosi P, mintmaster FR
(?), 1638-1646; private collection.

123. 8 Reals, AR; ⚡; 20.38 g; 34 mm;
very worn, cut edge.

Obv. / (P) V (?) / ?

Rv.

Pellicer i Bru, p. 217, no. 891; colonial
mint: Potosi P, mintmaster V (?), 1646

(?); private collection.

124. 4 Reals, AR; ⚭; 10.73 g; 25 mm;
very worn, cut edge
Obv. / ?? / 4

Rv. H.....52

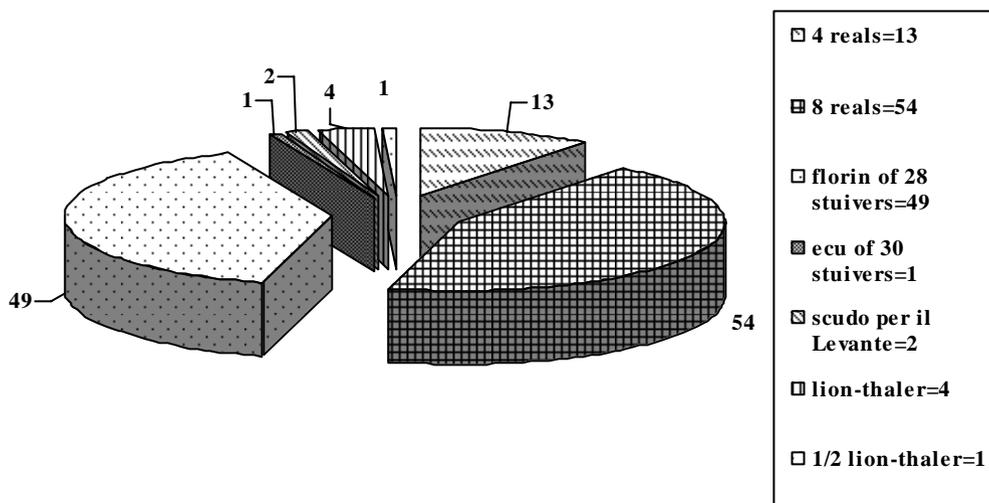
Pellicer I Bru, p. 179-186, no. 728-786
(according to the iconography on the
obverse); metropolitan mint: ?;
mintmaster ?, 1652; private collection.

The examination of the coins chronological distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard reveals that they are placed at an interval between 61-89 years, ceasing at the half of the 17th century, more accurately in the seventh decade middle of this century. The earliest sample is the Holland lion-thaler, dating from 1576, and the most recent are the Spanish issues of Philip IV, 1621-1665. Unfortunately, due to their precarious state of preservation, none of the late Spanish samples has a specific date. The highest rate of accumulation is registered between 1621-1657.

We notice in the „Eforie Sud II” deposit case as well a remarkable unity, as far as the areas of origin and the monetary type are concerned. All the samples are high value silver coins – lion-thalers, (4 samples), coins of 8 reals (54 samples), écu of 30 stuivers (1 sample), florins of 28 stuivers (49 samples), imitations of florins of 28 stuivers – *scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante* (2 samples), ½ lion-thaler (1 sample), coins of 4 reals (13 samples). The Spanish issues are the most numerous (54.92%).

We wish to emphasise the fact that the 67 Spanish coins are, up to now, the highest number of reals to be found in the hoards discovered in Romania¹. These are followed by the Holy Roman Empire coins (40.16%), by those of the United Provinces of the Netherlands (3.38%) and by the duchy of Modena (1.63%).

¹ If, up to the present, the hoard from Vadu, Constanța county, came first as far as the number of Spanish reals was concerned – 26 samples of reals – now the recently found deposit *Eforie Sud II*, with its 67 samples of reals, outranks it by far, thus becoming the most important monetary batch which includes Spanish coins.



Graph no. 3. The „Eforie Sud II” Hoard structure

The „Eforie Sud II” batch, beside its numismatic importance, has a real historical and economical significance. Being the fifth hoard which contains mainly Spanish reals, it supports and backs up the documents of the time by showing the economic interests of both the western states and the Sublime Porte in the area. As we have mentioned before, the number of Spanish reals from the „Eforie Sud II” batch is the highest from the hoards which include such coins and which have been found so far in Romania.

The distribution of these coins on issuers and mints is very important as far as the Spanish money penetration and circulation on the Romanian territories during the 17th century are concerned.

Table I.

The reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard on issuers and mints:

Type of issues	Mint / Mintmaster	Denominations	Dating	Number
Philip III (1598-1621)				
Metropolitan issues				
	Sevilla / V (?)	4 Reals	1614	1
	Sevilla / B	8 Reals	1599-1612	1

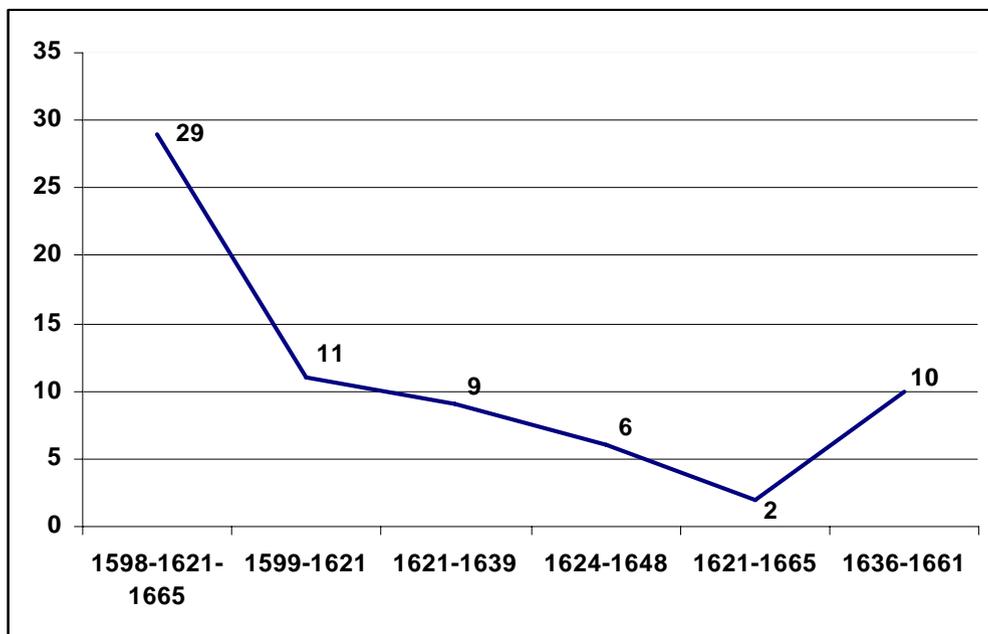
				Total = 2
	Madrid / ?	4 Reals	1620-1621	1
				Total = 1
Colonial issues				
	Mexico			Total = 0
	Potosi / R	8 Reals	before 1616	2
				Total = 2
Philip IV (1621-1665)				
Metropolitan issues				
	Sevilla / R	4 Reals	1628 or 1648	1
	Sevilla / R	8 Reals	1624-1648	1
				Total = 2
	Toledo / P	4 Reals	1635	1
				Total = 1
	Indeterminate /?	4 Reals	1652	1
				Total = 1
Colonial issues				
	Mexico / P	4 Reals	1623 or 1636-1661	1
	Mexico / P	4 Reals	1636-1651	1
	Mexico / ?	8 Reals	1622-1661	1
	Mexico / P	8 Reals	1636-1661	8
				Total = 11
	Potosi / ?	4 Reals	1621-1631	1
	Potosi / FR	4 Reals	1638-1646	1
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1621-1665	1
	Potosi / T	8 Reals	1624-1632	3
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1630-1639 or 1650-1659	2
	Potosi / FR	8 Reals	1638-1646	3
	Potosi / V (?)	8 Reals	1646 (?)	1

				Total = 12
Philip III (1598-1621) or Philip IV (1621-1665)				
Metropolitan issues				
	Sevilla / ?	8 Reals	1599-1621 or 1624-1648	1
	Sevilla / D (?)	8 Reals	1616-1617 or 1629-1648	1
				Total = 2
	Indeterminate / ?	4 Reals	1598-1621-1665	7
	Indeterminate / ?	8 Reals	1599/1621 or 1621/1662	2
				Total = 9
Colonial issues				
	Mexico / ?	4 Reals	1598-1621-1665	1
	Mexico / ?	8 Reals	1598-1621-1665	4
	Mexico / ?	8 Reals	1606-1620 or 1622-1661	1
				Total = 6
	Potosi / FR (?)	8 Reals	1598-1621-1665	1
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1598-1621-1665	16
	Potosi / ?	8 Reals	1616-1620 or 1621-1665	1
				Total = 18

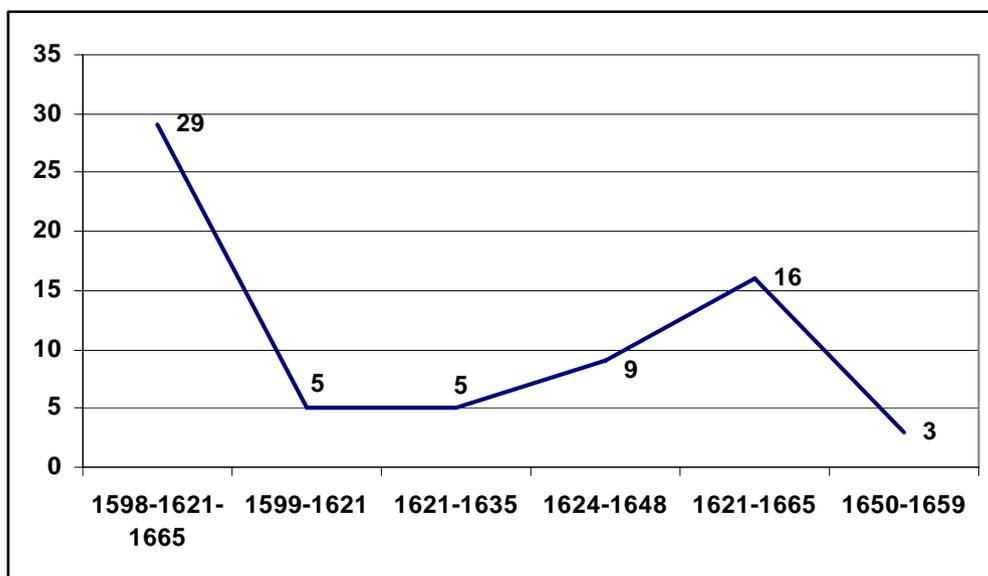
According to the reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard on issuers and mints, most of the samples are uncertain, coined during the reign of Philip III or Philip IV. They amount to 35 samples, out of which there are 11 metropolitan issues (Sevilla 2, Indeterminate 9), and 24 colonial issues (Mexico 6, Potosi 18). Next there are the reals minted during the reign of Philip IV, a total of 27 samples. There are only 4 samples of metropolitan issues (Sevilla 2, Toledo 1, Indeterminate 1), and 23

colonial ones (Mexico 11, Potosi 12). The smallest number of reals comes from the reign of Philip III – 5 samples. These are distributed as follows – metropolitan issues 3 samples (Sevilla 2, Madrid 1), and colonial 2 (Potosi 2). We notice that the balance is clearly in the issues from the period of Philip IV favour – 27 samples, compared to 5 samples from the time of Philip III. The indeterminate samples careful analysis gives a substantial advantage to the issues from the reign of Philip IV. The less aesthetic style, the arrangement order of the heraldic pieces on the coin’s field, the coinage slipshod appearance for most of the samples in this group, as well as the metal visibly low quality, rather place them during the reign of Philip IV.

Regarding the place of minting of these reals, most of the samples come from the colonial mints. The majority were coined in the workshop in Potosi, Bolivia today – 32 samples out of 67. They are followed by the issues from the workshop in Mexico – 17 samples. The metropolitan mints are less represented – 18 samples. Unfortunately, the majority of these issues are those whose place of coinage is indeterminate – 10 samples. This situation is due to the coins’ precarious state of preservation and, beside their advanced deterioration, the samples were „clipped” and hammer-wrought. Under these circumstances, we find it impossible to establish the workshop of origin, as there is no set of initials on the coins. We were able to determine the workshops for only 8 samples – Sevilla 6 samples, Madrid 1 sample, Toledo 1 sample.



Graph no. 4. The reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” hoard, according to the minting period. - A



Graph no. 5. The reals distribution from the „Eforie Sud II” Hoard according to the minting period. - B

As far as the period of minting is concerned, due to the high number of indeterminate samples we grouped the reals in two groups – A and B. In the first group the indeterminate coins are distributed during the reign of Philip III – 1598-1621. In the second group, the indeterminate samples are attributed to the Philip IV reign period – 1621-1665. According to the minting years in which the coins are distributed, both groups are divided into six sequences of years. Thus, according to the distribution in group A, from the reign of Philip III we would have 11 coins, from the time of Philip IV we would have 27 samples, and the samples which were impossible to determine and which are present in the reigning years sequence of the two rulers put together, would be 29.

The distribution in group B offers us a slightly different image. From the reign of Philip III we would have 5 coins, from the reign of Philip IV we would have 33 samples, and the number of reals which could not be determined is the same – 29. However, in both cases, the majority is formed by the issues from the reign of Philip IV. The 29 indeterminate samples, as we have shown, due to the slipshod style and the low quality metal, are more likely to be from the time of Philip IV.

The entire batch of coins from „Eforie Sud II”, in reference to thalers / 3 grossus, represents ≈ 98 thalers / ≈ 980 of 3 grossus. Thus, the hoard represents a fairly good amount of money, the price of almost 17 horses, for instance², of 2380 litres of wine, 333 fathoms of inheritable land, 100 bushels of wheat or 426 pounds of wax.

² DRH, B, tome XI, p. 322-323, no. 244.

D. The “Cotu Văii” hoard

In the summer of 2002, during the operation of demolishing the foundations of a lumber room from a private property from Cotu Văii, commune Albești, Constanța County, a hoard composed of high value silver coins was found.

The coins had been laid down in the hollow of a rock, closed up with a smaller one, having the role of a cork (fig. 1). The manner in which the coins have been deposited, a very ingenious one at that, is nonetheless not singular. We can quote some analogies for this inventive means of hiding a hoard, in the case of certain discoveries from Bulgaria, in Şumen¹, where a deposit of hyperpers issued by John III Vatatzes was hidden in a hollowed out rock, laid down at the foundations of a church, as well as in the case of some finds from Palestine², where a gold coin hoard from the 7th century was inserted in a stone stuck in a threshold.

The “Cotu Văii” hoard is composed of 70 coins – 20 lion-thalers and 50 florins of 28 stuivers, as follows: The United Provinces of the Netherlands – Geldern (6), Holland (5), Westfriesland (2), Zeeland (1), Utrecht (3), Deventer (1), Campen (1), Zwolle (1); Italy – Modena (1); the Holy Roman Empire – Embden (19), Oldenburg (11), Campen, imperial city (8), Zwolle, imperial city (11).

We present below the “Cotu Văii” deposit coins catalogue:

¹ T. Gherasim, in *Izvestija na Istoriceskij Muzej Şumen*, 6, 1972, pp. 15-36.

² The hoard from Bet She’an, cf. Gabriela Bijovski, in *RN*, 158, 2002, pp. 161-227.

CATALOGUE

UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS

Holland

1. Lion-thaler, AR; ↑; 26.73 g; 40 mm; worn and slightly notched on the edge

Obv. MO x NO x ARG x – x ORDIN x HOL x / 15-76

Rv. ☉: CONFIDENS x DNO x NON x MOVETVR x

Delm. 831; Holland, rosette, 1576; NHAMC inv. no. 67855.

2. Lion-thaler, AR; ↑; 21.10 g; 41 mm; very worn

Obv. MO x NO x ARG x – x ORD(IN) x HOL x / 15-76

Rv. ☉: CONFIDENS x DNO x NON x MOVETVE x R

Delm. 831 var.; Holland, rosette, 1576; NHAMC inv. no. 67856.

3. Lion-thaler, AR; ↗; 26.26; 41 mm; worn

Obv. x MON x ARNO x – x ORDIN x HOL x / 15-??

Rv. ☉x CONPIDENS x DNO x NON x MOVETVE x R

Delm. 831 var.; Holland, rosette, 1576-1597; NHAMC inv. no. 67858

4. Lion-thaler, AR; ↖; 27.07 g; 41 mm; slightly worn.

Obv. MO x NO x ARG x – x ORDIN x HOL x / 15-89

Rv. ☉: CONFIDENS x DNO x NON x MO(VE)TVR x

Delm. 831; Holland, rosette, 1589; NHAMC inv. no. 67857

5. Lion-thaler, AR; ↖; 26.98 g; 40.5 mm; good.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON . – FOE . BELG . HOL . ☉

Rv. CO(NFI)DENS . DNO . NON. MOVETVR . 1633

Delm. 832; Holland, rosette, 1633; NHAMC inv. no. 67859

Utrecht

6. Lion-thaler, AR; ↓; 26.24 g; 40 mm; worn, notched on the edge.

Obv. shield MO . NO. ORD . TRA . – AD . V(A.)ORD . HOL / 15-98

Rv. ☉CONFIDENS . (DNO.) NON . MOVETVR.

Delm. 842; Utrecht, rosette 1598; NHAMC inv. no. 67863.

7. Lion-thaler, AR; ↙ ; 26.71 g; 42 mm; good.

Obv. shield MO . ARG . PRO . CO – NFOE . BELG . TRA

Rv. . CONFIDENS . DNO . NON. MOVETVR 16(4)3.

Delm. 844 var.; Utrecht 1643; NHAMC inv. no. 67864.

8. Lion-thaler, AR; ↙, 27.06 g; 41 mm; good.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON – FOE . BELG . TRA shield

Rv. . CONFIDENS . DNO . NON. MOVETVR 1647

Delm. 845 var.; Utrecht, 1647; NHAMC inv. no. 67865

Westfriesland

9. Lion-thaler, AR; ←; 26.79 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. MO + NO + ORD + WES – (TF)RI + VALOR + HOL / 16 – 04

Rv. ☉DEV(S + FOR)TITVDO + ET + SPES + NOSTRA

Delm. 835; Westfriesland, rosette; 1604; NHAMC inv. no. 67860.

10. Lion-thaler, AR; ↙; 26.85 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. MI . ARG . PRO . CON – FOE . BELG . W(ES)TF

Rv. (CON)FIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 1617

Delm. 836 var.; Westfriesland, 1617; NHAMC inv. no. 67861

Zeeland

11. Lion-thaler, AR; ↑; 26,13 g; 40 mm; worn

Obv. MO . NO . PRO . CON – FOE . BELG . ZEL . tower

Rv. ✕CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 1616

Delm. 839; Zeeland, tower, 1616; NHAMC inv. no. 67862

Geldern

12. Lion-thaler, AR. ↘; 26.74 g; 39.5 mm; worn

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CO . – NF . BEL . GEL . ♦

Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 1617

Delm. 825; Geldern, cross, 1617; NHAMC inv. no. 67849

13. Lion-thaler, AR; ↘; 26.52 g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . COI . – FOE . BEL . GEL .

Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVET(VR) . 1641

Delm. 825 var.; Geldern, 1641; NHAMC inv. no. 67850

14. Lion-thaler, AR; ↗; 26.47 g; 40.5 mm; worn.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON . – FOE . BEL . GEL .

Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 1643

Delm. 825 var.; Geldern, 1643; NHAMC inv. no. 67851.

15. Lion-thaler, AR; ↖; 26.68 g; 40.5 mm; worn, pierced.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON . – FOE . BEL . GEL .

Rv. CONF(I)DENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 1647

Delm. 825; Geldern, 1647; NHAMC inv. no. 67852.

16. Lion-thaler, AR; ↓; 27.36 g; 42 mm; worn, with small cracks in the field.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON . – FOE . BEL . GEL .

Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON . MOVETVR . 16 ♯5Z

Delm. 825; Geldern, lily, 1652; NHAMC inv. no. 67853.

17. Lion-thaler, AR; ↗; 27.27 g; 42 mm; good, slightly worn.

Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON . – FOE . BEL . GEL .

Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON .
MOVETVR . 16 ♀ 62
Delm. 825; Geldern, sitting dog, 1662;
NHAMC inv. no. 67854.

Zwolle

18. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 27.12 g; 41 mm; good.
Obv. MO : ARG (: C)IVITA – ZWOL
. A. L . IMP
Rv. ✱ DA . PACEM . DO(M) . IN .
DIEBVS . NOST. 164(0 or 8?)
For reverse = Delm. 865, but with
1640 year. For 1648, it would be
Delm. 866b, with unpublished reverse;
Zwolle, 1640 or 1648 (?); NHAMC
inv. no. 67868.

Campen

19. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚡; 24.83 g; 42.5 mm; good.
Obv. MO . ARG CIVI . IM – P . BEL
. CAMPEN.
Rv. . CONFIDENS . DNO . NON .
MOVETVR 16 ♀ 57
Delm. 862 var. IM-P.BEL.; Campen,
1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67867

Deventer

20. Lion-thaler, AR; ⤴; 26.90 g; 42 mm; good.
Obv. . MO . ARG . CIVIT . – . IMPER
. DAVENT
Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON .
MOVETVR: 16 ♀ 66
Delm. 858; Deventer, sitting dog,
1666; NHAMC inv. no. 67866.

ITALY

Modena

Francesco I d'Este (1629–1658)

21. Scudo per Levante, imitation of
Embden florin, AR; ⤴; 19.16 g; 40.5 mm; worn
Obv. RVET . DIVI (28) SA .
C(IV)ITAS .
Rv. (F)ERIT . ET TVETVR GEMINO
ROSTRO
CNI/9, no. 295, 261; Modena, (1629–
1658); NHAMC inv. no. 67888.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Embden

22. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR; ⤴; 19,75 g; 40 mm; worn.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT
. EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . II . RO(M) . IMP .
SEM . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–
1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67869

23. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 19,68 g; 39 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR . ARGE : (28) CIVIT(AT)
. EMBD
Rv. FERDIN . AN . II . ROM . IMP .
SEM . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–
1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67870

24. Florin of 28 stuivers; AR; ⤴; 19,92 g; 40 mm; worn
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT
. EMB
Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP .
SEM . AVG

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67871

25. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,86 g; 40 mm; worn, blunted on the edge

Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67872.

26. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,80 g; 40,5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67873.

27. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,85 g; 40,5 mm; worn

Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) C(IVI)TAT . EMB

Rv. FER(DI)NAN . II . ROM . IM(P) . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67874.

28. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 19,40 g; 40 mm; worn

Obv. FLO(R). A(R)GEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINA(N) . II . ROM (. IM)P . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67875.

29. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 19,48 g; 39 mm; worn, low quality metal.

Obv. FLOR . ARGE[N . (28)] CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. (FE)RDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67876.

30. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,63 g; 41 mm; worn

Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . E(MB)

Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67877.

31. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 19,80 g; 41 mm; worn

Obv. FLO(R . A)RGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . II . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67878.

32. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,80 g; 40 mm; worn, low quality metal

Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EM(B)

Rv. FERDINAN (. I)I . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1619–1637); NHAMC inv. no. 67879.

33. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↯; 19,55 g; 40 mm; good.

Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM . AVGV

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637–1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67880.

34. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↓; 19,64 g; 41 mm; worn
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM. AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67881.

35. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 19,84 g; 39 mm; worn
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM. AV(G)V
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67882.

36. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↓; 19,84 g; 41 mm; worn
Obv. F(L)OR . A(RGE)N . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . III . (ROM .) IMP . (SE)M. AVGV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67883.

37. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↑; 19,82 g; 40,5 mm; very good.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . II . I . ROM . IMP . SEM. AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67884.

38. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↓; 19,97 g; 39 mm; worn
Obv. FLO(R . AR)GEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN. III .ROM. I(MP .S)EM. AV(GV)

SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67885.

39. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↓; 19,74 g; 41 mm; good.
Obv. FLO(R) . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM. AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67886.

40. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↓; 19,74 g; 41 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR . ARGEN . (28) CIVITAT . EMB

Rv. FERDINAN . III . ROM . IMP . SEM. AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Embden, (1637-1657); NHAMC inv. no. 67887.

Oldenburg

Anton Gunther (1603–1667)

41. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↙; 19,81 g; 41 mm; worn
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O . (28) E . D . D . I . IE . E . K . Ж

Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP' AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67889.

42. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR;↖; 19,56 g; 42 mm; worn, scraped.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O . (28) E . D . D . I . IE . E . K . Ж

Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP' AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67890.

- 43.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚧; 19,47 g; 40 mm; worn, low quality metal
Obv. FLOR . ANT . GVN (28)C . OE . D . D . (I . E)I . E . K.
Rv. (FE)RD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMPE . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67891.
- 44.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚧; 19,76 g; 43 mm; good, low quality metal.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28) E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67892.
- 45.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚧; 19,67 g; 41,5 mm; worn, broken on the edges.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GVN (28)C . O . E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K.
Rv. (FE)RD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67893.
- 46.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚧; 19,70 g; 41 mm; worn
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28) E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67894.
- 47.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚧; 19,80 g; 41 mm; worn, pierced.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28) E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67895.
- 48.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,56 g; 41 mm; worn, notched on the edges.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C (28)O . E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67896.
- 49.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,97 g; 41 mm; good.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28) E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AV
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67897.
- 50.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 19,72 g; 40 mm; good, low quality metal.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28) E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67898.
- 51.** Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,56 g; 41 mm; worn, blunted, broken.
Obv. FLOR . AN . GV . C . O (28) E . D . D . I . I . E . E . K. ж
Rv. FERD . III . D . G . ROM . IMP . SEMP . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449; Oldenburg, 1637-1657; NHAMC inv. no. 67899.

Campen – Imperial city

52. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 19,43 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLO . ARG . CIVIT (28) IMP .
CAMPEN

Rv. MATTH. I . D . G . RO . IMPE .
SEM. AVGV

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619);
NHAMC inv. no. 67900.

53. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 19,70 g; 39,5 mm; worn, low quality metal.

Obv. FLO . ARG . CIVIT (28) IMP .
CAMPEN

Rv. MA(T)TH I . D . G . RO . IMPE .
SEM. AVG

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619);
NHAMC inv. no. 67901.

54. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 19,92 g; 39 mm; worn, blunted, notched on the edge, low quality metal.

Obv. MO . ARG . CIVI (28) IMP .
CAMPEN

Rv. MATTH. I . D . (G .) ROM . IMP .
SEM. AV

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619);
NHAMC inv. no. 67902.

55. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↘; 19,55 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVI (28) IMP .
CAMPEN ♣

Rv. 1* MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP .
SEM. AVGV * 8

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619);
NHAMC inv. no. 67903.

56. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,45 g; 40,5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLO . ARG . C[IVI (28)] IMP .
CAMPEN

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMPE .
SEM. AVGV

Delm. 1113; Campen, (1611-1619);
NHAMC inv. no. 67904.

57. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↙; 19,59 g; 40 mm; worn, broken on the edge.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVI (28) IMP .
CAMPEN ♣

Rv. 1* MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP .
SEM. AVG(V) * 8

Delm. 1113; Campen, 1618; NHAMC
inv. no. 67905.

58. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,77 g; 40,5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVIT (28) IMP .
CAMPEN ♣

Rv. 1* MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP .
SEM. (AVGVS) : * 8

Delm. 1113; Campen, 1681; NHAMC
inv. no. 67906.

59. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↓; 19,60 g; 41 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CI(VIT) (28) IMP .
C(A)M(PE)N ♣

Rv. 0* MATTH . I . D . G . RO .
IMPE . SEM. AVG † 8

Delm. 1113; Campen, 1680; NHAMC
inv. no. 67907.

Zwolle – Imperial city

60. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,65 g; 39,9 mm; worn, blunted.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA ,IMP .
ZWOL .

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP .
SEM . AVGVS

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67908.

61. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↗; 19,48 g; 39,5 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . (Z)WOLLÆ .

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP . SEM . AVGV

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67909.

62. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,69 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOL .

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP . SEM . AVGV

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67910.

63. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,77 g; 39 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOLL .

Rv. MATTH . D . G . RO . IMP . SEM . AVGV

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67911.

64. Florin of 28 stuivers worn, AR; ↖; 19,74 g; 38,5 mm; low quality metal.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOLLÆ .

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP . SEM . AVGV ☼

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67912.

65. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; →; 19,74 g; 39 mm; good, the die was moved.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOL .

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP . SEM . AVGV

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67913.

66. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↖; 19,70 g; 39 mm; worn, notched.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CI(VIT)A IMP . ZWOL .

Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP . SEM . AVGV

Delm. 1114; Zwolle, (1611 – 1619); NHAMC inv. no. 67914.

67. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,55 g; 40 mm; worn.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOLLÆ / between the crown fleurons 8 - 0

Rv. DA . PAC . DOM . IN . DIEB . NOSTRIS ♣

Delm. 1115; Zwolle, 1680; NHAMC inv. no. 67915.

68. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↙; 19,43 g; 39,5 mm; worn, blunted.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOLLÆ / between the crown fleurons 8 - 0

Rv. DA . PAC . DOM . IN . DIEB . NOSTRIS

Delm. 1115; Zwolle, 1680; NHAMC inv. no. 67916.

69. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←; 19,56 g; 36,5 mm; worn.

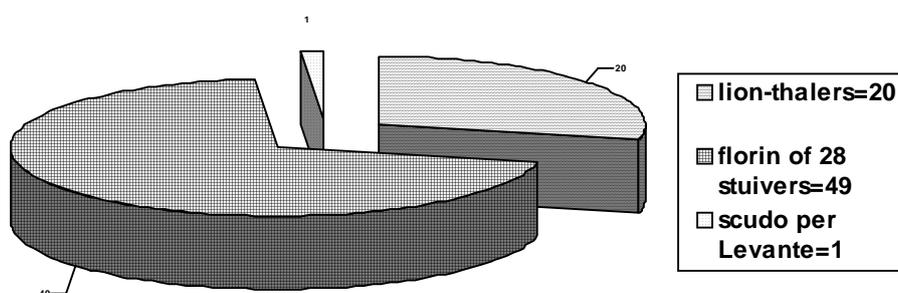
Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP . ZWOLLÆ / between the crown fleurons 8 - 0

Rv. DA . PAC . DOM . IN . DIEB .
 NOSTRIS ♣
 Delm. 1115; Zwolle, 1680; NHAMC
 inv. no. 67917.

70. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ⚡; 19,80
 g; 38 mm; worn, blunted.

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP .
 ZWOLLÆ / between the crown
 fleurons 8 - 0
 Rv. DA . PAC . DOM . IN . DIEB .
 NOSTRIS ♣
 Delm. 1115; Zwolle, 1680; NHAMC
 inv. no. 67918.

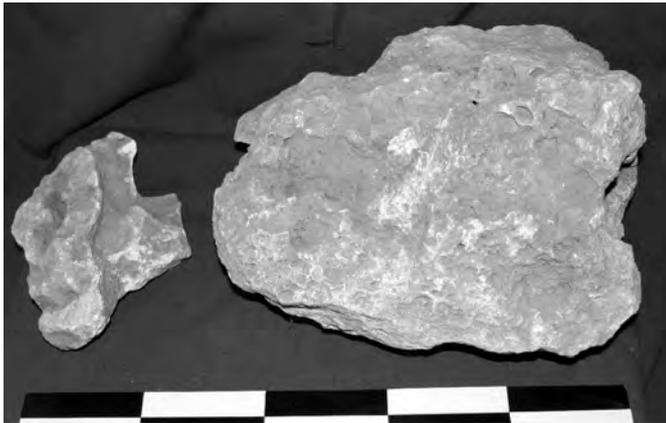
Thus, the monetary hoard of Cotu Văii covers a period of over one century, 104 years. The earliest coin is represented by a lion-thaler, issued by the Holland province of the Netherlands, in 1576, and the most recent sample is a florin of 28 stuivers, issued in 1680 by the mint of Zwolle, as an imperial city.



Graph no. 6. The „Cotu Văii” Hoard structure

The deposit from “Cotu Văii” represents also an accumulation of medium value. It is composed only of silver coins with a great value: 20 thalers, 49 samples of florins of 28 stuivers and a *scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante*. The majority of the coins consists of florins of 28 stuivers – 50 samples, i.e. 71.42% of the total amount of coins, the 20 samples of lion-thalers representing 28.58% of the deposit.

We measure this time too the entire batch against the thalers, thus obtaining a total of 45 thalers or 450 of triple grossus, “*costandas*”. With such an amount of money, one could have bought 3360 pounds of wine, 150 fathoms of land, 2970 pounds of wheat, or 192 pounds of wax.





Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



Cat. 6





Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9



Cat. 10



Cat. 11



Cat. 12





Cat. 13

Cat. 14

Cat. 15



Cat. 16

Cat. 17

Cat. 18



Cat. 19



Cat. 20



Cat. 21



Cat. 22



Cat. 23



Cat. 24





Cat. 25



Cat. 26



Cat. 27



Cat. 28



Cat. 29



Cat. 30





Cat. 31



Cat. 32



Cat. 33



Cat. 34



Cat. 35



Cat. 36





Cat. 37



Cat. 38



Cat. 39



Cat. 40



Cat. 41



Cat. 42





Cat. 43



Cat. 44



Cat. 45



Cat. 46



Cat. 47



Cat. 48





Cat. 55

Cat. 56

Cat. 57



Cat. 58

Cat. 59

Cat. 60



Cat. 61



Cat. 62



Cat. 63



Cat. 64



Cat. 65



Cat. 66





Cat. 67



Cat. 68



Cat. 69



Cat. 70



E. The “Silistra” hoard

The monetary deposit was apparently foundet in 1912, in Silistra. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the exact location and about the conditions of discovery, or whether or not the hoard was recovered integrally.

We only know that this hoard, after it ended up in the possession the Prosecutor’s Office Tribunal of Durostorum, was handed over to the Historical Monuments Committee. In 1937, the HMC offered it to the Romanian Academy Numismatic Board, where it was registered at the position 445/ February 17th/ 1937, with the inventory number 20945–20965. In 1984, the Silistra hoard has arrived, through a transfer, to the NMHR Numismatic Board, where it is registered at the inventory number 191823–191843.

The “Silistra” hoard¹ is composed of 21 medieval silver coins, dating from the 16th–17th century, minted by Poland, the Holy Roman Empire and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in the following manner: Poland – 11 samples: the crown - 6 samples – triple grossus (1), ort (5), Riga 1 sample – triple grossus (1), Danzig 2 samples – ort (2), and the Duchy of Prussia (Polish fief) 2 samples – ort (2); the Holy Roman Empire – 6 samples: the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar 2 samples – teston (2), the bishopric of Breslau 1 sample – 15 kreuzer (1), Campen imperial city 1 sample – 28 stuiver (1), Zwolle imperial city 1 sample – 28 stuiver (1), Embden 1 sample – 28 stuiver (1); the United Provinces of the Netherlands 4 samples – Westfriesland – lion-thaler (2), Zeeland – lion-thaler (1), Utrecht – lion-thaler (1).

We present below the “Silistra” hoard coins catalogue.

¹ This is one of the numerous and various hoards that have been foundet at this site; the discoveries cover a long period of time, from the Hellenistic age to the medieval one, passing through the Roman and Byzantine eras.

CATALOGUE

POLAND

Crown

Sigismund III (1587–1632)

1. Triple grossus, AR ↑ 2,42 g; 20 mm; pierced.

Obv. SIG . III . D : G . REX . PO . M . D . L .

Rv. III / GROS . ARG . / TRIP . REG . / POLONIÆ halberd, I-F, 90

HC/I 819, Krakow, 1590 (treasurer Ian Firley); inv. no. 191842.

2. Ort, AR; ↓; 7,04 g; 28,5 mm; scraped

Obv. + SIGIS . III . D : G . REX . POL . M : D : LI : RVS . PRVS . M +

Rv. SAM . LIV . NEC . NSV – GOT . VAN . Q . HRI . R

HC/I 1435, Krakow, 1622 (treasurer Nicolas Danilowicz); inv. no. 191835.

3. Ort, AR; ↘; 6,50 g; 29 mm; inv. no. 191833

Obv. + SIGIS . III . D : G . REX . POL . M : D : LI : RVS . PRVS . M +

Rv. SAM . LIV . NE . NSV – GOT . VAN . Q . HRI . R

HC/I 1435 var., Krakow, 1622 (treasurer Nicolas Danilowicz); inv. no. 191833.

4. Ort, AR; ↙; 5,80 g; 28,5 mm; double striking.

Obv. + SIGIS . III . D . G . REX . POL . M . D . RVS . PR . M +

Rv. SAM . LIV . NEC . NSV – GOT . VAN . Q . HRI . R

HC/I 1435 var., Krakow, 1622 (treasurer Nicolas Danilowicz); inv. no. 191832

5. Ort, AR; ↑; 6,39 g; 28,5 mm.

Obv.

+SIGIS.III.D.G.REX.POL.M.D.RVS.
PR.M+

Rv. SAM.LIV.NEC.NSV – GOT.VAN.Q.HRI.R

HC/I 1435 var., Krakow, 1622 (treasurer Nicolas Danilowicz); inv. no. 191836

6. Ort, AR; ↑; 6,36 g; 29 mm; pierced.

Obv. + SIGIS . III . D . G . REX . POL . M . D . RVS . PRVS . M

Rv. SAM . LIV . NEC . NSV – GOT . VAN . Q . HRI . R

HC/I 1435 var., Krakow, 1624 (treasurer Nicolas Danilowicz); inv. no. 191834

Riga

Sigismund III (1587 – 1632)

7. Triple grossus, AR; →; 1,91 g; 20 mm; pierced.

Obv. SIG x III x D . – G x REX x PO x D x LI

Rv. 15 – (9)7 / GR-OS / ARG x TRIP / CIVI x RI / x GE lily

HC/I 1065 var., Riga, 15(9)7; inv. no. 191843

Danzig**Sigismund III (1587–1632)**

8. Ort, AR; ↑; 6,28 g; 28 mm.

Obv. SIGIS : III : D : G : REX : POL :
M : D : L . R : PR .

Rv. arabesque MONETA: CIVIT:
GEDANENSIS

HC/I 1523, Danzig, 1625; inv. no.
192830.

9. Ort, AR; ↑; 6,73 g; 28 mm;

Obv. SIGIS : III : D : G : REX : POL :
M : D : L . R : PR .

Rv. arabesque MONETA: CIVIT:
GEDANENSIS

HC/I 1523, Danzig, 1625; inv. no.
192831.

The duchy of Prussia (Polish fief)**George William (1619–1640)**

10. Ort, AR; ↑; 6,70 g; 28,5 mm;
pierced.

Obv. GEORG : WILHELM : V : G : G
: M : Z : BRAND :

Rv. D : H : R : R : ERT : CV : CHVRF
: I : P . Z . G : C : B : H orb.

HC/III, 5448 var., Königsberg, 1622;
inv. No. 191837.

11. Ort, AR; ↑; 6,92 g; 29 mm.

Obv. GEORG : WILHELM : V : G :
G : M : Z : BRAN

Rv. D : H : R : R : ERT : CV : CHVRF
: I : P : Z : G : C : B : H orb

HC/III, 5448 var., Königsberg, 1622;
inv. no. 191838

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE**The Duchy of Lorraine and Bar****Charles III (1545-1595-1608)**

12. Teston, AR; ↘; 8,77 g; 28 mm.

Obv. + CARO . D . G . GAL .
LOTAR. B. GEL . DVX

Rv. + MONETA . NOVA . NANCEI .
CVSA .

E&S/MC, p. 190, Nancy, 1555-1608;
inv. no. 191840.

Charles IV (1624-1634; 1641-1675)

13. Teston, AR; ↓; 8,46 g; 29 mm.

Obv. † CAROLVS . D : G . DVX .
LOTH . MARCH . D : CB . G

Rv. + MONETA . NOVA . NANCEII .
CVSA.

E&S/MC, p. 191, Nancy, 1632; inv.
no. 191839.

The bishopric of Breslau**Bishop Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt (1671–1682)**

14. 15 kreuzer, AR; ↑; 5,83 g; 29 mm;
pierced.

Obv. FRID . D . G . C . LAND (XV)
HAS . EP . URAT

Rv. . PRO DEO ET (LP cross in shield
H) ECCLESIA . 1679

E&S/MC, p. 374, Breslau, 1679; inv.
no. 191841.

Campen – Imperial city**Mathias I (1608-1618)**

15. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↙; 19,92
g; 38,5 mm

Obv. FLOR . ARG . CV (28) IMP .
CAMPEN
Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . ROM . IMP .
SEM . AVG
Delm. 1113, Campen, n.d. (1608–
1617); inv. no. 191823.

**Zwolle – Imperial city
Mathias I (1608–1618)**

16. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ↑; 19,63
g; 39 mm
Obv. FLOR . ARG . CIVITA IMP .
ZWOL
Rv. MATTH . I . D . G . RO . IMP .
SEM . AVGVS
Delm. 1114, Zwolle, n.d. (1608–1618);
inv. no. 191824.

**Embden
Ferdinand II (1619–1637)**

17. Florin of 28 stuivers, AR; ←;
19,53 g; 39 mm
Obv. FLOR . ARGEII (28) CIVIT (--).
EMB
Rv. FERDIIAII . II . (-)OM . IMP .
SEM . AVG
SWC/2001, p. 449 Embden, n.d. (1619
– 1637); inv. no. 191825.

**UNITED PROVINCES OF THE
NETHERLANDS**

Zeeland

18. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 27,03 g; 39
mm.
Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON – FOE .
BELG . ZEL tower
Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON .
MOVETVR . 1616

Delm. 839, Middelburg, 1616; no. inv.
191827.

Utrecht

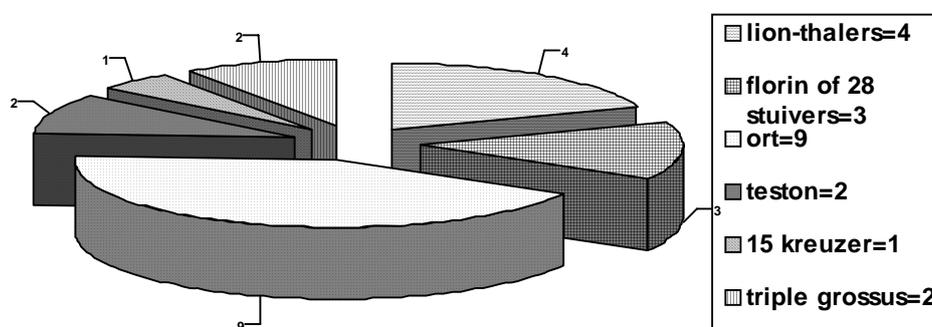
19. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 26,78 g; 41
mm.
Obv. shield MO . ARG . PRO . CO –
NFOE . BELG TRA
Rv. CONFIDENS . DNO . NON .
MOVETVR . 1639
Delm. 844, Utrecht, 1639; inv. no.
191828.

Westfriesland

20. Lion-thaler, AR; →; 26,63 g; 35 x
39 mm; “clipped”
Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON – FO(-)
. BEL . W(--)F
Rv. CONFIDENS . DNON . NON .
MOVETVR . 1634
Delm. 836, (Hoorn, Enkhuizen, or
Medemblik), 1634; inv. no. 191829.

21. Lion-thaler, AR; ⚔; 22,24 g; 39
mm.
Obv. MO . ARG . PRO . CON – FOE .
BELG . WEST
Rv. CONFIDENS . DNON . NON .
MOVETVR . 1658
Delm. 836, (Hoorn, Enkhuizen, or
Medemblik), 1658; inv. no. 191826.

From what we can gather, the “Silistra” hoard earliest coin is the teston struck by the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar, during the reign of duke Charles III (1545-1555-1608), and the most recent issue is the 15 kreuzer coin, minted in the bishopric of Breslau in 1679, during the time of Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt bishop (1671-1682). Thus, the time span that the “Silistra” hoard occupies extends over a period of one century. If our batch of coins constitutes a deposit that has been completely recovered, then its period of accumulation has been during the second decade of the 17th century; in other words, in the middle of the monetary depreciation era, during the so-called “kipper-wipper” period.



Graph no. 7. The „Silistra” hoard structure

As opposed to other mixed deposits from the same era, the “Silistra” hoard is modest. It contains an insignificant quantity of small coins – 2 coins of polish triple grossus; albeit forming the hoard major part, the coin of medium value appears also in a small amount – 12 samples: nine orts, two testons and a coin of 15 kreuzers; and the silver coin of high value is present with only seven samples: 3 samples of florins of 28 stuivers and 4 samples of thalers. Consequently, the hoard value is small. By measuring, as usual, the whole deposit against the thalers or the 3 grossus, “*costandas*”, we obtain the approximate sum of 9,49, that is, 9 ½ thalers, or 94,95, that is, 95 triple grossus. With such a sum, one could have bought 690 pounds of wine, 31 fathoms of land, 594 pounds of wheat, and 39 pounds of wax.



Cat. 1



Cat. 2



Cat. 3



Cat. 4



Cat. 5



Cat. 6



Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9





Cat. 10



Cat. 11



Cat. 12



Cat. 13



Cat. 14



Cat. 15





Cat. 16



Cat. 17



Cat. 18



Cat. 19



Cat. 20



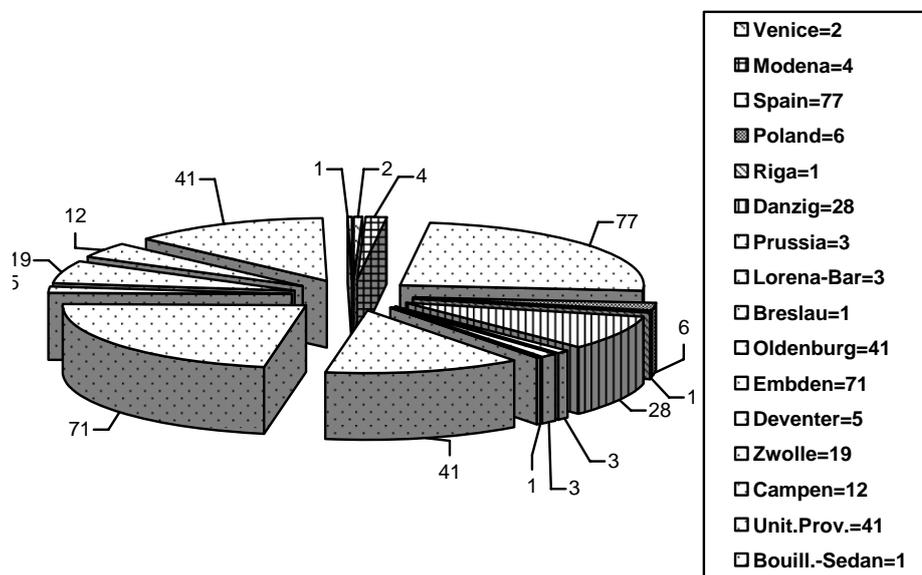
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A general overlook on these deposits reveals the following situation, depending on the issuing country.

Table II
The coins distribution on issuers from the five 17th century hoards

Issuers	Babadag (1556/1589 - 1637 - 1657	Eforie Sud I (1527/1598- 1621/1665)	Eforie Sud II (1576 – 1621/1665)	Cotu Văii (1576 – 1680)	Silistra (1545/ 1555/ 1608- 1679)	Total
ITALY						
Modena		1	2	1		4
Venice		2				2
SPAIN	7	3	67			77
POLAND						
Crown					6	6
Riga					1	1
Danzig	4	22			2	28
Prusia- Brandenburg		1			2	3
THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE						
Principality of Bouillon-Sedan			1			1
The Duchy of Lorraine and Bar		1			2	3
The Bishopric of Breslau					1	1
Oldenburg	1	17	12	11		41
Embden	1	23	26	19	1	70
Dewenter i.c.	1	2	2			5
Zwolle i.c.		2	5	11	1	19
Campen i.c.			3	8	1	12
THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS						
Zwolle		1		1		2
Campen		1		1		2
Geldern	1	3		6		10
Westfriesland		3		2	2	7
Utrecht		2		3	1	6
Holland			2	5		7
Zeeland				1	1	2
Dewenter				1		1
Overijssel	1		2			3
Friesland			1			1



Graph no. 8. The five hoards structure on issuers

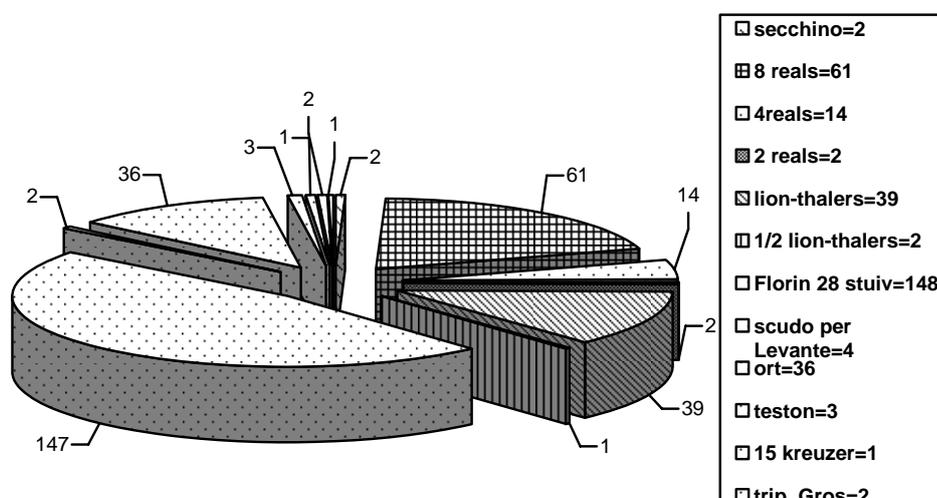
Thus, we notice that the five hoards have remarkable similarities in the issuers point, the workshops of origin and even the issues percentage from different countries and cities which are part of them. Obviously, with some exceptions which, besides, prove the rule.

Let us further analyse the five presented deposits composition on denominations. They consist mainly of high value coins – of gold and of silver, of medium value silver coins, while the small coins are poorly represented.

**Table III
The coins distribution from the five hoards on denominations**

Denominations	Hoards					Total
	Babadag (1556/1589- 1637- 1657)	Eforie Sud I (1557/1598- 1621/1665)	Eforie Sud II (1576- 1621/1665)	Cotu Văii (1576-1680)	Silistra (1545/1555 /1608- 1679)	
Sequin		2				2
8 reals	4	3	54			61
4 reals	1		13			14
2 reals	2					2
Lion-thaler	2	9	4	20	4	39
½ lion-thaler		1	1			2

Écu of 30 stuivers			1			1
Florin of 28 stuivers	3	44	49	49	3	148
Scudo per Levante		1	2	1		4
Ort	4	23			9	36
Teston		1			2	3
15 kreuzer					1	1
Triple grosz					2	2



Graph no. 9. The five hoards structure on denominations

From the analysis of table II we conclude that the highest number of issues from the five hoards which we analysed is represented by the high value silver coins – thalers, reals and florins of 28 stuivers – 266 samples. The florins of 28 stuivers minted by the Holy Roman Empire come first – 153 samples. Among these, the coins from Embden – 71 samples stand out, followed by the issues from Oldenburg – 41 samples. In a smaller number, there are the florins from the imperial towns of the Netherlands: Zwolle – 19 samples, Campen – 12 samples and Dewenter – 5 samples, as well as those from Italy, from Modena – 4 samples and, in the same category, 1 sample of écu of 30 stuivers from the Principality of Bouillon-Sedan. On the second place the are the issues from the kingdom of Spain – with 79 samples of reals. The lion-thalers minted by the United Provinces of the Netherlands come third, with 41 samples.

Next, there is the silver coin of medium value – the orts, the testons and the 15 kreuzer – 40 samples. The majority is formed by the orts minted in Poland – Crown, Danzig and the duchy of Prussia as a Polish fief – 36 samples. They are followed by the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar with 3 samples of teston and the Bishopric of Breslau – one coin of 15 kreuzer.

The small coin is poorly represented in the five deposits – two samples of triple grosz, one minted by Poland, the other one by Riga.

Finally, in one of the hoards – “Eforie Sud I” – there are also two gold coins – sequins minted by the Serene Republic of Venice.

The analysis of the 17th century hoards foundet on the territory of our country¹ - Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Dobroudja, revealed the fact that the which we presented five hoards monetary structure, even the percentage of each type of coins, are specific for the discoveries dating from the 17th century. In these deposits the majority is formed by the high value silver coins. Unlike the previous century, in the 17th century on the Romanian Countries monetary market we could find, in a smaller amount, the coins from the German – Austrian territories. In this age, especially from the century second period, the coins which predominate are the ones minted in the United Provinces of the Netherlands – lion-thalers, as well as the reals minted in the kingdom of Spain and its colonies. The amount of small silver coins is more and more diminished, especially after its severe devaluation during the War of 30 Years – 1618-1624. It is constantly replaced by the medium value coins – orts, testons, 30, 20, 15

¹ In recent years the analysis of the high value silver coins, foundet on the Romanian territories, as well as their penetration and circulation in this space during the 16th – 17th century has been done with particular rigorousness. At the moment there is an impressive literature on the subject-matter, to which the authors of this paper have contributed greatly. Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter and E. Păunescu, *Circulația telerilor în sec. XVI-XVII în Țara Românească. Problema falsurilor (tezaurul de la Urziceni, jud. Ialomița)*, in CN, 6, 1990, pp.163 – 184; Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *Unele aspecte ale circulației telerilor în Moldova (Tezaurul de la Tanacu, jud. Vaslui, sec. XVII)*, in ActaMM, XII-XIV, 1990-1992, 1992, p. 401-418; eadem, *La circulation des monnaies en argent des Pays-Bas sur le territoire des Principautés Roumaines au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Numismatique, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993, pp.47-60; eadem, *Tezaurul de la Săpoca, jud. Buzău*, in Musaios, IV/I, 1994, pp. 343-365; V.M.Butnariu, E.Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vara Paiul, Ana Niculiță and Raisa Tabuică, *Tezaur de din muzeele orașului Chișinău, secolele XVI-XVIII*, Chișinău, 1994; B. Murgescu, *Circulația monetară în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1996; Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *Tezaurul de la Pietrele*, Bucharest, 1996; eadem, *La circulation des monnaies en argent à haute valeur des états, des villes et des autorités ecclésiastiques allemands sur le territoire roumain aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in Actes du XII^e Congrès International de Numismatique, Berlin, 2000, p. 1441-1448; Ana-Maria Velter, *Taler-leul – precursorul monedei naționale a României moderne, in Crearea sistemului monetar românesc modern – 130 ani*, Bucharest, 1997, p.289-293; Ana-Maria Velter and Gabriel Custurea, *Monede spaniole descoperite în Dobrogea, in Istro-Pontica-Reverential tome*, Tulcea, 2000, p. 573-580; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Circulația în țările române a monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată emise de statele, orașele și forurile ecleziastice germane, în perioada secolelor XVI-XVII*, in CN, 8, 2002, pp. 273-308; eadem, *Relații economice ale Țărilor române cu Spania; circulația monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată emise de coroana spaniolă pe teritoriul Țărilor Române în secolele XVI-XVII*, in RI, n.s., 15, 2004, 1-2, pp. 151-190; eadem, *Tezaurul de4 la Dridu-Snagov, jud. Ialomița și unele aspecte ale circulației monetare în Țara Românească în secolul al XVII-lea*, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 413-438; Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Un tezaur monetar medieval descoperit în zona orașului Galați*, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 439-454.

and 10 kreuzers. The gold coin is also present: in mixed hoards, together with silver Denominations, or in homogenous deposits, formed only by gold issues.

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During the Middle Ages the gold coin use was frequent in the Romanian countries. It was mainly circulated in major payments, on the one hand political and economical, and on the other hand, in land transactions and to purchase some important valuable goods from the country, and especially from abroad. Thus, the gold coins majority left the Romanian Countries territory. Only within this context could we explain the discrepancy between the written report, which is to be found in the documents of that period, and the real situation, the one on the territory. For instance, as far as the 17th century is concerned, while the documents are rich in evidence which indicate the gold coins as means of payment, in the hoards structure the high or medium value silver coins are the ones that prevail.

Within the gold coins, an important place on the Romanian Countries monetary market was held by the Venetian ducats. They entered in the monetary circulation in the second half of the 14th century.² Their number increased in the next centuries, especially from the second half of the 16th century and in the 17th century.³ Besides, the Serene Republic most numerous issues come from a hoard dating from the end of the 17th century, foundet in Dobroudja, in the place Vadu, Constanța County⁴.

² O.Iliescu, *La Monnaie vénétienne dans les Pays Roumains de 1202 à 1500*, in RESEE, 15, 1977, 2, pp. 354-361. the Brăești Hoard, Botoșani County, O. Iliescu, *op. cit.*; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, in E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, A. Vilcu and M. Dima, *Monede de aur din colecții românești. Colecții din Muntenia*, Bucharest, 2001, p.14; the Târgoviște hoard, Dâmbovița County, O. Iliescu, *op.cit.*; the Schela Cladovei hoard, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți County, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15; the Sopor de Câmpie hoard, Frata commune, Cluj County, O. Iliescu, *op.cit.*, p.360

³ The Ghimpați hoard, Giurgiu County, Ana-Maria Velter, *Un tezaur monetar din sec. XV-XVI, descoperit la Ghimpați, jud. Giurgiu*, in CN, 4, 1982, pp.133-139; the Bălțata hoard, r. Criuleni, Rep. Moldova, V. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculiță, Raisa Tabuică, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-38; B. Murgescu, *Circulația monetară în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1996, pp. 142-144; the Cupcui hoard, r. Leova, rep. Moldova, V. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculiță, Raisa Tabuică, *op.cit.*, pp.42-43; the Zimnicea mixed hoard, Teleorman County, formed by gold coins – an Ottoman one and a Venetian one; silver coins – of high value and small coins – Polish, German, I. Spiru, *Informații asupra circulației monetare în județul Teleorman în secolele XIV-XIX*, in BSNR, 70-74, (1976-1980), 1981, 124-128, p. 653 and note 5.

⁴ S.Iosipescu, *O excepțională descoperire arheologică: tezaurul monetar din Cetatea Armanul Negru*, in MI, 21, 1987, 12, pp. 26-28. We regret the fact that such an important hoard, both historically and economically, and from a numismatic point of view, has not been processed and published in great detail yet. The Vadu hoard, Constanța County, covers the period between 1564-1684/1699. it is mainly made up of gold coins – 176 samples, out of which: the most numerous are the Venetian ducats – 147 samples, the Holy Roman Empire 12 samples [Austria, Frankfurt (3), Nürnberg, Rostock, Hamburg, Dewenter, Zwolle, Campen (3)], the Ottoman Empire – 7 samples, the United Provinces of the Netherlands – 5 samples and Hungary – 5 samples. Beside these issues, the deposit also contains 23 thalers [St. Galen, Saxonia, Geldern, Hungary (2), Alsacia (2), Tyrol (3), Austria (13)], as well as 26 samples of Spanish reals. The latter are mainly minted in the Mexico mint. Most samples date from the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665).

Ever since the 14th century Venice had been present in the Romanian Countries, not only aiming to consolidate and expand the economic relations, but also trying to conclude an alliance in the battle against the Ottomans. In Dobroudja, the Venetian merchants were granted many privileges both by the Golden Horde khans⁵ and by the Sublime Porte, their trade with *La Serenissima* brought them important revenues. The trade at the Mouths of Danube was extremely profitable for the Republic by providing the wheat which was so necessary⁶.

The Venetian coins reached the Romanian territories through trading. From the Romanian Countries to Venice there were ships carrying large amounts of wheat, wool, tweed, bedspreads made of goat hair or of long wool thread, fish, coffee, Walachia wax, oil, fine tobacco, saffron, cattle, horses and leather goods – ox leather⁷. On their return the merchants brought: sugar, cloth – *ossia*, “*panni veneti*”, expensive cloths – velvet, brocade, Indian satin, muslin, gold threaded silk, moiré, damask, “*gold threaded cloth, silk, jewellery*”⁸, glasses, glassware, faience, Venetian mirrors, guns, as well as some special goods – candles, frames, books⁹, nails, shingle¹⁰.

The two samples of Venetian ducats from the Eforie Sud hoard are issued, as we have mentioned, one during of Francesco Erizzo doge period (1631 – 1646), the other one during of Francesco Molino time (1646-1655).

The conflicts between the Sublime Porte and Venice, sometimes smouldering, sometimes outspoken, lasted for centuries. The Sublime Porte desire was to occupy Venice’s possessions, especially in the Mediterranean¹¹. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Empire managed to set up a colony of merchants right on the Venetian territory¹². In 1645, during of Francesco Erizzo doge time, a new Venetian–Ottoman war broke out – *the War for Crete*. The conflict continued during of Francesco Molino doge period (1646-1655). It lasted 24 years, the war periods alternating with the Venetian Senate diplomatic attempts to make peace with the Sublime Porte¹³. The war resulted in the loss of some important territories belonging to Venice, first of all the

⁵ N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chilie și Cetății Albe*, Bucharest, 1899, pp. 26-27; idem, *Istoria comerțului românesc*, tome I, *Ancient Age*, Bucharest, 1925, pp. 35-37, 75-77.

⁶ In 1360, at Chilia, “*the Genovians and the Venetians were fighting over the wheat trade*”, N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra ...*, p.49

⁷ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului...*, tome I, pp. 219 and 286.

⁸ Marino Sanudo, *Diarîi*, tome VI, pp. 290-291 apud A. I. Gonța, *Legăturile economice dintre Moldova și Transilvania în secolele XIII-XVII*, Bucharest, 1989, 103.

⁹ Gh. Carageani, *Venezia e gli Aromeni (I Macedoromeni)*, in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: Veneziani e Romeni, tracciati di storie comuni*, Rome, 2003, pp. 134-135.

¹⁰ To this matter, in the 17th century, Vasile Lupu, for instance, in order to repair the Yards, had to take “*from the treasury reserve funds 60 ducats to buy from Bistrița lath nails and shingle*”, E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XV/II, p. 1197, doc. 2245 and p. 1202, doc. 2256.

¹¹ C. Redina, *Dogii Veneției. Istorie și secrete*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 384.

¹² A. Pippidi, *La Chiesa dei Greci di Venezia, punto di riferimento per I rapporti tra Venezia e I Paesi romeni*, in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: Veneziani e Romeni, tracciati di storie comuni*, Rome, 2003, p.97.

¹³ Venice’s expenses to support the war became alarming, the Serenissima was forced to sell titles of patrician – between 60,000 – 100,000 ducats a title, Gh. Carageani, *Venezia e gli Aromeni...*, pp. 134-135.

island of Crete, ending the Republic hegemony in the Oriental Mediterranean, the so-called “*state of the sea*” created in the 13th century.

In the last quarter of the 17th century, due to the frequent armed conflicts between the Sublime Porte and the Venetian Republic, the Venetian merchants presence on the Empire territories, therefore in Dobroudja too, decreased significantly. Their place was quickly taken by the Dutch, French and English merchants.

In Dobroudja, beside the samples from the hoards, Venetian gold coins also come from a series of isolated discoveries¹⁴. Together with the original issues, there are also numerous Venetian ducats imitations and counterfeits.

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The best represented high value silver coin in the five hoards is the florin of 28 stuivers, or 2/3 thaler gulden. The samples from these deposits were minted by Embden, Oldenburg, by the imperial towns Campen, Zwolle and Dewenter, as well as by the Italian duchy of Modena, which minted Embden florin imitations – *Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante*. This nominal is to be found in significant number not only for the deposits in question, or for Dobroudja, but, generally, in all the discoveries dating from the 17th century and which contain high value silver coins foundet in our country¹⁵. Following the analysis of these hoards, the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden come first – present in 29 hoards and 6 isolated discoveries, on the second place being the ones minted by Oldenburg, in 22 hoards and 3 isolated discoveries¹⁶. These deposits come mainly from the areas situated outside the Carpathians – Moldavia, Walachia and Dobroudja. From Dobroudja, up to now, we know only of 6 hoards¹⁷ and 6 isolated discoveries¹⁸ which contain such florins. In the Romanian hoards, the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden and Oldenburg highest percentage

¹⁴ Venetian coins from Dobroudjan isolated discoveries: Mangalia, doge Bertuccio Valier, sequin, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, p. 297, no. 8; Târgușor-Ester, ducat (sequin?), counterfeit in lead plated in gold, only a quarter of the coin's stuck was preserved, G. Custurea, A. Vertan, G. Talmățchi, in *Pontica*, 32, 1999, p. 356, no. 2152; Pecineaga, doge Marino Grimani, ½ quatrino, A. Vertan, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, p. 317 no. 838; passim Pasquale Cicogna, silver ducat, counterfeit, *ibidem*, no. 839.

¹⁵ For this matter see our paper Ana-Maria Velter, Constanța Știrbu, *La circulation des monnaies en argent à haute valeur des états, des villes et des autorités ecclésiastiques allemands sur le territoire roumain aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International de Numismatique*, Berlin, 2000, p. 1441-1448; eadem, *Circulația în țările române a monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată emise de statele, orașele și forurile ecleziastice germane, în perioada secolelor XVI-XVII*, in *CN*, 8, 2002, p. 279 and table 2, pp. 296-304.

¹⁶ For this matter see Ana-Maria Velter, Constanța Știrbu, *Circulația monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată...*, p. 279 and table 2, pp. 296-304, as well as the hoards in this paper.

¹⁷ Beside the four hoards presented in this paper – Eforie Sud I, Eforie Sud II, Cotu Văii and Silistra – in Dobroudja the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden and Oldenburg are also present in the Viile hoard, Constanța County (G. Custurea, A. Murat, in *Pontica*, 12, 1979, pp. 207-219; G. Custurea, Antoaneta Vertan, G. Talmățchi, in *Pontica*, 30, 1997, p. 382, no. 1806-1814) and Cernavodă, Constanța County (G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 11, 1978, pp. 253-257; Antoaneta Vertan, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 386).

¹⁸ *Vide infra*, table III.

is held by the samples coined during of Ferdinand III emperor reign – 1637-1657. However, taking into account the fact that in the discoveries from our country they did not find any florins issued by Anton Günther (1603-1667) during of Leopold I emperor reign (1655-1687), we limit the period of mintage of these coins to the period between 1637-1655. Moreover, we assume that the majority of these samples date from 1649-1650, when these florins were coined in impressive amounts for the Levant¹⁹. On the whole, this percentage aspect of the coins from Embden and Oldenburg is also to be found in the hoards which we presented. Thus, in the “Eforie Sud I”, out of the total of 23 florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden, 6 samples are from the period of Ferdinand II (1619-1637), and 17 from the period of Ferdinand III (1637-1657); from the issues of Oldenburg, out of the total of 17 samples, 1 is coined during the period of Ferdinand II, and 16 from that of Ferdinand III. In the “Eforie Sud II” hoard, out of the total of 26 florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden, 16 are from the period of Ferdinand II (1619-1637), 8 from the period of Ferdinand III (1637-1657), and two samples, due to the precarious state of preservation, were dated by us sometime in the two issuers period – 1619-1637-1657; for the Oldenburg coinage, all 12 samples date from the period of Ferdinand III. In the batch of coins from Cotu Văii, out of the total of 19 samples minted by Embden, 11 date from the period of Ferdinand II, and 8 from that of Ferdinand III; from the Oldenburg florins, all 11 samples are coined during the reign of Ferdinand III. Finally, in the “Siliistra” hoard, we have one sample minted by Embden during the reign of Ferdinand II.

Our assumption is also supported by the fact that, usually, the Oldenburg and Embden issues arrived in the Romanian countries together with the United Provinces coins, especially in the period when the latter were directed towards the Ottoman Empire as merchandise. From the notes of master Gerrit von Romunde, for instance, a coin manufacturer who worked in Embden between 1623-1631, we find out that the Embden guildens, together with the thalers and the florins from Campen and Zwolle, came through the Baltic trade, being sold in Danzig and Thorun to the Armenian merchants, “to be taken to Turkey, Tartaria and further away”²⁰. From the documents kept in the State Central Historical Archive from Lwów, we learn that in 1627, for instance, the Armenian Dawidowicz from Lwów, left to the Ottoman Empire with the sum of 2,377 lion-thalers, 1,552 Danzig orts and 2,621 florins of 28 stuivers²¹. In the

¹⁹ In 1649, for instance, in Oldenburg over 180,000 guildens were made for the trade with the Levant, which amounted to 16,211 silver marks. (H. Bendig, *Das oldenburgische Münzwesen zur Zeit des Grafen Anton Günther*, Münster, 1974, pp. 9-10).

²⁰ A. Kappelhoff, *Embder Silbergulden und Löwenthaler. Ein Beitrag zur Münzprägung der Stadt Embden in 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Embder Jahrbuch*, 42, 1962, p. 159.

²¹ W. Szlapinkij, *Wspoloddziaływanie rynków pieniężnych. Województwo Ruskie a Turcja, Moldawia I Wołoszczyzna (od połowy XVI do połowy XVII w.)*, [Interaction between the monetary markets of Ruthenia, Turkey, Moldavia and Walachia, (from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century)], in *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, 44, 2000, 1 (169), p. 13, note 72, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 522, p. 1104.

Polish documents the florins of 28 stuivers are called “*talary zlotowe*”²², “*taleros sexaginta crucipherorum dictos pulkopkowe*”²³, or “*taleros florenos*”²⁴.

As far as the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Campen, Zwolle and Dewenter are concerned, they represent imperial mintage, being coined by the United Provinces three towns given their statute of free, imperial fortified towns. They are not dated, being minted sometime during of Mathias I emperor reign – 1611-1619. Their presence in the Romanian hoards is in a smaller amount than the Embden and Oldenburg coins. In the Dobroudja discoveries the florins of 28 stuivers minted by the imperial towns Campen, Zwolle and Dewenter are present in five hoards – “Eforie Sud I” (4), “Eforie Sud II” (10), “Cotu Văii” (19), “Siliștra” (2), “Babadag” (1) – as well as in 3 isolated discoveries – from Topraisar, a silvered sample, minted at Zwolle; passim, a silvered sample coined at Zwolle too and also passim, a counterfeit from a sample minted by Dewenter²⁵. These issues entered the Romanian territories, especially in Walachia, together with the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden and Oldenburg, but especially together with the lion-thalers coined by the United Provinces.

Beside these coins, as a premiere for the discoveries in Romania, we also present six samples of the florins of 28 stuivers imitations – the so-called *Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante* – minted in the duchy of Modena, during the reign of Francesco I d’Este duke (1629-1658). The samples belong, the first, to the “Eforie Sud I” hoard, the next two to the deposit from Eforie Sud II, the forth, from the “Cotu Văii” batch, the fifth from the “Cernavodă” hoard, Constanța County²⁶, and the sixth from an isolated discovery from Slava Rusă, Tulcea County.

Francesco I d’Este (1629-1658) increased the prestige of Modena making it worthy of a duchy’s capital. The unwise expenses fro the construction and decoration of his palaces made him face serious financial difficulties. In order to cope with this, he introduced new taxes, reactivating the old ones²⁷. Under these circumstances, it is only natural that the duke resorted to the imitations of florins of 28 stuivers coinage which, as shown by their name – *Scudo per il Levante* – were minted purposefully to be sold as merchandise in Levant. From the 6 samples found in Dobroudja, the one from Slava Rusă is cast and made from a weak billon.

Beside these florins, to the Ottoman Empire and, implicitly, to the Romanian Countries, florins or écu of 30 stuivers were brought in a smaller amount. Such a sample, representing a premiere for the discoveries from Dobroudja, is the one issued

²² *Ibidem*, p.12, note 60, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 248, p. 948.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.12, note 61, cf. AICSL, fund 9, opis 1, file 37, p. 726.

²⁵ Antoaneta Vertan, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, p. 318, no. 840-841; *Pontica*, 31, p. 324, no. 1995.

²⁶ G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 11, 1978, p., no. .

²⁷ Skilful condottiere and clever diplomat, he enjoyed luxury, his grand palaces – from Modena and Sassuolo – house great and splendid artistic values. He enjoyed spending money, being a true *Mecena* for the artists. He reintroduced all the customs taxes from the period of the old Pio family, which had been cancelled by his forerunner Cesare d’Este (1597/1628), in “*Seicento e Settecento – Sassuolonline, due secoli di dominio estense*”, <http://www.sassuolonline.it/dominioestense.htm>, 2005.

by the duke Henri de La Tour D'Auvergne (1594-1623) in the Principality of Boullion-Sedan, a sample which is present in the "Eforie Sud II" deposit.

The florins of 28 stuivers – weighing approximately 20 g. – quickly conquered the Balkan market. In the Ottoman Empire they even served as a model for the coinage of *zolota*²⁸. As we have seen, they had a wide circulation on the Romanian monetary market as well, being found in the 18th century hoards too²⁹. The wide circulation and the great popularity enjoyed by this nominal, its changing into merchandise for the Levant led, on the one hand, to the silver deliberate decrease in quality and in quantity, and on the other hand to its imitation, as well as to its counterfeiting on a large scale. We must notice here the fact that the florins of 28 stuivers from the "Eforie Sud I" and "Eforie Sud II" hoards are coined from a low quality metal and their weight is under standard.

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However, in the 17th century, the most important coins in circulation on the Romanian Countries market were the big silver coins as the thaler. Among these the thalers minted by the United Provinces of the Netherlands – the lion-thalers – prevailed, being the most spread and the most popular high value silver coin.

If in the Dobroudjan 16th century hoards the lion-thalers are not present, in the ones from the following century, the 17th, they become more and more numerous, their presence being familiar on the Dobroudjan market as well. Thus, out of the total of 110 deposits and 23 isolated discoveries dating from the 17th century and containing United Provinces of the Netherlands issues foundet in the Romanian territories, from Dobroudja, the lion-thalers come from 10 deposits: from Enisala and Nalbant, commune Lipnița, Tulcea County, from Medgidia, Viile and Vadu, Constanța County³⁰, as well as from the five hoards presented in this paper – Babadag, Eforie Sud I, Eforie Sud II, Cotu Văii and Silistra. From the isolated Dobroudjan discoveries the lion-thalers come from 17 points: from Canlia, Potârnicchia, Hârșova, Isaccea, Oltina, Nalbant, an unknown place in the north of Dobroudja, as well as from other 10 unknown places in Dobroudja³¹.

²⁸ Until recently, "these samples were incorrectly called kurus by most of the researchers (see Ș. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 160 and Literature) they proved to be in fact *zolota* (*zolta*), a name which appears in numerous ottoman documents. Recently, based on the analysis of the numismatic ottoman material which exists in the collections in Romania and on the information from the expert literature, we stated that the *zolota* minted during the reign of the sultan Süleyman II (1687-1691) had as a model from a metrological point of view the samples of 28 stuivers, which had a great success on the Ottoman market in the second half of the 17th century", A. Vilcu, *Observații asupra sistemului monetar otoman la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea*, dissertation at Pontica, 25th session of scientific dissertations, NHAMC, 22-24 October 2003 and idem, in CN, 9-11,2003-2005, p. 469, note 5.

²⁹ V.M. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculiță and Raisa Tabuică, *Tezaure din muzeele orașului Chișinău...*, p. 62, no. 41; G. Custurea, in Pontica, 11, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

³⁰ Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *La circulation des monnaies en argent...*, Annex II, p. 57; eadem, *Tezaurul de la Dridu-Sangov, jud. Ialomița...*

³¹ *Vide infra*, table III.

The lion-thalers spreading in the Balkans and, implicitly, in the Romanian Countries, was much facilitated after the year 1612, when the United Provinces signed the capitulations with the Ottoman Empire³². It is already known the fact that, once the trading routes in the Black Sea were open for them in the 17th century, the Dutch were able to establish at Chilia a permanent correspondent, and at Galați they had a warehouse to store the goods³³. These favourable circumstances, and the insufficient cash in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe left their mark on the structure of the 17th century hoards as well – the lion-thalers abundance and the preponderance in most of the deposits dating from this century. One of the coinage of lion-thalers important characteristics is the fact that the majority is grouped between the third and the fifth decades of this century. In this period they also became dominant in the money circulation, reaching the peak in the third decade of the 17th century, during the reign of Matei Basarab. This predominance is also reflected in the fact that the “taler’s tribute” was introduced then³⁴, the tax collectors – “the lion collectors”, “the thaler collectors”³⁵ – borrowed their name from this coin.

It was during this time that the United Provinces minted lion-thalers with the specific goal to serve as a merchandise for the Levant, important amounts of coins being directed towards the Ottoman Empire. From Poland, for example, through the Baltic trade, the lion-thalers entered Moldavia “*in huge amounts*”. Thus, according to the documents preserved in the State Central Historical archive in Lwów, in 1600 48,220 lion-thalers³⁶ left towards the Ottoman Empire, and in 1623 a sum of 102,000 lion-thalers³⁷ did the same. Also in 1623, an Armenian caravan left towards the Empire with 15,000 lion-thalers.³⁸ The amount of lion-thalers which left to Constantinople increased spectacularly during the war periods.

Out of 40 samples of lion-thalers present in the five deposits which we processed, minted between 1576 and 1666, 25 samples were coined between 1620-1650 (see table IV).

Another general hoards parameter which include lion-thalers and were foundet on the Romanian territory, is the fact that the province of Holland coins are the earliest. We also find this characteristic in the which we presented deposits structure. The earliest samples of lion-thalers belong to the provinces of Holland – from 1576 and 1589 – and of Utrecht – from 1598 – and they are part of the “Eforie Sud II” (Holland 1576) and “Cotu Văii” (Holland 1576, 1589 and Utrecht 1598) hoards.

³² T. Stoianovich, *Pour un modèle du commerce du Levant: économie concurrentielle et économie de bazaar 1500-1800*, in Bulletin, AIESEE, XXII, 2, 1974, p. 71.

³³ P. Cernovodeanu, *Comerțul Țărilor Române în veacul al XVII-lea*, in RdeI, 6, 1980, p. 1082.

³⁴ D. Mioc, *Reforma fiscală din vremea lui Matei Basarab*, in “Studii”, 12, 1959, pp. 53-83; N. Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, pp.61,70,171.

³⁵ *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului. Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România*, 3 (1653-1675), Bucharest, 1968, p.62, doc. 189, p. 308, doc. 1425, p. 91, doc. 332, p. 438, doc. 2084, pp. 514-515, doc. 2486

³⁶ W. Szlapinlij, *op.cit.*, p.10. note 37, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 517, p. 1107.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, note 38, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 39, p. 1051.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, note 39, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 39, p. 1051.

Due to their success on the European market, and especially in the Levant, the quantity of silver in the lion-thalers started to be decreased even in the official workshops, thus obtaining important profits. Also this type of thalers was greatly imitated³⁹ and counterfeited⁴⁰. Such samples coined under the standards in use, as well as imitations and counterfeits, arrived in the Romanian Countries too.

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The last category of high value silver coins analysed in the hoards which we presented, is that of the Spanish reals. As we have previously shown, the Spanish kings first coins entered Wallachia in the middle of the 16th century. These were the issues from the time of Charles Quintus, coined at Nimwegen, Dewenter-Campen-Zwolle and Campen, followed by those from the time of Philip II, coined in the Spanish Netherlands – Brabant, Flandra, Tournai, Geldern, Zeeland, Utrecht and Holland⁴¹. But these types of thalers have not been foundet in Dobroudja so far.

A second category of Spanish coins which entered and circulated in the Romanian territories is that of the reals. These coins appear towards the end of the 16th century, especially in the southern regions, in Wallachia and Dobroudja. The coin discoveries analysis reveals the fact that most of the reals date however from the 17th century⁴². If only one isolated discovery of a Spanish real⁴³ from the 16th century

³⁹ In the 17th century the lion-thalers were imitated on a large scale in Italy, (M. Schulman, *Italiaansche Nabootsingen van Provinciale en Stedelijke Nederlandsche Munten*, in *Jaarboek voor Munte Penningkunde*, 24, 1937, pp.56-67; *ibidem*, 25, 1938, pp.1-14) at Embden, Brandenburg, Innsbruck, in Denmark, (H. Fengler, G. Gierow, W. Unger, *Transpres Lexicon Numismatik*, Berlin, 1976, p. 206.); in Transylvania, (H.T. Antal, *Régi Magyar pénznevek*, in NK, 1953/1954, p. 18; idem, *A taller értékváltozása Magyarországon 1542/1700 között*, in NK, 1963/1964, p. 26; J. Buza, *Der Kurs der Löwenthaler in Ost-Mitteleuropa (mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen und Ungarn)*, in AHASH, 27, Budapest, 1981, p. 347, no. 55).

⁴⁰ Ever since 1585 the lion-thaler of the United Provinces had been widely counterfeited at Liège, (F. Braudel, *Mediterana și lumea mediterană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*, Bucharest, 1986, tome III, p. 126, note 87). In Russia, due to their poorer qualities, the market quotation of the lion-thalers was lower than that of the other types of thalers, with 38 kopecks. Thus, they were not assimilated to the *jefimkis*, therefore they were not countermarked. Still, the lion-thalers with countermark of “*jefimok*” appeared on the market. Being considered for a long time a counterfeit of the age, these samples proved however to be made on purpose in the 19th century by the Russian counterfeiter, for collectors, (I. G. Spaski, *Ruskaja Monetnaja Sistema*, Leningrad, 1970, p.129).

⁴¹ It refers to the type of thalers *Philip* and *Bourgogne*.

⁴² Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter and E. Păunescu, *Circulația talerilor în Țara Românească în secolele XVI-XVII. Problema falsurilor.* (*Tezaurul de la Urziceni, jud. Ialomița*), in CN, 6, 1990, p. 164.; Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *Tezaurul de la Săpoca, județul Buzău*, Musaios, IV/I, 1994, p. 347-348; Eadem, *Tezaurul de la Pietrele*, Bucharest, 1966, p. 8.

⁴³ A coin of 4 reals issued during the reign of Philip II in the mint from Granada, discovered in an unknown place, Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, p. 573; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române...*, table II, p. 179, annex I, p. 180. Beside this sample we also know of four other, coming from isolated discoveries as well [Vadu (2), Isaccea (1) and *passim* (1)], but with an uncertain assigning – Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV, Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, pp. 573-574; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române ...*, table IV, p. 183, annex III, pp. 187-188.

comes from Dobroudja for certain, however the discoveries dating from the 17th century become much more significant. Thus, we know 11 isolated discoveries: two samples at Cernavodă, Constanța County⁴⁴, three in Dobroudja *passim*⁴⁵, two samples at Isaccea, Tulcea County⁴⁶, two samples at Vadu, Constanța County⁴⁷, and one sample at Sulina, Tulcea County⁴⁸ and at Târgușor-Ester, Constanța County⁴⁹. Spanish coins from Dobroudja also come from 5 monetary hoards: from Medgidia, Vadu, Eforie Sud I, Eforie Sud II, Constanța County and Babadag, Tulcea County⁵⁰.

The Spanish reals from the hoards we presented date from the reign of Philip II (1556-1598), of Philip III (1598-1621) and of Philip IV (1621-1665). In the hoards presented by us, the biggest batch, the most representative and the most varied one is in the “Eforie Sud II” deposit. In fact, this is now the hoard with the largest number of Spanish coins found in Romania. The earliest issue, a sample of 2 reals which was certainly coined during the reign of Philip II, in the mint from Cuenca, Spain, is to be found in the Babadag hoard. The issues from this mint, together with the ones coined in the workshops from *Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Columbia) and Lima (Peru) are rarely encountered in the hoards from Romania. Generally, the reals coined during the reign of Philip II are to be found in a smaller number in these hoards, the most numerous ones date from the time of Philip III.

Philip II was the most controversial monarch in the history of Spain. Due to his cautious manner in approaching both political and economic problems he was named “the cautious one”⁵¹. But it was his thinking and the wise measures which he adopted that contributed to Spain’s prosperity. An example of wise judgement was his financial and coin policy. Thus, disregarding the complaints from the mints in Sevilla, Lisbon, Toledo and Madrid, Philip II decided to open a new mint in Segovia, too. In Segovia there was an older workshop – Casa de Moneda “*La Vieja*” – built by Enrique IV in 1455⁵². Founded in 1583, as a “*money factory*” owned by king Philip II, the new mint from Segovia – “*el Real Ingenio*” – was unique: an industrial, mechanised edifice, divided into departments⁵³. It was designed and put together with

⁴⁴ Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, p. 574; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române ...*, table IV, p. 183, annex III, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁵ Istropontica, p. 573, no. 1, p. 574, no. 5 and 7.

⁴⁶ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Gr. Opaît, Peuce, 9, p. 278, no.195; Istropontica, p. 573, no. 3.

⁴⁷ Istropontica, p. 573, no. 2 and 4.

⁴⁸ Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, p. 575; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române ...*, table IV, p. 183, annex III, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁹ In a private collection, cf. G. Custurea.

⁵⁰ In this paper.

⁵¹ S. G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, University of Wisconsin Press, tome 2, 1973, p. 35.

⁵² Casa de Moneda “*La Vieja*” functioned simultaneously with the new mint, until 1681, but still using the old technique of coining by hammer.

⁵³ The installation, together with the technicians, left from Austria to Spain in February 1582. Initially they wanted the new mint to be set up in Sevilla, where the galleys carrying the precious metal from the New World arrived. But, in May 1583, Philip II chose as the place for the new mint an old paper factory and a mill on the Eresma River in Segovia. The work started on November, 7, 1583 with German technicians, according to the plans made by the famous Spanish architect Juan de Herrera. In June 1st, 1585 the machine arrived in Segovia. It was considered the biggest expedition for the transfer of

the help of 14 German technicians, and equipped in 1584 with devices brought from the mint in Hall, near Innsbruck. In 1591 at “*el Real Ingenio*” the first smelting iron furnace in Spain functioned, and it manufactured laminated iron plate. The equipment with the most advanced technique of the time was due to an understanding between Philip II and the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. In exchange for the new technology, Spain offered to Austria several manoeuvring troops and some artillery equipment. The new German machinery used for manufacturing coins – the roll press⁵⁴ - was invented in 1550 in Augsburg. It only existed in several mints in Central Europe, i.e. in the Habsburg Empire, when, in 1582, it was brought to Spain as well⁵⁵. It was only in March 1586 that “*el Real Ingenio*” started producing coins systematically, employing this press – it coined the first samples of 8 and 4 reals⁵⁶.

The introduction in the mint of the method of metal rolling led to the coins manufacturing with a quasi-perfect edge. Among the reals from the Babadag hoard there is also an Segovia workshop coin – a sample of 4 reals 1613, coined during the reign of Philip III. But, according to the coin manufacturer’s set of initials – *B* or *TB* joined – the coin comes from the old workshop – *Casa Vieja*.

The hydraulic power use of the mills expanded, in 1661 it was also adopted by the mints from Cuenca, Granada, and with animal traction in Madrid, Sevilla, Toledo, Trujillo, Córdoba, Valladolid, Burgos and La Coruña. However this time they employed Catalanian technicians⁵⁷. Once they started the new coining mechanism, on November 12th, 1587, Philip II ordered a judicial commission, under the honourable

industrial technology ever to be made up to that moment, G. Murray, *El Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, Historia de la Ceca – sus monedas*” in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 87, 1997, pp. 41-43.

⁵⁴ The machine (Pl. II, fig. 3) was equipped with some cylinders – rolling seals, rollers – which were engraved with the coin’s obverse and reverse (Pl.II, fig. 5). These were rolled by a big hydraulic wheel (Pl. II, fig.4). Through the cylinders they pulled and laminated the iron sheet, thus imprinting the observe and reverse images (Pl. II, fig. 6).

⁵⁵ In this case we find it to be extremely hazardous the statement according to which the coining method employing the roll press was a very “modern” one in South-Eastern Europe in 1560, (C. Zwecker, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Un nou taler moldovenesc emis în anul 1562 de către Despot Vodă*, in *CN*, 8, 2002, p. 249, note 3). Moreover, the fact that the method would have been introduced in Moldavia by Despot Vodă (1561-1563) is, in our opinion, a noble desire, but purely imaginary, (*ibidem*, p. 249). The installation of such a mechanism would not have remained unnoticed at the time, it should have been registered in chronicles or documents.

It is known that around 1508, the famous Florentine artist – architect, sculptor – Bramante coined medals with the help of a so-called “screw-press”. In 1538, 30 years later, another great Florentine artist – Benvenuto Cellini – used a similar press to coin a series of small coins. Around 1555, a lot of such screw-presses were installed in the mint from Paris. But the roll press, invented in 1550 in Augsburg, was used in the first decades of the second half of the 16th century in some of the mints from Central Europe, in the territories controlled by the Habsburgs – Germany, Austria, Hungary and, obviously, Spain, G. Murray, *El Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, Historia de la Ceca*, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 85, 1997, pp.40-43.

⁵⁶ In this mint, between 1609-1682, they coined the extraordinary samples of “*Cincuentin*” – 50 reals, of 77mm and 173 g.

⁵⁷G. Murray, *El Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, Historia de la Ceca – sus monedas*” in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 87, 1997, pp. 41-43.

magistrate Armenteros leadership, to check if they observed the rules concerning the silver purity and fineness used for the reals manufacturing⁵⁸.

Unfortunately, the Philip II's wise policy outcome was wasted by his follower – Philip III – resulting during the reign of Philip IV in a series of severe trouble regarding the coining as well.

One of this serious situations was generated by the great scandal which broke in the Potosi mint matter, a situation which deeply affected Spain. At Potosi, in the first half of the 17th century, they widely employed the silver's fineness substantial decrease used for the coins⁵⁹.

Obviously, the Potosi workshop coins, which came with the American fleet together with the workshops from the New World other issues, had spread in the entire Spain, and even abroad. The effect caused in Spain by the great scandal was devastating, on the one hand the world did not trust the royal coin any longer, and on the other hand the country was widely affected by the Spanish coin disparagement in Europe.

By a Royal decree issued on December 22nd 1650, Philip IV ended the problem of Potosi. He gave the Viceroy of Peru, Marqués de Mancera, the liberty to solve the real devaluation by creating a new coin. The Royal Decree ordered the coins' iconography change: "...so that the drawing on the moulds should not imitate the old images, on one side they should put the weapons of Castilia and Leon, and on the other side two columns with the watchword *Plus Ultra* in the middle"⁶⁰. Thus, in 1653 they began coining the reals with column – "*el columnario*" – or *colonați* (approx. the

⁵⁸ G. Murray, *King Philip II: The Missing assayer mark on his coins from Segovia mint*, in Friends of the Segovia Mint, 1998, <http://www.segoviamint.org/english/articles/a1.htm>.

⁵⁹ By the Royal Order from December 23rd, 1642, Philip IV established the purity of the silver coin which was to be minted in the workshops from America. Thus, the fineness of the silver should have been 11 dinars and 4 grains, that is 931‰, H. Burzio, *Diccionario de la Moneda Hispanoamericana*, tome II, 1958, Santiago de Chile, pp. 388-389. This order should have been strictly followed by all the coin manufacturers from the American coin workshops, its disobedience was considered a crime against the king. But, in 1644, they discovered that the coins minted by the Potosi mint did not correspond to the established norm. The proportions of the fraud committed by the workshop were not known, the Treasury could not estimate the losses or the degradation of the image of the Spanish coin among the European traders. On April 12th, 1644 don Andrés de Ferrera, the king's coin chief manufacturer, demanded the President of the Treasury Board to set up a committee – "*con tot secreto*" – to end this situation, The General Archive of Simancas (hereafter AGS), Valladolid, doc. 876, page 10, included in sheet 3175 of the Asociación de Amigos de la Casa de la Moneda de Segovia (AACMS – The Association of Friends of the Segovia Mint). Despite the severe measures, the situation deteriorated, and in 1648 they again found devalued coins minted by "*La Casa de Moneda de Potosi*". Thus, on July 7th, 1648 The Trade House of Sevilla informed the king that the coins arriving from the New World were not accepted by the merchants – "*los embarazos ocasionados por la moneda de Indias, no queriendo aceptarla los comerciantes hasta que se realizase el ensayo respectivo*", AGS, doc. 938, page 3, sheet 3320, AACMS. On July 8th, 1648, the Royal Council of the Treasury of the Kingdom of Aragon complained about finding some flaws in the alloy of the reals from the "Indies" - "*falta da hasta 3 Reales en monedas de a 8 Reales en monedas provenientes del pago al ejército real*", AGS, doc. 934, sheet 3310, AACMS. On September 5th, 1648, the Kingdom of Castilia sent a similar complaint, AGS, doc. 934, page 13, sheet 3309, AACSM.

⁶⁰ Fr. Jovel, R. Jovel, *Los efectos del "Gran Escandalo" de Potosi en España*, in *Historias Acuñadas*, 2001, p. 69.

columned ones, tr.n.), or *stâlpari* (approx. the pillared ones, tr.n.), names under which they are mentioned in the Romanian documents.

The mint from Potosi, today in Bolivia, owes its existence to an event which influenced the entire Europe future economic development: around 1550, in the Spanish colonies from the New World they founded in Peru the legendary “*Rich Mountain*”, that is the silver mine from Potosi. From that moment on, enormous quantities of silver started to arrive in Spain. From this amount, an important part left towards the German lands, given the fact that Spain supported with substantial sums the Holy Roman Empire existence and prosperity. For almost a century – 1574-1651 – the Potosi mint was the New World’s Spanish coin workshops most important and most productive. Between 1580-1617 this reached the peak of its activity. The phenomenon is also to be encountered in the hoards from Romania which contain Spanish coins.

From the five hoards presented by us, two deposits also contain reals coined in the Potosi workshop. In the “Babadag” hoard there is a sample of 8 reals issued during the reign of Philip IV, bearing the coin manufacturer’s initial - *T*. In the deposit from “Eforie Sud II”, as we have shown, the majority of the samples of reals – 32 – comes from the Potosi workshop. Out of these, 12 samples are certainly coined during the reign of Philip IV, 18 samples being uncertain (Philip III or Philip IV), with a strong inclination for the period of Philip IV. If until the discovery of the deposit from “Eforie Sud II”, the largest number of reals minted at Potosi from the deposits in our country dated from the reign of Philip III – 21 samples⁶¹ - at the moment the Philip IV’s time issues come first – 44 samples⁶². To all the samples from 1617-1665 we clearly notice a deterioration of the fineness and of the accuracy in the stamping dies execution, as well as a metal’s quality decrease. This is especially noticeable on the coins from the reign of Philip IV.

We find it extremely significant the fact that the Spanish reals, from the hoards founded in Romania, are to be found in the highest amount especially in the deposits founded in Dobroudja. And among the reals from these batches, most of the samples are minted by the colonial mints. The example of the two great discoveries of reals is eloquent – the “Vadu” hoard – 26 samples of reals, out of which the majority is minted in the workshop from Mexico and, the hoard from “Eforie Sud II” – 67 samples of reals, out of which 49 samples are colonial issues.

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The silver coins of medium value are represented first and foremost by the *orts*. The *orts* – or $\frac{1}{4}$ thalers – started circulating in the Romanian Countries mainly in the first half of the 17th century. Being equivalent to a quarter of a thaler, the coin was

⁶¹ For your edification see our table from Annex III, Ana-Maria Velter, Constața Știrbu, in RI, 24, 2004, 1-2, pp. 184-189.

⁶² To this number we add the samples minted at Potosi, from the “Vadu” hoard. *Vide supra*, note 16.

minted for the first time in 1507 at Zwickau, in Saxony.⁶³ Since 1521 it started being coined in Brandenburg also, where, only from the time of Georg Wilhelm (1619-1640), it circulated under the name of ort.⁶⁴ At Danzig the orts were first minted in 1609. in Poland they were coined sometime later, from 1620, at Bromberg, and they were initially equivalent to 16 grossus⁶⁵. The great majority of orts coming from the Wallachia and Dobroudja hoards is minted at Danzig and in Poland. Most of the samples were coined between 1610-1629. In this category we include the samples from the hoards presented by us. In the one from Eforie Sud I – 22 samples of orts from Danzig minted in 1617 (1) and between 1623-1626 (21); in the “Silistra” deposit – 5 samples of orts from Poland, minted between 1622-1624 and 2 samples from Danzig, from 1625; in the “Babadag” hoard – 4 samples of orts from Danzig, coined between 1623-1625.

Beside the Polish coins, in the monetary circulation from our country there were also the coins from the Duchy of Prussia, a Polish crown fief between 1525-1657. The Prussian mint is represented in our batch by three samples of orts, coined in the Königsberg mint during of Georg Wilhelm margrave reign (1619-1640): in the “Eforie Sud I” (1) and “Silistra” (2) hoards.

The orts coming from the Polish lands are mainly issues from Danzig and Poland, being accompanied by the ones minted in Prussia, as a Polish fief, as well as by the ones from Lorraine. Their arrival and circulation in the Romanian Countries took place mainly in the first half of the 17th century. Together with the triple grossus, the orts coined during the reign of Sigismund III (1587-1632) were the most popular and the most numerous Polish issues in the Romanian territories, obviously, with a positive inclination in Moldavia. Of a superior quality, the orts were well received on the market, which is also reflected in the hoards foundet in Romania⁶⁶. In the documents of that time they are mentioned especially in connection to the land sales and the tax payment.

The next medium value silver coins are the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar issued testons. The four Denominations of this type come as follows – three samples from the “Eforie Sud I” (1) and “Silistra” (2) hoards, and from an isolated discovery at Sinoe, Constanța County (1)⁶⁷. It refers to a teston issued during the reign of Charles III (1545-1595-1608), which is present in the “Silistra” deposit, to two samples from the time of Charles IV (1625-1634, 1641-1675) from the “Eforie Sud I” and “Silistra”

⁶³ H. Fengler, G. Gierow and W. Unger, *Transpress Lexikon Numismatik*, Berlin, 1976, p. 409.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ E. Hutten-Czapski, *Catalogue de la Collection de medailles et monnaies polonaises*, II-reprint, Graz, 1957, p. 131.

⁶⁶ See for this matter Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter, *Tezaurul de la Săpoca, județul Buzău*, in *Musaos*, 4/1, 1994, p. 347; Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter, E. Păunescu, *Circulația talerilor în secolele XVI-XVII în Țara Românească; problema falsurilor. (Tezaurul de la Urziceni, jud. Ialomița)*, in *CN*, 6, 1990, p. 169.

⁶⁷ The coin was presented for identification during 2004, cf. G. Custurea.

hoards, and to a sample from the duke Francisc II, count of Vaudémont reign (1625-1632), fondet at Sinoe.

The teston from the “Silistra” hoard issued by Charles III⁶⁸ is a sample from the first part of his reign. Although the image on our coin is almost completely erased, we can still distinguish the fleurons of a crown. Or, the crowned duke’s image appears only on the issues from his youth, from the first part of his reign. To compare, we present a sample of ¼ of teston⁶⁹. The duke is represented with a young face, crowned, with armour, in profile towards the right. The dated quarters of teston, issued during the reign of Charles III, are rare. There are no such samples except for the years 1553, 1554 and 1556, but they allow a time framework for the undated samples. In our case even only the way of presenting the effigy helps us. The issues from the second part of the duke’s reign present him with a mature face, with a beard and without a crown.

The other two samples of Duchy of Lorraine and Bar teston which are present in our hoards, are issued during the reign of Charles IV (1625-1634; 1641-1675)⁷⁰. Due to his strong anti-French policy in 1634 the duke was forced to give up the power, abdicating in favour of his brother Nicolas – Francisc (1634-1641). In 1641 however, he managed to recover the Duchy. Our samples date from the duke’s first reign, being coined in 1629, respectively in 1632. The teston from 1632 represents one of the last Nancy workshop’s issues, before the town was conquered by the French troops⁷¹. Both samples belong to the first iconographic type, the duke being shown with a young face. Starting with 1664, the testons bear the image of a different bust, an older one, being directly inspired by the iconography on the French royal coins.

The forth sample of teston of Lorraine and Bar, coming from the isolated discovery from Sinoe, dates from the Francisc II of Vaudémont duke time (1625-1632). Due to the arrogant behaviour of his daughter-in-law, Nicole, duchess of

⁶⁸ When the time of death of duke Francisc (1544-1545), who only reigned for 363 days, his minor son, *Charles III of Lorraine and Bar (1545-1595-1608)*, who was only two and a half years old, took over the leadership of the duchy. He was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Nicolas, bishop of Metz and Verdun, and of his mother Catherine of Denmark, the niece of Charles Quintus, who was in favour of the latter and of the Empire. From 1545 to 1559 the regency of the duchy was ensured by the two guardians of Charles III. Declared of age in 1555, at 12 years old, Charles III was able to take over the Duchy only in 1559. He was a very good administrator of his Duchy, which led to his name of “Great Duke”. Among other things, Charles III is the founder of the Academy from Pont-à- Mousson; he is also the one who decided that the year should start with January 1st, since 1584. He embellished the town of Nancy, turning it into a true capital of a Duchy. He did not reside in Bar, but he made a few journeys there, especially between 1559-1584. during his reign he tried to adopt a policy of balance between France and the Empire. He married Claude of France, the daughter of the king of France Henry II and of Catherine de Medicis. Their son, Henry, married in 1598 Catherine de Bourbon, the sister of the king of France, Henry IV, (*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Ed. VI, Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁶⁹ Apud *GENEALOGIE et MONNAIES des DUCS de LORRAINE, Période comprise entre MATHIEU II (1220) et FRANÇOIS III (1737)*, according to Boudeau 1527, www.faulquemont.com/e_lorraine.html.

⁷⁰ The year when Charles IV took over the duchy, 1625, coincides with the coming to power of the cardinal Richelieu in France. The duke’s policy led him to an open conflict with the French royalty.

⁷¹ In 1633 Louis XIII occupied Nancy. During the stationing of the French troops, the coin workshop here minted small fractional coins, without the duke’s name, A. Engel, R. Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique moderne et contemporaine*, Bologna, 1965, p.191.

Lorraine and Bar (1624-1625), in November 1625 Francis II pushes her away, and he is brought to the head of the state by the General States Assembly, given his right of male inheritance⁷². Shortly after his election, Francis II abdicated in favour of his son, Charles IV, retiring to the county of Salm. Here he opened a coin workshop in Badonvilliers, where he minted coins with the title of duke of Lorraine and Bar, alongside with his son's issues⁷³. His testons are rare, only the samples from 1626, 1628, 1629, 1630 and 1631 are known⁷⁴.

In Dobroudja, up to now, the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar's issues have only been found in the three mentioned points: Eforie Sud I, Silistra and Sinoe. Such issues are known to us from eight other deposits, exclusively from Wallachia⁷⁵. The earliest are the coins from the reign of Charles III, which were found only in two other hoards found in Dâmbovița County – a teston in the one from Găinești and an ort in the one from Crovu.

The next coin, registered at no. 14 in the "Silistra" hoard catalogue, comes from the bishopric of Breslau mint. It refers to a sample of 15 kreuzers minted during the Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt bishop time (1671-1682). It is the latest issue from that hoard, being coined in 1679.

If the coin itself has no extraordinary quality, being an ordinary sample of 15 kreuzers, nevertheless for the monetary circulation in Dobroudja it is a premiere, being the only Breslau issue found here up to the present. Its issuer was a character worthy of our attention⁷⁶.

⁷² *Monnaies des Ducs de Lorraine, Lorraine – Duché de Lorraine – François II (26/11/1625-15/10/1632)*, <http://www.cgb.fr/monnaies/vso/v09/gb/monnaiesgb812c.html>.

⁷³ A. Engel, R. Serrure, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

⁷⁴ *Monnaies des Ducs de Lorraine, op. cit.*

⁷⁵ Chronologically, the hoards from Pieterale, Giurgiu County, Voetin, Vrancea County, Verguleasa, Olt County, Găinești, Dâmbovița County, Crovu, Dâmbovița County, Gurieni, Teleorman County, Gărăgău, Teleorman County and Târgoviște II, Dâmbovița County. See on this matter Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter, *La circulation des monnaies en argent a haute valeur des états, des villes et des autorités ecclésiastiques Allemands sur le territoire Roumain aux XVI^{ème} et XVII^{ème} siècles*, in XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997, Berlin, 2000, p. 1237-1238.

⁷⁶ Born in 1616 in a Lutheran family, Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt converted to Catholicism in 1637. during the war of 30 years he quickly climbed up the ladder of honors. In 1647 he reaches the top, being elected High Prior of the Saint John's Order, apud *Great Orders of Chivalry, The Knights of Saint John in Germany*, in www.chivalricorders.org/orders/stjohn/johanger.htm. But, despite his high rank, the prestige and all the qualities and honours of the newly elected High Prior, the Order was excluded from the negotiations of the Peace Treaties from Munster and Osnabruck from 1648. However, through diplomacy and great perseverance in 1688 Fra' Friedrich (Landgraf) of Hesse-Darmstadt succeeded in obtaining for the Order the sum of 50,000 florins from the Province of Holland, in exchange for the benefits brought by the Haarlem army. His career is still flourishing after the war ends. In 1652, upon the recommendation of the emperor Ferdinand III, he was elected Cardinal. Later, Philip IV of Spain appointed him Admiral of his fleet in the Mediterranean and general of the galleys from Spain and Sardine. In 1671 he was anointed Bishop of Breslau and Prince of Niesz. Shortly before his death, in 1682 he was appointed Imperial Ambassador to the Holy Chair in Rome, J. Jungnitz, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, Copyright © 1907 by Robert Appleton Company Online Edition Copyright ©1999 by Kevin Knight Imprimatur. + John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, Breslau, in www.newadvent.org. while he was a bishop, the diocese of Breslau flourished. He was an excellent spiritual and secular administrator.

The last category of coins from the five 17th century hoards presented in this paper is that of small silver coins.

It refers to two triple grossus coins from the reign of Sigismund III (1587-1632), which are part of the “Silistra” hoard. The first sample is minted for Poland in 1590, at Cracow, and the second one, coined at Riga, in 1597. The analysis of the hoards from Romania which contain Polish coins revealed the fact that these are present in a larger number in the discoveries from Moldavia, whereas in Wallachia and the Ottoman Empire territories the number of Polish coins is lower.

According to the coinage years, the two samples of triple grossus from the “Silistra” hoard come from the period of Polish coin high penetration and circulation in our country, that is between 1589-1620. The presence in the hoards of only two samples of this type of coin is to be explained by the severe reduction of its penetration in our territories after 1620. Several causes brought about this phenomenon. First of all, the great devaluation of these coins during the reign of Sigismund III, practiced officially in three stages: 1604, 1616 and 1623. The silver content decreased from 13-14 **lotons** to 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁷⁷, and the weight, according to the sovereign’s monetary orders dropped from 2.19 g in 1604 to 1.97 g in 1623⁷⁸. At the same time, we should take into account the fact that in Poland, since 1627, they stipulated the mintage of small coins suspension in favour of the high value ones, especially of the thaler.

As far as the triple grossus of Riga is concerned, the analysis of the 16th-17th century hoards reveals the fact that almost all the samples from this town, which are present in these deposits, are represented by this nominal. The grossus from Riga, which arrived on our territories, are coined after the monetary reforms from 1580 and 1581 made by Stephen Bathory, who unified the Polish and Lithuanian monetary systems – in 1580, which Riga joined in 1581, thus incorporating the entire Livonia⁷⁹.

From the end of the 16th century until the half of the 17th, the Polish coins which circulated on the Romanian territories was substantial and of good quality. From 1659 this diminished drastically, due, firstly, to the monetary crisis which Poland had faced.

In Dobroudja, beside these samples, we also know coins of triple grossus coming from the hoards from Enisala, Viile, as well as from a series of isolated discoveries⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ M. Kirmis, *Handbush der Polnische Münzkunde*, Posen, 1892, p. 111; L. Huszár, *A lengyel pénzek forgalma Magyarországon a XVI-XVII században*, NK, 68-69, 1970, p. 59.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁹ M. Gumowski, *Handbush der Polnische Numismatik*, Graz, 1960, p. 43; A. Mikołajczyk, *Polish Factor in the Balkan Monetary Affairs of the late 16th and 17th Century*, in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 22/1, 1986, p. 67.

⁸⁰ Ioana Custurea, G. Custurea, in BSNR.....; *vide infra*, table IV.

During the 17th century, as in the previous century, both gold Denominations and silver coins of small, medium and high value circulated on the Romanian market. The five hoards analysis show the fact that the coins from their structure reflect, on a small scale, the issues which circulated both on the Romanian and Balkan market during that period. Also, the monetary values are the usual ones for the hoards which were accumulated and hidden under the political and economical circumstances of the 17th century in Dobroudja. On one hand, the deposits dating from the 17th century are homogenous, made up of the same monetary type, discovered: in Dobroudja *passim* (approx. 1574-1640), containing akçe and ½ dirhams⁸¹, Dobroudja II *passim* (1492-1607), containing Hungarian dinars⁸², Nalbant, Tulcea County (1595-1648)⁸³, Movilița II, Topraisar commune, Constanța County (approx. 1603-1649)⁸⁴, Târgușor, Constanța County (approx. 1603-1649)⁸⁵. On the other hand, the deposits are mixed, made up of fractional coins – Polish, Hungarian, Ottoman – in a smaller quantity due to the strong devaluation from this century, of medium value silver coins – 10, 15, 20 kreuzers, testons, orts – and, more frequently, of high value silver coins – florins of 28 stuivers, thalers, reals – and of gold coins. Such as the ones foundet at: Hârșova, Constanța County, containing Polish end Hungarian issues⁸⁶, Enisala, Sarichioi commune, Tulcea County (1479-1618)⁸⁷, Medgidia, Constanța County (1577-1653)⁸⁸, Viile, Ioan Corvin commune, Constanța County (1588-1667)⁸⁹, Vadu, Corbu commune, Constanța County (1370-1685)⁹⁰.

Besides, these are also the monetary types coming from the isolated discoveries from this province. In table IV we present a list of the European coins from the 16th–17th century, which come from the isolated coin discoveries from Dobroudja.

⁸¹ Novelty, NHAMC Collection.

⁸² Information from Gabriel Custurea.

⁸³ M. Maxim, in CN7, 1996, pp. 199-208.

⁸⁴ Novelty. Information from Gabriel Custurea, (NHAMC Collection).

⁸⁵ Novelty. Information from Gabriel Custurea, (NHAMC Collection).

⁸⁶ G. Custurea, in Peuce, 10, 1984, pp. 555-558, or at Isaccea, Tulcea County, containing polish triple grossus and ottoman coins, (cf. B. Mitrea, in BSNR, 70-74, 1976-1980, p. 605, no. 354).

⁸⁷ G. Custurea, in Crisia, 8, 1978, pp. 531-536.

⁸⁸ Novelty. Information from Gabriel Custurea, (NHAMC Collection).

⁸⁹ G. Custurea, A. Murat, in Pontica 12, 1979, pp. 207-219; G. Custurea, Antoaneta Vertan, G. Talmațchi, in Pontica, 30, 1997, pp. 382-383, no. 1806-1814.

⁹⁰ Information from S. Iosipescu.

Table IV
The coins distribution on issuers and denominations dating from the
16th-17th century, in isolated discoveries on the territory of Dobroudja

No.	Place of discovery	Country	Issuers	Denominations	Milesim	Samples	Remarks
1	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Saxony	Johan Friedrich Mauriciu	¼ Thaler	1543	1 inv. 31185	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 150
2	<i>Passim</i>	Spain	Philip II	4 Reals	1556-1598	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 1
3	Vadu, Constanța County	Spain	Philip II or Philip III	1 Real	1556-1621	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 2
4	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Spain	Philip II or Philip III	4 Reals	1556-1621	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 3
5	Vadu, Constanța County	Spain	Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV	4 Reals	1556-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 4
6	Târgușor Ester, Constanța County	Spain	Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV	8 Reals	1556-1665	1	Private collection
7	Peștera, Constanța County	Saxony	August I	Thaler	1561	1 inv. 51085	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 151
8	Chirnogeni, Constanța County	Saxony	August I	½ Thaler	1564	1 inv. 51087	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 152
9	<i>Passim</i>	Austria / Tyrol	Ferdinand I	Thaler	1564-1595	6	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 246, no. 71-76
10	Târgușor_Ester, Constanța County	Venice	Pascuale Cicognia	Imitation of ducat	1585-1595	1	Novelty
11	<i>Passim</i>	Venice	Pascuale Cicognia	(counterfeit) Imitation of ducat, AR	1585-1595	1	Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 839

12	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Hungary	Rudolf II	Thaler	1590	1	
13	<i>Passim</i>	Transylv ania	Sigismund Bathory	Thaler	1591	1	Pontica, 14, p. 344, no. 347
14	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County	Poland, Crown	Sigismund III	3 Grossus	1593	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
15	Ostrov, Constanța County	Austria	Rudolf II	¼ Thaler	1594	1 inv. 30976	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 244, no. 1
16	Pecineaga, Constanța County	Venice	Marino Grimani	½ quartino	1595	1	Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 838
17	Nalbant, Tulcea County	Poland, Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1596	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512
18	Canlia, Constanța County	The United province s of the Netherla nds	Campen	Lion-thaler	f. a. (before 1597)	1	Pontica, 16, p. 318, no. 840
19	Babadag, Tulcea County	Hungary	Rudolf II	Thaler	1598	1	Peuce, 8, p. 513, no. 173
20	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	3 Grossus	1598	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
21	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Spain	Philip III	4 Reals	1598-1621	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no. 6
22	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1599		
23	Sulina, Tulcea County	Spain	Philip III or Philip IV	8 Reals	1600-1665	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 193

24	Constanța, Constanța County	Oldenbur g	Anton Günther (during the reign of Ferdinand III)	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 51086	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 250, no. 165
25	Constanța (?), Constanța County	Transylv ania	Gabriel Bathory	Grossus	1608-1613	5	Pontica, 14, p. 343, no. 332- 336
26	Târgușor- Ester, Constanța County	Poland, Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1609-1632	1	G.C., Istropontica, p. 587, no. 146
27	Topraisar, Constanța County	HRE	Zwolle (during Mathias I)	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1612-1619	1	Pontica, 160, p. 318, no. 841
28	<i>Passim</i>	HRE	Zwolle (during Mathias I)	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1612-1619	1	Pontica, 20, p. 318, no. 842
29	Constanța, Constanța County	Transylv ania	Gabriel Bethlen	Grossus	1613-1629	9	Pontica, 14, 344, no. 337- 345
30	<i>Passim</i>	France	Louis XIII	2 Tournois	1614	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 245
31	<i>Passim</i>	The United Province s of the Netherla nds	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1614	1	BSNR,1983- 1985,131- 133,1987, p.442,no.63
32	Agigea, Constanța County	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1615	1	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 14, p. 345, no. 350
33	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1615	1	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 14, p. 345, no. 352

34	Isaccea, tulcea County	Poland/ Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1615	1	
35	<i>Passim</i>	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1616, 1616, 1623	3	Pontica, 14, p. 346, no. 357- 359
36	<i>Passim</i>	HRE	Dewenter	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1618	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1995
37	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	6 grossus	1619 / S-B	1	Inv. 11759
38	<i>Passim</i>	Embden	During Ferdinand II	Florin of 28 stuivers	1619-1637	1	BSNR, 77-79, 1983-1985, 131-133, p. 442, no. 57
39	<i>Passim</i>	Embden	During Ferdinand II	Florin of 28 stuivers	1619-1637	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1994
40	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County ⁹¹	Prussia / Polish crown fief	Georg Wilhelm	Ort	1621	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
41	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Spain	Philip IV	2 Reals	1621-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no. 8
42	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Spain	Philip IV	8 Reals	1621-1665	1	E.O-T. and Gr. O., Peuce, 9, p. 278, no. 195
43	<i>Passim</i>	Spain	Philip IV	4 Reals	1621-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no. 7
44	<i>Passim</i>	Spain	Philip IV	2 Reals	1621-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no.5
45	Hârșova, Constanța County	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	Ort	1621, 1622, 1623	3	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 830-832
46	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1623	1	

⁹¹ O. Iliescu, SCN, 2, 1956, p. 57.

47	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1623	1	Inv. 11530
48	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Poland / Coraoan	Sigismund III	Ort	1624	1	
49	<i>Passim</i>	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1624	1	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 835
50	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1624	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 9, p. 278
51	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1624	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 9, p. 278
52	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1624	1	Inv. 13507
53	Nalbant, Tulcea County	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Holland	Lion-thaler	1625	1	Cut; E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 187
54	Sinoe, Constanța County	Lorraine and Bar	Francisc II, count of Vaudémont	Teston	1625-1632	1	Cf. G. Custurea
55	<i>Passim</i>	Saxony	Johann Georg I	½ Thaler	1626	1 inv. 54860	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 153

56	Slava Rusă, Tulcea County	Italy / Modena	Francesco I d'Este	Scudo per Levante, imitation of a florin of 28 stuivers	1629-1658	1	Cast, low quality metal
57	Târgușor- Ester, Constanța County	Italy / Venice		Counterfeit of a ducat		1	Ordinary metal plated with gold
58	Potârnichea , Constanța County	The United Provinces of the Netherla nds	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1636	1	Pontica, 31, p. 322, no. 1951
59	<i>Passim</i>	Saxony	Johann Georg I	¼ Thaler	1636	1 inv. 54859	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 154
60	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Embden	During Ferdinand III	Florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 12089	Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 184
61	<i>Passim</i>	Oldenburg	Anton Günther (during Ferdinand III)	Florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 31051	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 250, no.163
62	<i>Passim</i>	Oldenburg	Anton Günther (during Ferdinand III)	Florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 31063	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 250, no.164
63	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1641	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no.1997

64	Hârşova, Constanța County, near the Fortress	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Utrecht	Lion-thaler	1645	1	Private collection
65	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Campen	Lion-thaler	1646	1	BSNR, 1983- 1985, 131- 133, 1987, p. 442, no. 58
66	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Zwolle	Lion-thaler	1646	1	BSNR, 1983- 1985, 131- 133, 1987, p. 442, no. 62
67	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1646	1	BSNR, 1983- 1985, 131- 133, 1987, p. 442, no. 64
68	Isaccea, Tulcea County	The United Province s of the Netherla nds	Zwolle	Lion-thaler	1647	1	
69	Northern Dobroudja	The United Province s of the Netherla nds	Campen	Lion-thaler	1648	1 inv. 14559	Peuce, 9, p. 278, no. 210
70	<i>Passim</i>	Transyl- vania	Gheorghe Rakoczi II	Thaler	1649	1	Pontica, 14, p. 344, no. .348

71	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Zwolle	½ Lion-thaler	1651	1 inv. 14561	Peuce,9, p. 278, no.211
72	<i>Passim</i>	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1658	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 246
73	Isaccea, Tulcea County	France	Loius XIV	5 Sous	1659	1	Pontica, 21-22, p. 348, no. 1345
74	Corbu, Constanța County	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1659	1	Pontica 21-22, p. 384, no. 1345
75	Isaccea, Tulcea County	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1660	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 185
76	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Dewenter	Ducat AR	1663	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1996
77	Slava Rusă, Tulcea County	France	Louis XIV	Levantine imitation of 5 Sous	1664	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 192
78	Isaccea, Tulcea County	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1665	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 244
79	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County	France	Guillaume d'Orange	1/12 Écu	1666	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
80	<i>Passim</i>	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1666	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 247
81	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Utrecht	Counterfeit of a lion-thaler, plated with AR	1681	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1998

82	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Campen	Lion-thaler	1682	1	BSNR, 1983-1985, 131-133, 1987, p. 442, no. 59
83	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Campen	Lion-thaler	1684	1	BSNR, 1983-1985, 131-133, 1987, p. 442, no. 61
84	Sâmbăta Nouă, Tulcea County	Brandenburg	Friedrich III	2/3 Thaler	1688-1701	1 inv. 41615	
85	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Campen	Lion-thaler	17 th century	1	BSNR, 1983-1985, 131-133, 1987, p. 442, no. 60
86	Târgușor-Ester, Constanța County	Venice	?	Soldino, AE	17 th century	1	Pontica, 32, p. 356, no. 2151
87	Oltina, Constanța County	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	?	Lion-thaler	17 th century	1	Pontica, 31, p. 322, no. 1940
88	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	?	Counterfeit of a lion-thaler	17 th century	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1999
89	Târgușor-Ester, Constanța County	Ragusa	Municipality	Grosetto (?)	17 th century	5	G.C., Istropontica, p. 586, no. 136-140

The local 17th century deposits are rather mixed batches, gathering together gold and silver coins, high value, medium value or small coins.

Due to long distance trading, widely practiced in this age, the coins quantity and quality on the market is highly superior of those from the previous century. The monetary deposits dating from this century put together more and more coins of high quality and value.

Another characteristic of these hoards is the presence in the same deposit of the issues from different centuries. Generally, on the Romanian Countries monetary market there were some coins which circulated for a long time, long after their mintage date. We refer, first of all, to the gold Denominations – for instance, the Venetian ducats – but also to the silver coins of small, medium or high value. Most of these issues date from the previous century, the 16th: in the hoards from “Eforie Sud I” – 1527/1598 – 1621/1665, “Eforie Sud II” – 1576-1621/1665, “Siliatra” – 1545/1555/1608 – 1679, “Babadag” – 1556/1589 – 1637/1657, Dobroudja *passim* – approx. 1574-1640, “Cotu Văii” – 1576-1680, “Medgidia” – 1577-1653, “Viile” – 1588-1667, “Nalbant” – 1595-1648. but there are some from the 15th century as well: in the deposits from Enisala – 1479-1618, Dobroudja II *passim* – 1492-1607 and from Hărșova – 1492 – 1619.

An important parameter of the five hoards presented in this paper is the fact that they contain only European coins.

The mintage years analysis of the coins from the five hoards presented by us, together with that of the years of the coins which come from isolated discoveries, reveal a monetary market rhythmic provisioning in Dobroudja with coins which circulated at the time (see Table V). The most numerous issues are grouped between the second and the fourth decade of the century.

Table V.
The coins distribution according to the minting year

Date	Babadag (1556/1589- 1637-1657)	Eforie Sud I (1527/1598- 1621/1665)	Eforie Sud II (1576- 1621/1665)	Cotu Văii (1576- 1680)	Siliatra (1545/15 55/1608- 1679)	Isolated discoveries	Total
1543						1/Saxony	1
1555- 1608					1 / HRE, Lorraine and Bar		1
1556- 1665		4/Spain					4
1556- 1589	1/Spain						1

1556-1598						1/Spain	1
1556-1621						2/Spain	2
1556-1665						2/Spain	2
1561						1/Saxony	1
1564						1/Saxony	1
1564-1595						1/Austria	1
1576			2/UP,Holl.	2/UP.Holl.			4
1576-1597				1/UP,Holl.			1
1585-1595						2/Venice	2
1589				1/UP,Holl. 1/UP, Utr.			2
1590					1/Poland	1/Hungary	2
1591						1/Transylv ania	1
1593						1/Poland	1
1594						1/Austria	1
1595						1/Venice	1
1596						1/Poland	1
Before 1597						1/Campen	1
1597					1/Poland		1
1598						1/Hungary 1/Poland	2
1598-1621						1/Spain	1
1599						1/Poland	1
1600-1602		1/UP, Geld.					1
1600-1665						1/Spain	1
1603-1667						1/HRE, Old	1
1604				1/UP, Westf			1

1606-1607	1/Spain						1
1608-1613						1/Transylv ania	1
1608-1617					1/HRE, Campen 1/HRE, Zwolle		2
1608-1618		2/HRE, Zwolle					2
1609-1632						1/Poland	1
1611			1/HRE, Zwolle				3
1611-1619			3/HRE, Camp	5/UP, Camp 7/UP, Zwolle			15
1612	1/UP,Overij.		1/HRE,Zw olle; 1/UP, Fries				3
1612-1619						2/HRE, Zwolle	2
1613	1/Spain		1/Bouill.				2
1613-1621	1/Spain						1
1613-1629						1/Transylv ania	1
1614						1/France 1/UP,Geld.	2
1615						3/Poland	3
1616		1/UP, Utr.		1/UP,Zwoll e	1/UP, Zeel	2/Poland	5
1617		1/HRE,Dew. 1/Danzig		1/UP,West 1/UP,Geld			4
1617-1624		1/Poland					1
1618		1/HRE,Dew	2/HRE,De w	1/UP,Cam		1/HRE,De wenter	5
1619						1/Poland	1

1619-1637		1/HRE,Old. 6/HRE,Emb.	17/HRE, Embden	11/HRE, Embden	1/HRE,E mbden	1/HRE,Em bden	37
1619-1657			2/HRE, Embden				2
1620-1622		1/Prus.fief Pol.					1
1621	1/HRE, Dewenter					1/Prussia 1/Poland	3
1621-1665						4/Spain	4
1622					5/Poland	1/Poland	6
1623	1/Poland	3/Danzig			1/Poland	4/Poland	9
1624	2/Poland	9/Danzig			1/Poland	5/Poland	17
1624-1629	1/Spain						1
1625	1/Poland	6/Danzig			2/Poland	1/UP,Holl.	10
1626		2/Danzig				1/HRE Saxony 1/HRE Lorraine- Bar	4
1628-1658		1/It, Modena		1/It., Modena			2
1629	1/Spain	1/HRE Lorraine-Bar					2
1629-1658						1/It., Modena	1
1631-1646		1/Venice					1
1632					1/HRE, Lorraine- Bar		1
1633				1/UP, Holl.			1
1634					1/UP, West		1
1636						1/UP,Geld 1/Saxony	2
1637-1650	1/HRE,Old						1

1637-1657	1/HRE, Embden	16/HRE, Old 17/HRE, Embden	8/HRE, Embden; 11/HRE, Old	8/HRE, Embden 11/HRE, Old		1/HRE, Embden 2/HRE, Old	75
1639					1/UP, Utr		1
1640		1/UP, Geld					1
1641	1/UP, Geld			1/UP, Geld		1/UP, Geld	3
1642-1649	1/Spain						1
1643				1/UP, Geld 1/UP, Utr			2
1645						1/UP, Utr	1
1646						3/UP, Cam., Zwol., Geld.	3
1646-1655		1/Venice					1
1647				1/UP, Geld 1/UP, Utr		1/UP, Zwolle	3
1648		1/UP, Geld 2/UP, West		1/UP, Zwol		1/UP, Camp	5
1649		1/UP, Zwol 1/UP, Utr.				1/Transylv ania	3
1650		1/UP, West					1
1651						1/UP, Zwolle	1
1652		1/UP, Camp		1/UP, Geld			2
1657				1/UP, Cam			1
1658					1/UP, West	1/France	2
1659						2/France	2
1660						1/France	1
1662				1/UP, Geld			1
1663						1/UP, Dew.	1
1664						1/France	1
1665						1/France	1
1666				1/UP, dew.		2/France	3

1679					1/HRE, Breslau		1
1680				1/HRE, Cam 4/HRE, Zwol			5
1681				1/HRE, Cam		1/UP, Utr	2
1682						1/UP, Cam.	1
1684						1/UP, Cam	1
1688- 1701						1/Brand	1
17 th centur y			1/HRE, Zwolle; 1/UP, Overij; 2/HRE, Imitation Embden			2/UP, 1/UP, counterfeit 1/Ragusa	8

If in the “Silistra” and “Babadag” hoards the accumulation is quite linear, in the deposits from “Eforie Sud I”, “Eforie Sud II” and “Cotu Văii” there is a peak. Situated between 1621-1637-1657, this peak is formed by an accumulation of Spanish reals (1621-1657) and of florins of 28 stuivers (1637-1657) minted at Embden and Oldenburg. It is the exact moment when these coins entered massively the Ottoman Empire and the territories depending on it.

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The accumulation of the 17th century deposits foundet in Dobroudja, including, obviously, the five deposits presented by us, took place, as everywhere else, either locally, from the coins which circulated at the time, or in other areas, the hoards being brought here by different means. In the local accumulations case, the coins from the structure of those deposits reached Dobroudja, in most of the cases, by means of trading, following different routes. These routes followed by the coins are of two categories: internal and external. Set at the crossroads between the Orient and the Occident, the Romanian territories formed a real centre for the commercial routes. The Romanian Countries favourable geographic positioning and, especially, of Dobroudja, situated at the outskirts of two entirely different economic systems – the Western

European and the Ottoman – connected in the Middle Ages the region to the great international trade practiced on terrestrial, fluvial and maritime routes. Dobroudja was part of the important trading area set up at the Danube's Mouths by the Genovese merchants in the 13th century. Due to its many advantages, the region knew an early intense economic development, becoming an important point in the trade from Western and Northern Europe, on one hand, and, on the other hand, from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, as well as from the Far Orient. In the 16th–17th century, Dobroudja, being part of the Ottoman Empire, was crossed by the caravans which connected Istanbul to the different world's corners⁹².

Although officially the Ottoman traders did not trade in the Christian territories, the reality was different. The caravans carrying various goods left and came ceaselessly to and from Istanbul. At that time there were three main routes for the long distance trade practiced by the Sublime Porte: the Maghreb route⁹³, the Russian route and the Hanseatic route⁹⁴. The last two also crossed the Romanian territories. Thus, the Russian route started from Istanbul, passed Bucharest, following the Dneper North, going to Kiev, up to Smolensk, Novgorod, stopping at Narva, on the Baltic coast. From here it went back to Novgorod, to Moscow, following the Volga South, to Cere (today Kazan), then to Astrahan, Tabriz, going back to Istanbul through Armenia⁹⁵.

The second one, the Hanseatic route, started from Istanbul, passed Wallachia, through Bucharest, went to Cracow, or making a detour, to Kiev, Cracow, from here to Breslau, going to Leipzig or Prague, up to Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Cologne, from here to Antwerp, crossing the English Channel to London, Kings Lynn, Hull, Newcastle, Edinburgh, then by sea, to Scandinavia - Oslo, Stockholm - then back to Danzig, where it split, one way leading to Riga, Reval, Novgorod, Smolensk, Kiev, Bucharest and again at Istanbul. Another way went to Cracow, Lwów, Iași, from here on the "*Moldavian route*" to Galați, Brăila, splitting again towards Bucharest or towards the Black Sea and, finally, back to Istanbul⁹⁶.

At the same time with these, there was an entire network of shorter, regional routes. Ever since the 13th century, the Balkan trade routes had been closely connected to the routes of faith⁹⁷. One of the most travelled routes led from Istanbul to Messembria, Varna, Caliacra, Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia, Vidin, crossed the Danube,

⁹² The Customs Register from Tulcea, 16th century, Tomaso Alberti (Foreign Travellers).

⁹³ This route started from Istanbul, across Turkey, leading to Alepp, Jebel, Damascus, Ma'an (today Amman), to Medina, Mecca, reaching Cairo, Jalu, Marzuq, Ghat, Ghudamis, Algiers, further on to Tunis, Tripoli, Benghazi, returning to Alexandria, to Beirut, to Jebel (again), Smyrna, with a short stop on the Turkish coast and, finally, back to Istanbul, cf. Antara Nepa, *Caravans and Trade Routes*, in *Ottoman Traders' Guild*, 2005, <http://www.ottoman-traders.com/caravan.html>.

⁹⁴ Cf. Antara Nepa, *Caravans and Trade Routes*, in *Ottoman Traders' Guild*, 2005, <http://www.ottoman-traders.com/caravan.html>.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ R. Theodorescu, *Routes de la foi, routes du négoce*, in Actes de la Conférence "Le Sud-Est européen, carrefour de civilisations", (siège de l'UNESCO, Paris, 9 et 10 février 1998), Paris, 1998, p. 33.

arriving in Wallachia. Here it joined other routes leading North, to Moldavia, Poland, reaching the Baltic shore. Or leading West, to Transylvania, and from here to Central and Western Europe.

From the Ottoman Empire the merchants brought mainly spices: saffron, cumin, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, pepper, salt, sugar. Then drugs: opium, *benzion* (natural resin), arsenic, *mirobolani* (an astringent plum-like fruit), balm of Mithridate, perfumes. Different textiles: silk (especially green, light blue and red), crimson damask, crimson velvet, cotton, linens, carpets. Foods: wheat, barley, millet, olive oil, oranges, lemons, rhubarb, wines. Dyes, especially carmine and indigo. Luxuries: gold dust, copper, quicksilver, coral, Chinese porcelain, Lemnian earth, precious stones, pearls, incense, sandalwood, alum, gum Arabic, glass trinkets, mirrors, wallpaper, furs and slaves.

At Istanbul, there came caravans and ships carrying foods: grains, soda, pickled herrings, cod and salmon, dried fish. Different textiles: woollen cloth, *kersies*⁹⁸ of different colours, caps. Luxuries: silver coins, amber, paper, various jewellery, trinkets, beaten sheets of tin and copper. The contraband goods were mostly brought in by ships: ammunition and armament, iron, steel, bronze, tin, copper, gun powder for cannons and harquebus, saltpetre, iron balls for cannons and harquebus, coarse canvas, millstones, logs for masts and galleys. From the Northern lands, they brought: timber, wax, whale blubber, seal's teeth, furs, flax, hemp⁹⁹.

The merchants who carried these goods also passed through the Romanian territories on their way from or to Istanbul. Here there was an entire network of inner routes which connected these lands to the great trade. Especially merchants from Moldavia, Wallachia and even Transylvania passed through Dobroudja. They carried mainly wax, ox leather, horses¹⁰⁰, and on their way back they brought expensive cloths, jewellery, glass samples¹⁰¹. The Sublime Porte was extremely interested in stimulating and carrying on a free trade, as much as possible. To this matter it built and maintained a series of roads and bridges on the entire territory of the Empire¹⁰².

Many of the terrestrial trade routes which passed through Dobroudja were closely connected to the fluvial routes – on the Danube, on the Prut. The Sublime Porte rigorously controlled the traffic between the Danube and the Black Sea by an efficient customs system, in the main ports – Brăila, Măcin, Isaccea, Tulcea. These centres were also crossed by some important local trade routes which were part of some larger international trade routes. Such were: “*the Brăila route*”, which

⁹⁸ Thick cloth for the top of the boots.

⁹⁹ Cf. Antara Nepa, *Caravans and Trade Routes*, in Ottoman Traders' Guild, 2005, <http://www.ottoman-traders.com/caravan.html>.

¹⁰⁰ C. Luca, *Rutele balcanice ale comerțului Țărilor Române cu Veneția în secolul al XVII-lea*, in SMIM, 19, 2001, p. 227.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² In 1610 the Venetians noticed how surprisingly easy it was to trade goods with the Romanian Countries, Renzo Paci, *La “scala” di Spalato e el commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e seicento*, Venice 1971, pp. 104-105, *apud* C. Luca, *op.cit.*, pp. 227-228.

represented the large Braşov route southern end¹⁰³, connecting the Black Sea, Transylvania and Central Europe; the famous “*Moldavian route*”¹⁰⁴ as well as “*the Galaţi route*”¹⁰⁵ which connected the south of the country and the region of Dobroudja to the north, to the Baltic area; finally, a route across Dobroudja, “*the Turkish route*”, which joined the Romanian territories with those of the Ottoman Empire¹⁰⁶.

An important trade route was the maritime one. Contrary to the things we have known so far about the foreign trade ships penetration in the Black Sea in the 17th century, the trade on the maritime route was intensely practiced during this century too. Thus, at the end of the 16th century, in the Black Sea ports there were many ships with traders carrying different goods. A series of customs regulations of the time speak about foreign traders – called *zimmi* (especially the Venetians) and *harbi* – and about the maritime ships which bring them – *deniz, gemileri* – characteristic both for the navigation on the Black Sea and on the Mediterranean¹⁰⁷.

In the 17th century these foreign merchants were mostly French, English and Dutch. It is known that during the second half of the 16th century the frequent armed conflicts between the Sublime Porte and the Republic of Venice greatly reduced the presence of the Venetian merchants in the Empire’s territories, especially in the Black Sea. They were quickly replaced by the French, English and Dutch traders. France negotiated the first *Capitulations* in 1536, which were not signed until 1569. England and Holland initially came under the French pavilion. Starting with 1580 and 1583 the sultan granted the English their own capitulations – the Levant Company being created in 1581. The Dutch would not obtain theirs until 1612.

And yet, despite all the restrictions, the presence of Venice in the Black Sea is registered in a series of documents of the time. To this matter we quote two documents – the first from 1619/1620, the second from 1622/1623 – which prove that the Venetian traders were allowed by the sultan to purchase white sturgeon and caviar from the Chilia port and from the Danube’s Mouths¹⁰⁸. Several years later, apparently the number of Venetian merchants was quite high in the area, given the fact that, upon

¹⁰³ Ş. Papacostea, *Începuturile politicii comerciale a Țării Româneşti şi a Moldovei (secolele XIV-XVI). Drum şi Stat*, in the tome *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc*, Cluj, 1988, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴ Old, large and important international trade route, depending on the century, which crossed the entire Moldavia, following the valley of the Siret for most of its length, and which ensured the connection with Poland and the Baltic Sea.

¹⁰⁵ This route, upstream the river Bârlad, reached north, connecting Poland to Istanbul. (P. Păltănea, *Informaţii despre evoluţia demografică şi a teritoriului oraşului Galaţi până la 1918*, in AIAL, 1987, I, p. 27). See also Ana-Maria Velter, G. Custurea, *Un tezaur monetar medieval descoperit în zona oraşului Galaţi*, in CN, 9-11, 2005, pp.

¹⁰⁶ For the terrestrial trade routes which crossed the Balkan territories see S. Dimitrov, N. Jecev and V. Tonev, *Istoriya na Dobroudja*, Sofia, 1988, t. 3, p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ Anca Popescu, *Circulaţia mărfurilor la Dunărea de Jos reflectată în “kanunname”-le (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea*, in Rdel, t. 6, 1996, no. 3-4, p. 255-278.

¹⁰⁸ Şt. Andreescu, *Problema închiderii Mării Negre la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea şi în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, in the tome *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 138; M. Berindei, *Les venetiens en Mer Noire XVI-XVII siècles*, p. 207-224.

the request of the Venetian bail from Istanbul, Alvize Contarini, Girolamo Tomasi was appointed consul in the Chilia port on October 8/16 1640, the latter “*having to deal with the business of the Venetians who came to these regions*”¹⁰⁹.

In the last quarter of the 17th century, although the rivalries between the two “*blocs*”¹¹⁰ do not disappear, now begins an age of relative political calm between the Muslim world and the Christian one from the Mediterranean, between the East and the West of this important sea¹¹¹. But the most radical change in the Mediterranean during this century is the apparition in the waters of some extra-Mediterranean powers – the Dutch and the English fleets. The phenomenon had a strong echo in the Black Sea waters as well.

But not only the restrictions of the Sublime Porte limited the free trade in the Black Sea ports. At the time the maritime trade was also rendered more difficult by the Kazaks’ piracy. At the beginning of the 17th century in the Black Sea, the aggressive naval policy of the Kazaks from Moscow and Zaporojie makes its presence more and more felt¹¹².

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The consumer goods circulation could not be stopped, though. And together with the goods, which were brought either by land or by river and sea, various coins came to Dobroudja as well. Thus, from the North, by land, the goods and the money came on the old and acknowledged “*Moldavian route*”¹¹³. Coming from the great Baltic trade, via Poland – from Danzig, a trade port and largely developed centre in the 16th-17th century, which connected the occidental trade routes to the ones from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, passing through the important emporium Lwów – the goods and the coins entered Moldavia. From here they were transported by caravans, on the old “*Moldavian route*”, reaching south, at the Danube’s ports – Galați, Măcin, Isaccea – where the Ottoman customs was¹¹⁴. From these centres, the goods and the money could continue their way either by land – through Dobroudja or through

¹⁰⁹ Șt. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The recent studies mention that previously, Fra Emido had been appointed consul, but he died on the way. The researcher Ștefan Andreescu assumes that Fra Emido could be one and the same with Emido Portelli d’Ascoli who died in 1636 in a shipwreck near Ragusa, *Ibidem*, p. 136-137. So, it is likely that the Venetians had a consulate in Chilia a bit earlier.

¹¹⁰ See, for instance, the War of Moreea, between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, at the end of the century – 1684-1698. Defeated by the Treaty of Karlovitz, the Empire will take its revenge in the next confrontation, between 1714-1718.

¹¹¹ H. Coutau-Bégarie, *Seapower in the Mediterranean in the 18th-19th century*, in *Law, strategy and Policy in the Mediterranean*, Newport, Naval War College Press, John B. Hattendorf (ed.), 1999, p. 37.

¹¹² Șt. Andreescu, *Reacții contra dominației otomane asupra mării Negre în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea: alianța între cazaci și tătari*, in SMIM, 19, 2001, pp. 129-153.

¹¹³ In 1619, the Venetian Polo Minia greatly praised this route, (E. de Hurmuzaki, IV/I, Bucharest, 1882, p. 599, doc. 516). The famous route started declining after 1672, because of the Turkish-Polish conflicts. These led to the forced exodus towards Transylvania of a high number of Armenian traders from Moldavia.

¹¹⁴ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului...op. cit.*, pp. 295-301; see also M. Mollat, *Istanbul à la rencontre de la Mer Noire et de la Méditerranée*, in AIESEE. Bulletin, t. 12, 1974, no. 2, pp. 31-32.

Wallachia to the Balkans – or by sea. On this important route there came the United Provinces of the Netherlands coins, of the Western and South-Western Europe – especially the lion-thalers, the florins of 28 stuivers and the reals – together with the Polish coins. The latter group is formed by current issues, alongside early coins – from the 15th century – already out of use on the Polish market, but still circulating on the Romanian territories.

Following the monetary types analysis in its structure, we believe that the deposit from Eforie Sud I was gathered in this geographical area – Baltic- Polish-Moldavian – reaching in the end Dobroudja. A category of coins came by sea, from the Baltic trade, a second category from the Polish- Moldavian space and, it is possible that a third category should have joined the hoard right in Dobroudja. However, the entire batch was destined for a journey on the Black Sea towards Constantinople, or towards South-Western and Western Europe. But, for different reasons, the hoards ended up in the sea, at 30-40 m from the shore. We believe that the “Eforie Sud II” hoard¹¹⁵ reached this territory also by sea, but this time coming from the Black Sea to Dobroudja. The hoard comes from the Venetian and Dutch traders area of great interest, from the Danube’s Mouths¹¹⁶.

A second trade route came from the west, from Wallachia, by land, with the caravans, or by river, with the ships on the Danube. Mostly the coins from Transylvania, Central and Southern Europe penetrated Dobroudja on this route. We think that the monetary hoards from Silistra, Cernavodă, Viile, Isaccea and Hârșova were circulated on this Danube route.

Finally, from the south, the coins came either by land, from the Mediterranean trade area, via the Balkans, or by sea, through the trade practiced on the Black Sea. Following these routes, the Turkish coins – akçes, dirhems, paras – and those of Western, South-Western and Southern Europe – especially the Venetian ducats, the United Provinces of the Netherlands lion-thalers, the florins of 28 stuivers and the Spanish reals, arrived on the monetary market of Dobroudja.

A large number of traders of various nations bustled with goods and money on these important routes. In 1632, for instance, the Dutch messenger in Constantinople, Paul of Strassburg, mentions that in Bucharest all the town’s streets and markets were full of expensive goods which had been exhibited for sale by Italian, Greek, Romanian, Turkish and Serbian merchants¹¹⁷. Beside these, as the historian Nicolae Iorga emphasises¹¹⁸, there were also Spanish Jews, many of them coming from the Ottoman Empire where they had settled after their driving away from Spain¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵ We think that the important deposit at Vadu came on the Black Sea shores also by sea, coming from the Black Sea to Dobroudja.

¹¹⁶ See Șt. Andreescu, *Problema închiderii Mării...op. cit.*; M. Berindei, *Les venetiens en ...op. cit.*; P. Cernovodeanu, *Comerțul Țărilor Române...op. cit.*

¹¹⁷ *Călători străini în Țările Române*, t. 5, p. 643; N. Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 53; *Istoria Românilor*, t. 5, p. 462.

¹¹⁸ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc*, t. I, (*up to 1700*), Vălenii de Munte, 1915, p. 333.

¹¹⁹ R. Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris-Lille, 1990, pp. 10-11.

We should also not neglect the merchants from Republic of Ragusa role in the Romanian Countries trade and in the Western European coins spreading. The ships of Ragusa often came, alongside the Italian (especially Genovese) ones, in the Spanish ports from Cadix, Lisbona, Malaga and Alicante¹²⁰. Using both land and sea routes, they had their own centres in the big towns, and at the Danube's Mouths – at Babadag, Isaccea and Chilia, as well as in other areas from the Balkans – Silistra, Varna, Provadia, Sofia, Belgrad¹²¹. The merchants from Ragusa settled in the Romanian Countries and in the Balkans, forming true colonies of traders. The trade which they practiced however decreases in the second half of the 17th century, particularly after the great earthquake of 1667 which killed more than half of the inhabitants of Ragusa¹²², implicitly reducing the Republic role in the Adriatic trade, as well as that of market of the Balkan products.

From Poland, the circulation of goods, and especially of the coins – Polish and Western European – from the lands of Ruthenia to the Romanian Countries and to the Ottoman Empire was carried out mainly by the Armenian merchants from Lwów¹²³.

Also the Sublime Porte took some measures to protect the merchants who brought or carried goods by ship on the Danube¹²⁴. In 1618, for instance, the sultan Osman II demands the ruler of Wallachia, Gabriel Movilă, and the “*zabits*”¹²⁵ from some small ports on the Danube – Rusciuc, Nicopole, Silistra, Vidin, Turtucaia – to not make it difficult for the merchant Grigore and his men, who were bringing to the Empire sheep and cattle from Wallachia, gathered from several counties of the country. In the same document it is shown that such *translations of this act* were given to other merchants too, such as the coachman Petru and his people, who bought with their own money 10,000 sheep from several counties of the country¹²⁶. If at the beginning of the century the sultan warnings were rather gentle¹²⁷, towards the end, during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu, they became extremely severe. In June

¹²⁰ V. Vásquez de Prado, *Lettres marchands d'Anvers*, t. 1, p. 507.

¹²¹ C. Șerban, V. Șerban, *Rolul economic și politico-militar al orașelor din Dobrogea de Nord în secolele XVI-XVII*, in Peuce, 1971, no. 2, p. 285. They mention the bazaars from Tulcea where the merchants from Chios came with wine and fish. For the year 1623 the fairs at Babadag and Isaccea are known, where the merchants from Ragusa met, (M. Maxim, *Un tezaur ottoman din secolul al XVII-lea descoperit la Nalbant, jud. Tulcea*, in CN, 1996, no. 6, p. 207, apud K. Pârvan, *Asprul ottoman în contextual circulației monetare în țările române din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, diploma paper, Bucharest, 1979, p. 14-25, mss.

¹²² The town will spectacularly reborn around the middle of the 18th century, R. Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire...* pp. 334-336.

¹²³ *Vide supra*, notes 32, 33 and 49.

¹²⁴ See to this matter an order of the sultan Ahmed addressed to the ruler of Wallachia, Radu Șerban, dating from January 1609, which demanded him to punish those who plundered in the area of the lake Bistreț the ship of the trader Hagi Huseyn bringing goods from Belgrad. He was bringing 2,000 ells of Indian satin, velvet, kemha (brocade), dishes for 20 small tables, 1,000 gold coins in cash, (Th. Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române cu Poarta Otomană în documente turcești(1601-1712)*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 130-133, doc. 36).

¹²⁵ Local Authorities.

¹²⁶ Th. Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române ...*, pp. 187-189, doc. 75.

¹²⁷ Iolanda Tighilu, *Dunărea și “pax otomanica” în sec. XVI-XVIII*, in RdeI, 5, 1994, 11-12, pp. 1149-1153.

1697, for example, the sultan Mustafa II demanded the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu to ensure the security on the entire Danube Romanian course, threatening that “...if only one man shall suffer damages, not only will you have to repay everything that he was plundered of and lost, but you will also be killed...”¹²⁸.

Many testimonies of the century mention the fact that more and more foreign merchants now settled in the big towns or fairs in the Romanian Countries, especially in the ones situated on the great trade routes¹²⁹. The Minorite Emanuele Remodi shows in 1636 that at Iași there are 65 houses of Hungarian Catholics, French, Venetians or other merchants of Roman religion¹³⁰. In 1640, the Catholic priest Deodato Baksič mentioned a group of Greek merchants, established at Târgoviște, a town which became again the capital of Wallachia, who go to Venice every year carrying wax; “others go to Germany and Poland and all over Turkey and they are rich and powerful merchants”¹³¹.

Also, from a document from 1639, issued by Gheorghe I Rakoczi, the prince of Transylvania, we learn that in order to sell 5,000-6,000 sheep, an Ottoman merchant was asked for a real/thaler for each sheep, or 12 *dutce* (triple grossus), if he came to Transylvania. The prince bound himself to transport the animals only up to the Danube¹³². The *firman* from April 18, 1671, addressed to the *cadis* (judges) and all the high officials on the route between Istanbul and the border of Wallachia, asked to not stop and hinder the ones who brought sheep – 45, 000 heads from Wallachia¹³³. In the same period of time, from Bucharest 120 scales of melted butter (10,300 kg) and cheese were bought and stored to be sent to Istanbul¹³⁴.

Being more and more part of the international trade, the Romanian Countries got directly involved, increasing the number of producers, craftsmen and merchants. Referring to the trade with Poland, the chronicler Miron Costin notices “...Wallachia was, they say, full of gold, where at the time (during the reign of Vasile Lupu 1634-1653, n.n.) they brought from Moldavia oxen, horses, honey for sale and they brought from that country gold and silver...”¹³⁵. The number of merchants, of money changers and of money lenders increases substantially now, in the 17th century.

The money exchange and the money trade profitableness caused an increasing number of foreign merchants, money changers and money lenders, especially Turks, Greeks and Jews, to settle down in the Romanian Countries. Especially in the second half of the 17th century, a lot of foreign creditors and merchants accompany in the

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 444-446, doc. 216.

¹²⁹ See to this matter the document from September 23, 1616, in which they mention the selling of some houses in Iași (Documents concerning the Romanian History (DIR), A, Moldavia, XVII, p. 47-48, no. 70), or the testimonies of some foreign travellers.

¹³⁰ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, t. 5, p. 95; Șt. Andreescu, *Problema închiderii...*, p. 136.

¹³¹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, t. 4, p. 35.

¹³² Șt. Meteș, *Relațiile comerciale ale Țării Românești cu Ardealul până în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Sighișoara, 1920, p. 160.

¹³³ Th. Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române...*, pp. 335-337, doc. 150.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 338-340, doc. 152.

¹³⁵ Miron Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, Bucharest, 1956, p. 153.

Romanian Countries the new rulers who had borrowed money from them. Part of them settled here, dealing mainly with changing and trading money.

The values fluctuations from one area to another, as well as from one period to another, brought money gains to those who practiced such a job. If we take into account the ratio gold/silver from different European states¹³⁶ and its fluctuations from one area to another, we can explain the multiple monetary manipulations which happen in this century. Certainly, these fluctuations have consequences in the Ottoman Empire and, implicitly, in the Romanian Countries too.

Table VI
Monetary equivalences in the Ottoman Empire, in proportion to the akçe¹³⁷

Period	Venetian ducat	Spanish real	Dutch thaler
1600	125	78	68
1618	150	100	?
1632	220	110	100
1641	168	80	70
1646	170	80	80
1655	175	90	90
1668	250	110	120
1676	300	125	120
1683	300	130	120
1691	300-400	120-160	120-160

Table VII
Monetary equivalences in Poland, the Ottoman Empire, Wallachia and Moldavia¹³⁸

Period	Country	Venetian ducat	Spanish real	Dutch thaler	German thaler	Florin of 28 stuivers	Polish grossus	Ottoman akçe
1588	Lwów				1		36	
1588	Ottoman Empire				1			85

¹³⁶ In 1686 in Spain it was of 16.48, in England of 15.39, at Hamburg of 14.80, at Istanbul 16.00. See V. Vázquez de Prado, *Historia económica y social de España*, t.3 (*los siglos XVI-XVII*), Madrid, 1978, p. 635. For the gold/silver ratio, Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 136.

¹³⁷ Table drawn up following the pattern of the one drawn up by Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History...*, p. 144.

¹³⁸ Table drawn up according to the equivalences given by W. Szlapinkij, *op. cit.*, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 252, p. 2214, file 253, p. 739, file 400, p. 897, 976, file 53, p. 280, file 734, p. 168, 174, file 1147, p. 10,11, 80, file 1147, p. 37-39, 42-43, 45-46, 126, 135, 137 and file 48, p. 161, file 248, p. 948, 950, 952, file 524, p. 979.

1588	Moldavia							80
1599	Lwów			1			33	1
End of 16 th -beginning of 17 th	Ottoman Empire	1					57/60	
End of 16 th -beginning of 17 th	Lwów	1					56/60	
End of 16 th -beginning of 17 th	Moldavia	1					57/60	
1600	Ottoman Empire			1			35/40	70/80
1601	Danzig			1			30	1
1601	Thorun			1			29	1
1604	Lwów			1			34	1
1611	Lwów		1				40/42	
1620	Lwów		1				66/75	
1628/1629	Lwów						90	
1629	Iași					1	60	
1629	Lwów					1	54/60	
1636	Lwów					1	50	
1636	Bucharest					1	75	
1638	Danzig			1			75	
1638	Lwów			1			80	

But not only the equivalences fluctuation between coins brought gains, but also the difference between the coins weight. Thus, an imperial thaler weighed 25.98g of pure silver, while a lion-thaler only weighed 20.76 g, which means a rate of exchange of 1.25. Inevitably, the market prices were different in the Ottoman Empire various regions. The gold coins, for instance, were better rated in the Balkans, while

the silver coins were more valuable in the west of the Empire. So it was extremely profitable to buy the current coin at a low price in the west and then sell it with a higher price in Levant.

Although the *akçe* was no longer the current vital coin which used to be in the 16th century, still it remained the basic counting unit, all the references in the documents being done almost exclusively to it. At the end of the 17th century it was replaced by the *kurush*.

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To conclude, the Lower Danube area was a disputed place because of the important position it held on the commercial axis which connected the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean. Ever since the 13th century, the Genovese settlement at the Danube's Mouths served some strategic interests which gave the possibility of controlling a certain European trade routes segment. This trade area became more important during the 16th–17th century, when Europe was flooded with the silver and the gold brought by Spain from America. After 1550, the growth of the reserve of precious metals, due to the American overproduction of cheap silver and gold, caused an impressive amount of coins manufactured from these metals to pour out from the West to the Ottoman Empire. Especially the silver coming from the New World represented a vital source for financing Europe's trade, in general, and the trade with the Levant, in particular. Forming a unique economic universe, the Empire was at the time the biggest consumer of high value coins. From the end of the 16th century / the beginning of the 17th, the lack of cash in the Empire, and the massive devaluation of its silver coin became important factors in spreading the European coins and their devalued versions. The *akçe* extreme instability and, as a consequence, the loss of trust in it, was one of the factors which generated the flow of cheap silver from Europe, having devastating effects on the Ottoman monetary stability. The lack of their own coin was compensated by the West European coins. The most representative silver coins on the Ottoman Empire market and of the territories depending on it were the Dutch lion-thaler, named *esedi-kuruş* or *aslanli-kuruş*, and the Spanish coin of 8 reals, also named *real-kuruş*. Beside these denominations, the florins of 28 stuivers, named *Polish zolota*, "*talary zlotowe*" were successful too¹³⁹. They circulated in the Balkans, in the West and the centre of Anatolia, in Syria and Egypt, in the North-West of Africa. The gold coins, such as the Venetian ducat and the Hungarian ducat, circulated mainly in the Balkans.

As the Romanian Countries were under the Sublime Porte suzerainty, their economy was mostly oriented towards the south, playing an important role in ensuring its supplies of raw materials. Dobroudja – part of the Empire – became a transit territory for the goods which travelled to or came from Istanbul. In the 17th century,

¹³⁹ W. Szlapinkij, p. 12, note 60, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 248, p. 948.

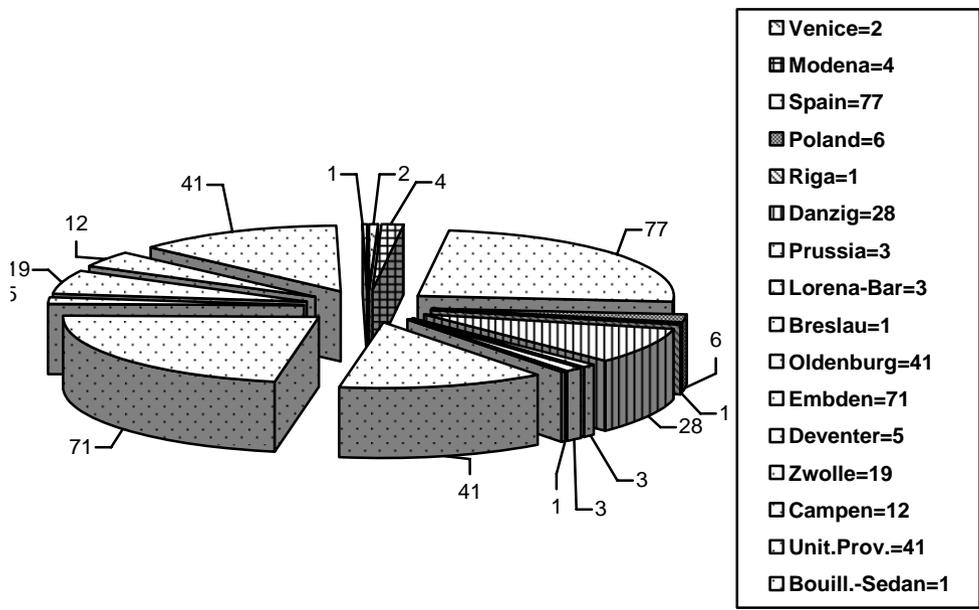
the trade connections increase with the new European economic and financial powers – France, England, Holland – was imperative. Their competition led to the role and the importance declining that the trade practiced with the big Italian towns had.

From the facts known so far, we notice that, compared to the abundance of documentary information concerning the economic life in Dobroudja and at the Danube's Mouths in the 17th century, the coin discoveries are not consistent with it, either in number, or in importance. We take the liberty to assume that the lack of systematic, vast excavations in the contemporary sites is one of the objective reasons, together with the fact that the scientific data gathered so far are not made available. We should also add the subjective human and material reasons. That is, the precious metal temptation, which the medieval coins are generally made of, and the fear, still existing, in the relations between people and the authorities. These would be, in our opinion, the main reasons why we still cannot have a distinct and real image of the economy in the 16th–17th century or a clear coin discoveries record in this area. Therefore, the statistics which we have attempted to make are partial and relative.

A general overlook on these deposits reveals the following situation, depending on the issuing country.

Table II
The coins distribution on issuers from the five 17th century hoards

Issuers	Babadag (1556/1589 - 1637 - 1657	Eforie Sud I (1527/1598- 1621/1665)	Eforie Sud II (1576 – 1621/1665)	Cotu Văii (1576 – 1680)	Silistra (1545/ 1555/ 1608- 1679)	Total
ITALY						
Modena		1	2	1		4
Venice		2				2
SPAIN	7	3	67			77
POLAND						
Crown					6	6
Riga					1	1
Danzig	4	22			2	28
Prusia- Brandenburg		1			2	3
THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE						
Principality of Bouillon-Sedan			1			1
The Duchy of Lorraine and Bar		1			2	3
The Bishopric of Breslau					1	1
Oldenburg	1	17	12	11		41
Embden	1	23	26	19	1	70
Dewenter i.c.	1	2	2			5
Zwolle i.c.		2	5	11	1	19
Campen i.c.			3	8	1	12
THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS						
Zwolle		1		1		2
Campen		1		1		2
Geldern	1	3		6		10
Westfriesland		3		2	2	7
Utrecht		2		3	1	6
Holland			2	5		7
Zeeland				1	1	2
Dewenter				1		1
Overijssel	1		2			3
Friesland			1			1



Graph no. 8. The five hoards structure on issuers

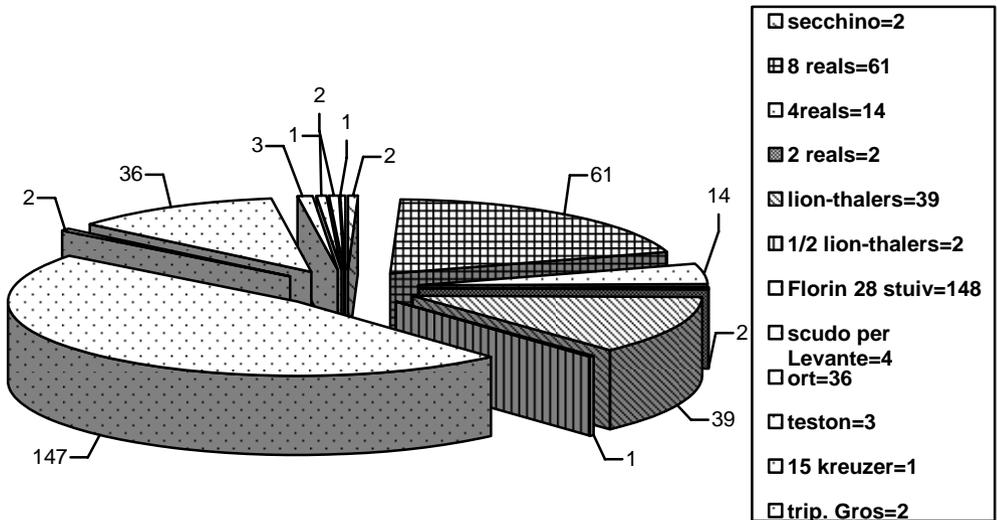
Thus, we notice that the five hoards have remarkable similarities in the issuers point, the workshops of origin and even the issues percentage from different countries and cities which are part of them. Obviously, with some exceptions which, besides, prove the rule.

Let us further analyse the five presented deposits composition on denominations. They consist mainly of high value coins – of gold and of silver, of medium value silver coins, while the small coins are poorly represented.

**Table III
The coins distribution from the five hoards on denominations**

Denominations	Hoards					Total
	Babadag (1556/1589 -1637-1657)	Eforie Sud I (1557/1598-1621/1665)	Eforie Sud II (1576-1621/1665)	Cotu Văii (1576-1680)	Silistra (1545/1555 /1608-1679)	
Sequin		2				2
8 reals	4	3	54			61
4 reals	1		13			14
2 reals	2					2
Lion-thaler	2	9	4	20	4	39
½ lion-thaler		1	1			2

Écu of 30 stuivers			1			1
Florin of 28 stuivers	3	44	49	49	3	148
Scudo per Levante		1	2	1		4
Ort	4	23			9	36
Teston		1			2	3
15 kreuzer					1	1
Triple grosz					2	2



Graph no. 9. The five hoards structure on denominations

From the analysis of table II we conclude that the highest number of issues from the five hoards which we analysed is represented by the high value silver coins – thalers, reals and florins of 28 stuivers – 266 samples. The florins of 28 stuivers minted by the Holy Roman Empire come first – 153 samples. Among these, the coins from Embden – 71 samples stand out, followed by the issues from Oldenburg – 41 samples. In a smaller number, there are the florins from the imperial towns of the Netherlands: Zwolle – 19 samples, Campen – 12 samples and Dewenter – 5 samples, as well as those from Italy, from Modena – 4 samples and, in the same category, 1 sample of écu of 30 stuivers from the Principality of Bouillon-Sedan. On the second place the are the issues from the kingdom of Spain – with 79 samples of reals. The lion-thalers minted by the United Provinces of the Netherlands come third, with 41 samples.

Next, there is the silver coin of medium value – the orts, the testons and the 15 kreuzer – 40 samples. The majority is formed by the orts minted in Poland – Crown, Danzig and the duchy of Prussia as a Polish fief – 36 samples. They are followed by the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar with 3 samples of teston and the Bishopric of Breslau – one coin of 15 kreuzer.

The small coin is poorly represented in the five deposits – two samples of triple grosz, one minted by Poland, the other one by Riga.

Finally, in one of the hoards – “Eforie Sud I” – there are also two gold coins – sequins minted by the Serene Republic of Venice.

The analysis of the 17th century hoards foundet on the territory of our country¹ - Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Dobroudja, revealed the fact that the which we presented five hoards monetary structure, even the percentage of each type of coins, are specific for the discoveries dating from the 17th century. In these deposits the majority is formed by the high value silver coins. Unlike the previous century, in the 17th century on the Romanian Countries monetary market we could find, in a smaller amount, the coins from the German – Austrian territories. In this age, especially from the century second period, the coins which predominate are the ones minted in the United Provinces of the Netherlands – lion-thalers, as well as the reals minted in the kingdom of Spain and its colonies. The amount of small silver coins is more and more diminished, especially after its severe devaluation during the War of 30 Years – 1618-1624. It is constantly replaced by the medium value coins – orts, testons, 30, 20, 15

¹ In recent years the analysis of the high value silver coins, foundet on the Romanian territories, as well as their penetration and circulation in this space during the 16th – 17th century has been done with particular rigorousness. At the moment there is an impressive literature on the subject-matter, to which the authors of this paper have contributed greatly. Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter and E. Păunescu, *Circulația talerilor în sec. XVI-XVII în Țara Românească. Problema falsurilor (tezaurul de la Urziceni, jud. Ialomița)*, in CN, 6, 1990, pp.163 – 184; Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *Unele aspecte ale circulației talerilor în Moldova (Tezaurul de la Tanacu, jud. Vaslui, sec. XVII)*, in ActaMM, XII-XIV, 1990-1992, 1992, p. 401-418; eadem, *La circulation des monnaies en argent des Pays-Bas sur le territoire des Principautés Roumaines au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Numismatique, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993, pp.47-60; eadem, *Tezaurul de la Săpoca, jud. Buzău*, in Musaios, IV/I, 1994, pp. 343-365; V.M.Butnariu, E.Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vara Paiul, Ana Niculiță and Raisa Tabuică, *Tezaure din muzeele orașului Chișinău, secolele XVI-XVIII*, Chișinău, 1994; B. Murgescu, *Circulația monetară în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1996; Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *Tezaurul de la Pietrele*, Bucharest, 1996; eadem, *La circulation des monnaies en argent à haute valeur des états, des villes et des autorités ecclésiastiques allemands sur le territoire roumain aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in Actes du XII^e Congrès International de Numismatique, Berlin, 2000, p. 1441-1448; Ana-Maria Velter, *Taler-leul – precursorul monedei naționale a României moderne*, in *Crearea sistemului monetar românesc modern – 130 ani*, Bucharest, 1997, p.289-293; Ana-Maria Velter and Gabriel Custurea, *Monede spaniole descoperite în Dobrogea*, in *Istro-Pontica-Reverential tome*, Tulcea, 2000, p. 573-580; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Circulația în țările române a monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată emise de statele, orașele și forurile ecleziastice germane, în perioada secolelor XVI-XVII*, in CN, 8, 2002, pp. 273-308; eadem, *Relații economice ale Țărilor române cu Spania; circulația monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată emise de coroana spaniolă pe teritoriul Țărilor Române în secolele XVI-XVII*, in RI, n.s., 15, 2004, 1-2, pp. 151-190; eadem, *Tezaurul de la Dridu-Snagov, jud. Ialomița și unele aspecte ale circulației monetare în Țara Românească în secolul al XVII-lea*, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 413-438; Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Un tezaur monetar medieval descoperit în zona orașului Galați*, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 439-454.

and 10 kreuzers. The gold coin is also present: in mixed hoards, together with silver Denominations, or in homogenous deposits, formed only by gold issues.

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During the Middle Ages the gold coin use was frequent in the Romanian countries. It was mainly circulated in major payments, on the one hand political and economical, and on the other hand, in land transactions and to purchase some important valuable goods from the country, and especially from abroad. Thus, the gold coins majority left the Romanian Countries territory. Only within this context could we explain the discrepancy between the written report, which is to be found in the documents of that period, and the real situation, the one on the territory. For instance, as far as the 17th century is concerned, while the documents are rich in evidence which indicate the gold coins as means of payment, in the hoards structure the high or medium value silver coins are the ones that prevail.

Within the gold coins, an important place on the Romanian Countries monetary market was held by the Venetian ducats. They entered in the monetary circulation in the second half of the 14th century.² Their number increased in the next centuries, especially from the second half of the 16th century and in the 17th century.³ Besides, the Serene Republic most numerous issues come from a hoard dating from the end of the 17th century, foundet in Dobroudja, in the place Vadu, Constanța County⁴.

² O.Iliescu, *La Monnaie vénétienne dans les Pays Roumains de 1202 à 1500*, in RESEE, 15, 1977, 2, pp. 354-361. the Brăești Hoard, Botoșani County, O. Iliescu, *op. cit.*; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, in E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, A. Vîlcu and M. Dima, *Monede de aur din colecții românești. Colecții din Muntenia*, Bucharest, 2001, p.14; the Târgoviște hoard, Dâmbovița County, O. Iliescu, *op.cit.*; the Schela Cladovei hoard, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți County, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15; the Sopor de Câmpie hoard, Frata commune, Cluj County, O. Iliescu, *op.cit.*, p.360

³ The Ghimpați hoard, Giurgiu County, Ana-Maria Velter, *Un tezaur monetar din sec. XV-XVI, descoperit la Ghimpați, jud. Giurgiu*, in CN, 4, 1982, pp.133-139; the Bălțata hoard, r. Criuleni, Rep. Moldova, V. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculiță, Raisa Tabuică, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-38; B. Murgescu, *Circulația monetară în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1996, pp. 142-144; the Cupcui hoard, r. Leova, rep. Moldova, V. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculiță, Raisa Tabuică, *op.cit.*, pp.42-43; the Zimnicea mixed hoard, Teleorman County, formed by gold coins – an Ottoman one and a Venetian one; silver coins – of high value and small coins – Polish, German, I. Spiru, *Informații asupra circulației monetare în județul Teleorman în secolele XIV-XIX*, in BSNR, 70-74, (1976-1980), 1981, 124-128, p. 653 and note 5.

⁴ S.Iosipescu, *O excepțională descoperire arheologică: tezaurul monetar din Cetatea Armanul Negru*, in MI, 21, 1987, 12, pp. 26-28. We regret the fact that such an important hoard, both historically and economically, and from a numismatic point of view, has not been processed and published in great detail yet. The Vadu hoard, Constanța County, covers the period between 1564-1684/1699. it is mainly made up of gold coins – 176 samples, out of which: the most numerous are the Venetian ducats – 147 samples, the Holy Roman Empire 12 samples [Austria, Frankfurt (3), Nürnberg, Rostock, Hamburg, Dewenter, Zwolle, Campen (3)], the Ottoman Empire – 7 samples, the United Provinces of the Netherlands – 5 samples and Hungary – 5 samples. Beside these issues, the deposit also contains 23 thalers [St. Galen, Saxonia, Geldern, Hungary (2), Alsacia (2), Tyrol (3), Austria (13)], as well as 26 samples of Spanish reals. The latter are mainly minted in the Mexico mint. Most samples date from the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665).

Ever since the 14th century Venice had been present in the Romanian Countries, not only aiming to consolidate and expand the economic relations, but also trying to conclude an alliance in the battle against the Ottomans. In Dobroudja, the Venetian merchants were granted many privileges both by the Golden Horde khans⁵ and by the Sublime Porte, their trade with *La Serenissima* brought them important revenues. The trade at the Mouths of Danube was extremely profitable for the Republic by providing the wheat which was so necessary⁶.

The Venetian coins reached the Romanian territories through trading. From the Romanian Countries to Venice there were ships carrying large amounts of wheat, wool, tweed, bedspreads made of goat hair or of long wool thread, fish, coffee, Walachia wax, oil, fine tobacco, saffron, cattle, horses and leather goods – ox leather⁷. On their return the merchants brought: sugar, cloth – *ossia*, “*panni veneti*”, expensive cloths – velvet, brocade, Indian satin, muslin, gold threaded silk, moiré, damask, “*gold threaded cloth, silk, jewellery*”⁸, glasses, glassware, faience, Venetian mirrors, guns, as well as some special goods – candles, frames, books⁹, nails, shingle¹⁰.

The two samples of Venetian ducats from the Eforie Sud hoard are issued, as we have mentioned, one during of Francesco Erizzo doge period (1631 – 1646), the other one during of Francesco Molino time (1646-1655).

The conflicts between the Sublime Porte and Venice, sometimes smouldering, sometimes outspoken, lasted for centuries. The Sublime Porte desire was to occupy Venice’s possessions, especially in the Mediterranean¹¹. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Empire managed to set up a colony of merchants right on the Venetian territory¹². In 1645, during of Francesco Erizzo doge time, a new Venetian–Ottoman war broke out – *the War for Crete*. The conflict continued during of Francesco Molino doge period (1646-1655). It lasted 24 years, the war periods alternating with the Venetian Senate diplomatic attempts to make peace with the Sublime Porte¹³. The war resulted in the loss of some important territories belonging to Venice, first of all the

⁵ N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chilieii și Cetății Albe*, Bucharest, 1899, pp. 26-27; idem, *Istoria comerțului românesc*, tome I, *Ancient Age*, Bucharest, 1925, pp. 35-37, 75-77.

⁶ In 1360, at Chilia, “*the Genovians and the Venetians were fighting over the wheat trade*”, N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra ...*, p.49

⁷ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului...*, tome I, pp. 219 and 286.

⁸ Marino Sanudo, *Diarii*, tome VI, pp. 290-291 apud A. I. Gonța, *Legăturile economice dintre Moldova și Transilvania în secolele XIII-XVII*, Bucharest, 1989, 103.

⁹ Gh. Carageani, *Venezia e gli Aromeni (I Macedoromeni)*, in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: Veneziani e Romeni, tracciati di storie comuni*, Rome, 2003, pp. 134-135.

¹⁰ To this matter, in the 17th century, Vasile Lupu, for instance, in order to repair the Yards, had to take “*from the treasury reserve funds 60 ducats to buy from Bistrița lath nails and shingle*”, E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XV/II, p. 1197, doc. 2245 and p. 1202, doc. 2256.

¹¹ C. Redina, *Dogii Veneției. Istorie și secrete*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 384.

¹² A. Pippidi, *La Chiesa dei Greci di Venezia, punto di riferimento per I rapporti tra Venezia e I Paesi romeni*, in *Dall’Adriatico al Mar Nero: Veneziani e Romeni, tracciati di storie comuni*, Rome, 2003, p.97.

¹³ Venice’s expenses to support the war became alarming, the Serenissima was forced to sell titles of patrician – between 60,000 – 100,000 ducats a title, Gh. Carageani, *Venezia e gli Aromeni...*, pp. 134-135.

island of Crete, ending the Republic hegemony in the Oriental Mediterranean, the so-called “*state of the sea*” created in the 13th century.

In the last quarter of the 17th century, due to the frequent armed conflicts between the Sublime Porte and the Venetian Republic, the Venetian merchants presence on the Empire territories, therefore in Dobroudja too, decreased significantly. Their place was quickly taken by the Dutch, French and English merchants.

In Dobroudja, beside the samples from the hoards, Venetian gold coins also come from a series of isolated discoveries¹⁴. Together with the original issues, there are also numerous Venetian ducats imitations and counterfeits.

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The best represented high value silver coin in the five hoards is the florin of 28 stuivers, or 2/3 thaler gulden. The samples from these deposits were minted by Embden, Oldenburg, by the imperial towns Campen, Zwolle and Dewenter, as well as by the Italian duchy of Modena, which minted Embden florin imitations – *Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante*. This nominal is to be found in significant number not only for the deposits in question, or for Dobroudja, but, generally, in all the discoveries dating from the 17th century and which contain high value silver coins foundet in our country¹⁵. Following the analysis of these hoards, the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden come first – present in 29 hoards and 6 isolated discoveries, on the second place being the ones minted by Oldenburg, in 22 hoards and 3 isolated discoveries¹⁶. These deposits come mainly from the areas situated outside the Carpathians – Moldavia, Walachia and Dobroudja. From Dobroudja, up to now, we know only of 6 hoards¹⁷ and 6 isolated discoveries¹⁸ which contain such florins. In the Romanian hoards, the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden and Oldenburg highest percentage

¹⁴ Venetian coins from Dobroudjan isolated discoveries: Mangalia, doge Bertuccio Valier, sequin, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, p. 297, no. 8; Târnușor-Ester, ducat (sequin?), counterfeit in lead plated in gold, only a quarter of the coin's stuck was preserved, G. Custurea, A. Vertan, G. Talmațchi, in *Pontica*, 32, 1999, p. 356, no. 2152; Pecineaga, doge Marino Grimani, ½ quatrino, A. Vertan, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, p. 317 no. 838; passim Pasquale Cicogna, silver ducat, counterfeit, *ibidem*, no. 839.

¹⁵ For this matter see our paper Ana-Maria Velter, Constanța Știrbu, *La circulation des monnaies en argent à haute valeur des états, des villes et des autorités ecclésiastiques allemands sur le territoire roumain aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International de Numismatique*, Berlin, 2000, p. 1441-1448; eadem, *Circulația în țările române a monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată emise de statele, orașele și forurile ecleziastice germane, în perioada secolelor XVI-XVII*, in *CN*, 8, 2002, p. 279 and table 2, pp. 296-304.

¹⁶ For this matter see Ana-Maria Velter, Constanța Știrbu, *Circulația monedelor de argint cu valoare ridicată...*, p. 279 and table 2, pp. 296-304, as well as the hoards in this paper.

¹⁷ Beside the four hoards presented in this paper – Eforie Sud I, Eforie Sud II, Cotu Văii and Silistra – in Dobroudja the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden and Oldenburg are also present in the Viile hoard, Constanța County (G. Custurea, A. Murat, in *Pontica*, 12, 1979, pp. 207-219; G. Custurea, Antoaneta Vertan, G. Talmațchi, in *Pontica*, 30, 1997, p. 382, no. 1806-1814) and Cernavodă, Constanța County (G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 11, 1978, pp. 253-257; Antoaneta Vertan, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 21-22, 1988-1989, p. 386).

¹⁸ *Vide infra*, table III.

is held by the samples coined during of Ferdinand III emperor reign – 1637-1657. However, taking into account the fact that in the discoveries from our country they did not find any florins issued by Anton Günther (1603-1667) during of Leopold I emperor reign (1655-1687), we limit the period of mintage of these coins to the period between 1637-1655. Moreover, we assume that the majority of these samples date from 1649-1650, when these florins were coined in impressive amounts for the Levant¹⁹. On the whole, this percentage aspect of the coins from Embden and Oldenburg is also to be found in the hoards which we presented. Thus, in the “Eforie Sud I”, out of the total of 23 florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden, 6 samples are from the period of Ferdinand II (1619-1637), and 17 from the period of Ferdinand III (1637-1657); from the issues of Oldenburg, out of the total of 17 samples, 1 is coined during the period of Ferdinand II, and 16 from that of Ferdinand III. In the “Eforie Sud II” hoard, out of the total of 26 florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden, 16 are from the period of Ferdinand II (1619-1637), 8 from the period of Ferdinand III (1637-1657), and two samples, due to the precarious state of preservation, were dated by us sometime in the two issuers period – 1619-1637-1657; for the Oldenburg coinage, all 12 samples date from the period of Ferdinand III. In the batch of coins from Cotu Văii, out of the total of 19 samples minted by Embden, 11 date from the period of Ferdinand II, and 8 from that of Ferdinand III; from the Oldenburg florins, all 11 samples are coined during the reign of Ferdinand III. Finally, in the “Silistra” hoard, we have one sample minted by Embden during the reign of Ferdinand II.

Our assumption is also supported by the fact that, usually, the Oldenburg and Embden issues arrived in the Romanian countries together with the United Provinces coins, especially in the period when the latter were directed towards the Ottoman Empire as merchandise. From the notes of master Gerrit von Romunde, for instance, a coin manufacturer who worked in Embden between 1623-1631, we find out that the Embden guildens, together with the thalers and the florins from Campen and Zwolle, came through the Baltic trade, being sold in Danzig and Thorun to the Armenian merchants, “to be taken to Turkey, Tartaria and further away”²⁰. From the documents kept in the State Central Historical Archive from Lwów, we learn that in 1627, for instance, the Armenian Dawidowicz from Lwów, left to the Ottoman Empire with the sum of 2,377 lion-thalers, 1,552 Danzig orts and 2,621 florins of 28 stuivers²¹. In the

¹⁹ In 1649, for instance, in Oldenburg over 180,000 guildens were made for the trade with the Levant, which amounted to 16,211 silver marks. (H. Bendig, *Das oldenburgische Münzwesen zur Zeit des Grafen Anton Günther*, Münster, 1974, pp. 9-10).

²⁰ A. Kappelhoff, *Embder Silbergulden und Löwenthaler. Ein Beitrag zur Münzprägung der Stadt Embden in 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Embder Jahrbuch*, 42, 1962, p. 159.

²¹ W. Szlapinkij, *Wspoloddziaływanie rynkow pienieznych. Wojewodztwo Ruskie a Turcja, Moldawia i Woloszczyzna (od polowy XVI do polowy XVII w.)*, [Interaction between the monetary markets of Ruthenia, Turkey, Moldavia and Walachia, (from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century)], in *Wiadomosci Numizmatyczne*, 44, 2000, 1 (169), p. 13, note 72, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 522, p. 1104.

Polish documents the florins of 28 stuivers are called “*talary zlotowe*”²², “*taleros sexaginta crucipherorum dictos pulkopkowe*”²³, or “*taleros florenos*”²⁴.

As far as the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Campen, Zwolle and Dewenter are concerned, they represent imperial mintage, being coined by the United Provinces three towns given their statute of free, imperial fortified towns. They are not dated, being minted sometime during of Mathias I emperor reign – 1611-1619. Their presence in the Romanian hoards is in a smaller amount than the Embden and Oldenburg coins. In the Dobroudja discoveries the florins of 28 stuivers minted by the imperial towns Campen, Zwolle and Dewenter are present in five hoards – “Eforie Sud I” (4), “Eforie Sud II” (10), “Cotu Văii” (19), “Siliștra” (2), “Babadag” (1) – as well as in 3 isolated discoveries – from Topraisar, a silvered sample, minted at Zwolle; passim, a silvered sample coined at Zwolle too and also passim, a counterfeit from a sample minted by Dewenter²⁵. These issues entered the Romanian territories, especially in Walachia, together with the florins of 28 stuivers minted by Embden and Oldenburg, but especially together with the lion-thalers coined by the United Provinces.

Beside these coins, as a premiere for the discoveries in Romania, we also present six samples of the florins of 28 stuivers imitations – the so-called *Scudo da 28 bolognini per il Levante* – minted in the duchy of Modena, during the reign of Francesco I d’Este duke (1629-1658). The samples belong, the first, to the “Eforie Sud I” hoard, the next two to the deposit from Eforie Sud II, the forth, from the “Cotu Văii” batch, the fifth from the “Cernavodă” hoard, Constanța County²⁶, and the sixth from an isolated discovery from Slava Rusă, Tulcea County.

Francesco I d’Este (1629-1658) increased the prestige of Modena making it worthy of a duchy’s capital. The unwise expenses fro the construction and decoration of his palaces made him face serious financial difficulties. In order to cope with this, he introduced new taxes, reactivating the old ones²⁷. Under these circumstances, it is only natural that the duke resorted to the imitations of florins of 28 stuivers coinage which, as shown by their name – *Scudo per il Levante* – were minted purposefully to be sold as merchandise in Levant. From the 6 samples found in Dobroudja, the one from Slava Rusă is cast and made from a weak billon.

Beside these florins, to the Ottoman Empire and, implicitly, to the Romanian Countries, florins or écu of 30 stuivers were brought in a smaller amount. Such a sample, representing a premiere for the discoveries from Dobroudja, is the one issued

²² *Ibidem*, p.12, note 60, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 248, p. 948.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.12, note 61, cf. AICSL, fund 9, opis 1, file 37, p. 726.

²⁵ Antoaneta Vertan, G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 16, 1983, p. 318, no. 840-841; *Pontica*, 31, p. 324, no. 1995.

²⁶ G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 11, 1978, p., no. .

²⁷ Skilful condottiere and clever diplomat, he enjoyed luxury, his grand palaces – from Modena and Sassuolo – house great and splendid artistic values. He enjoyed spending money, being a true *Mecena* for the artists. He reintroduced all the customs taxes from the period of the old Pio family, which had been cancelled by his forerunner Cesare d’Este (1597/1628), in “*Seicento e Settecento – Sassuoloonline, due secoli di dominio estense*”, <http://www.sassuoloonline.it/dominioestense.htm>, 2005.

by the duke Henri de La Tour D’Auvergne (1594-1623) in the Principality of Boullion-Sedan, a sample which is present in the “Eforie Sud II” deposit.

The florins of 28 stuivers – weighing approximately 20 g. – quickly conquered the Balkan market. In the Ottoman Empire they even served as a model for the coinage of *zolota*²⁸. As we have seen, they had a wide circulation on the Romanian monetary market as well, being found in the 18th century hoards too²⁹. The wide circulation and the great popularity enjoyed by this nominal, its changing into merchandise for the Levant led, on the one hand, to the silver deliberate decrease in quality and in quantity, and on the other hand to its imitation, as well as to its counterfeiting on a large scale. We must notice here the fact that the florins of 28 stuivers from the “Eforie Sud I” and “Eforie Sud II” hoards are coined from a low quality metal and their weight is under standard.

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However, in the 17th century, the most important coins in circulation on the Romanian Countries market were the big silver coins as the thaler. Among these the thalers minted by the United Provinces of the Netherlands – the lion-thalers – prevailed, being the most spread and the most popular high value silver coin.

If in the Dobroudjan 16th century hoards the lion-thalers are not present, in the ones from the following century, the 17th, they become more and more numerous, their presence being familiar on the Dobroudjan market as well. Thus, out of the total of 110 deposits and 23 isolated discoveries dating from the 17th century and containing United Provinces of the Netherlands issues foundet in the Romanian territories, from Dobroudja, the lion-thalers come from 10 deposits: from Enisala and Nalbant, commune Lipnița, Tulcea County, from Medgidia, Viile and Vadu, Constanța County³⁰, as well as from the five hoards presented in this paper – Babadag, Eforie Sud I, Eforie Sud II, Cotu Văii and Silistra. From the isolated Dobroudjan discoveries the lion-thalers come from 17 points: from Canlia, Potârnichia, Hârșova, Isaccea, Oltina, Nalbant, an unknown place in the north of Dobroudja, as well as from other 10 unknown places in Dobroudja³¹.

²⁸ Until recently, “these samples were incorrectly called *kurus* by most of the researchers (see Ș. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 160 and Literature) they proved to be in fact *zolota* (*zolta*), a name which appears in numerous ottoman documents. Recently, based on the analysis of the numismatic ottoman material which exists in the collections in Romania and on the information from the expert literature, we stated that the *zolota* minted during the reign of the sultan Süleyman II (1687-1691) had as a model from a metrological point of view the samples of 28 stuivers, which had a great success on the Ottoman market in the second half of the 17th century”, A. Vilcu, *Observații asupra sistemului monetar otoman la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea*, dissertation at Pontica, 25th session of scientific dissertations, NHAMC, 22-24 October 2003 and idem, in CN, 9-11, 2003-2005, p. 469, note 5.

²⁹ V.M. Butnariu, E. Nicolae, Ana Boldureanu, Vera Paiul, Ana Niculiță and Raisa Tabuică, *Tezaurul din muzeele orașului Chișinău...*, p. 62, no. 41; G. Custurea, in *Pontica*, 11, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

³⁰ Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *La circulation des monnaies en argent...*, Annex II, p. 57; eadem, *Tezaurul de la Dridu-Sangov, jud. Ialomița...*

³¹ *Vide infra*, table III.

The lion-thalers spreading in the Balkans and, implicitly, in the Romanian Countries, was much facilitated after the year 1612, when the United Provinces signed the capitulations with the Ottoman Empire³². It is already known the fact that, once the trading routes in the Black Sea were open for them in the 17th century, the Dutch were able to establish at Chilia a permanent correspondent, and at Galați they had a warehouse to store the goods³³. These favourable circumstances, and the insufficient cash in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe left their mark on the structure of the 17th century hoards as well – the lion-thalers abundance and the preponderance in most of the deposits dating from this century. One of the coinage of lion-thalers important characteristics is the fact that the majority is grouped between the third and the fifth decades of this century. In this period they also became dominant in the money circulation, reaching the peak in the third decade of the 17th century, during the reign of Matei Basarab. This predominance is also reflected in the fact that the “taler’s tribute” was introduced then³⁴, the tax collectors – “the lion collectors”, “the thaler collectors”³⁵ – borrowed their name from this coin.

It was during this time that the United Provinces minted lion-thalers with the specific goal to serve as a merchandise for the Levant, important amounts of coins being directed towards the Ottoman Empire. From Poland, for example, through the Baltic trade, the lion-thalers entered Moldavia “*in huge amounts*”. Thus, according to the documents preserved in the State Central Historical archive in Lwów, in 1600 48,220 lion-thalers³⁶ left towards the Ottoman Empire, and in 1623 a sum of 102,000 lion-thalers³⁷ did the same. Also in 1623, an Armenian caravan left towards the Empire with 15,000 lion-thalers.³⁸ The amount of lion-thalers which left to Constantinople increased spectacularly during the war periods.

Out of 40 samples of lion-thalers present in the five deposits which we processed, minted between 1576 and 1666, 25 samples were coined between 1620-1650 (see table IV).

Another general hoards parameter which include lion-thalers and were foundet on the Romanian territory, is the fact that the province of Holland coins are the earliest. We also find this characteristic in the which we presented deposits structure. The earliest samples of lion-thalers belong to the provinces of Holland – from 1576 and 1589 – and of Utrecht – from 1598 – and they are part of the “Eforie Sud II” (Holland 1576) and “Cotu Văii” (Holland 1576, 1589 and Utrecht 1598) hoards.

³² T. Stoianovich, *Pour un modèle du commerce du Levant: économie concurrentielle et économie de bazaar 1500-1800*, in Bulletin, AIESEE, XXII, 2, 1974, p. 71.

³³ P. Cernovodeanu, *Comerțul Țărilor Române în veacul al XVII-lea*, in RdeI, 6, 1980, p. 1082.

³⁴ D. Mioc, *Reforma fiscală din vremea lui Matei Basarab*, in “Studii”, 12, 1959, pp. 53-83; N. Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, pp.61,70,171.

³⁵ *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului. Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România*, 3 (1653-1675), Bucharest, 1968, p.62, doc. 189, p. 308, doc. 1425, p. 91, doc. 332, p. 438, doc. 2084, pp. 514-515, doc. 2486

³⁶ W. Szlapinlij, *op.cit.*, p.10. note 37, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 517, p. 1107.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, note 38, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 39, p. 1051.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, note 39, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 39, p. 1051.

Due to their success on the European market, and especially in the Levant, the quantity of silver in the lion-thalers started to be decreased even in the official workshops, thus obtaining important profits. Also this type of thalers was greatly imitated³⁹ and counterfeited⁴⁰. Such samples coined under the standards in use, as well as imitations and counterfeits, arrived in the Romanian Countries too.

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The last category of high value silver coins analysed in the hoards which were presented, is that of the Spanish reals. As we have previously shown, the Spanish kings' first coins entered Wallachia in the middle of the 16th century. These were the issues from the time of Charles Quintus, coined at Nimwegen, Dewenter-Campen-Zwolle and Campen, followed by those from the time of Philip II, coined in the Spanish Netherlands – Brabant, Flandra, Tournai, Geldern, Zeeland, Utrecht and Holland⁴¹. But these types of thalers have not been found in Dobroudja so far.

A second category of Spanish coins which entered and circulated in the Romanian territories is that of the reals. These coins appear towards the end of the 16th century, especially in the southern regions, in Wallachia and Dobroudja. The coin discoveries analysis reveals the fact that most of the reals date however from the 17th century⁴². If only one isolated discovery of a Spanish real⁴³ from the 16th century

³⁹ In the 17th century the lion-thalers were imitated on a large scale in Italy, (M. Schulman, *Italiaansche Nabootsingen van Provinciale en Stedelijke Nederlandsche Munten*, in *Jaarboek voor Munte Penningkunde*, 24, 1937, pp.56-67; *ibidem*, 25, 1938, pp.1-14) at Embden, Brandenburg, Innsbruck, in Denmark, (H. Fengler, G. Gierow, W. Unger, *Transpres Lexicon Numismatik*, Berlin, 1976, p. 206.); in Transylvania, (H.T. Antal, *Régi Magyar pénznevek*, in NK, 1953/1954, p. 18; *idem*, *A taller értékváltozása Magyarországon 1542/1700 között*, in NK, 1963/1964, p. 26; J. Buza, *Der Kurs der Löwenthaler in Ost-Mitteuropa (mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen und Ungarn)*, in AHASH, 27, Budapest, 1981, p. 347, no. 55).

⁴⁰ Ever since 1585 the lion-thaler of the United Provinces had been widely counterfeited at Liège, (F. Braudel, *Mediterana și lumea mediterană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea*, Bucharest, 1986, tome III, p. 126, note 87). In Russia, due to their poorer qualities, the market quotation of the lion-thalers was lower than that of the other types of thalers, with 38 kopecks. Thus, they were not assimilated to the *jefimkis*, therefore they were not countermarked. Still, the lion-thalers with countermark of “*jefimok*” appeared on the market. Being considered for a long time a counterfeit of the age, these samples proved however to be made on purpose in the 19th century by the Russian counterfeiters, for collectors, (I. G. Spaski, *Ruskaja Monetnaja Sistema*, Leningrad, 1970, p.129).

⁴¹ It refers to the type of thalers *Philip* and *Bourgogne*.

⁴² Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter and E. Păunescu, *Circulația talerilor în Țara Românească în secolele XVI-XVII. Problema falsurilor. (Tezaurul de la Urziceni, jud. Ialomița)*, in CN, 6, 1990, p. 164.; Constanța Știrbu and Ana-Maria Velter, *Tezaurul de la Săpoca, județul Buzău*, Musaios, IV/I, 1994, p. 347-348; *Eadem*, *Tezaurul de la Pietrele*, Bucharest, 1966, p. 8.

⁴³ A coin of 4 reals issued during the reign of Philip II in the mint from Granada, discovered in an unknown place, Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, p. 573; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române...*, table II, p. 179, annex I, p. 180. Beside this sample we also know of four other, coming from isolated discoveries as well [Vadu (2), Isaccea (1) and *passim* (1)], but with an uncertain assigning – Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV, Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, pp. 573-574; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române ...*, table IV, p. 183, annex III, pp. 187-188.

comes from Dobroudja for certain, however the discoveries dating from the 17th century become much more significant. Thus, we know 11 isolated discoveries: two samples at Cernavodă, Constanța County⁴⁴, three in Dobroudja *passim*⁴⁵, two samples at Isaccea, Tulcea County⁴⁶, two samples at Vadu, Constanța County⁴⁷, and one sample at Sulina, Tulcea County⁴⁸ and at Târgușor-Ester, Constanța County⁴⁹. Spanish coins from Dobroudja also come from 5 monetary hoards: from Medgidia, Vadu, Eforie Sud I, Eforie Sud II, Constanța County and Babadag, Tulcea County⁵⁰.

The Spanish reals from the hoards we presented date from the reign of Philip II (1556-1598), of Philip III (1598-1621) and of Philip IV (1621-1665). In the hoards presented by us, the biggest batch, the most representative and the most varied one is in the “Eforie Sud II” deposit. In fact, this is now the hoard with the largest number of Spanish coins found in Romania. The earliest issue, a sample of 2 reals which was certainly coined during the reign of Philip II, in the mint from Cuenca, Spain, is to be found in the Babadag hoard. The issues from this mint, together with the ones coined in the workshops from Nuevo Reino de Granada (Columbia) and Lima (Peru) are rarely encountered in the hoards from Romania. Generally, the reals coined during the reign of Philip II are to be found in a smaller number in these hoards, the most numerous ones date from the time of Philip III.

Philip II was the most controversial monarch in the history of Spain. Due to his cautious manner in approaching both political and economic problems he was named “the cautious one”⁵¹. But it was his thinking and the wise measures which he adopted that contributed to Spain’s prosperity. An example of wise judgement was his financial and coin policy. Thus, disregarding the complaints from the mints in Sevilla, Lisbon, Toledo and Madrid, Philip II decided to open a new mint in Segovia, too. In Segovia there was an older workshop – Casa de Moneda “*La Vieja*” – built by Enrique IV in 1455⁵². Founded in 1583, as a “*money factory*” owned by king Philip II, the new mint from Segovia – “*el Real Ingenio*” – was unique: an industrial, mechanised edifice, divided into departments⁵³. It was designed and put together with

⁴⁴ Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, p. 574; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române ...*, table IV, p. 183, annex III, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁵ Istropontica, p. 573, no. 1, p. 574, no. 5 and 7.

⁴⁶ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Gr. Opaț, Peuce, 9, p. 278, no.195; Istropontica, p. 573, no. 3.

⁴⁷ Istropontica, p. 573, no. 2 and 4.

⁴⁸ Ana-Maria Velter and G. Custurea, *Monede spaniole...*, p. 575; Ana-Maria Velter and Constanța Știrbu, *Relații economice ale Țărilor Române ...*, table IV, p. 183, annex III, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁹ In a private collection, cf. G. Custurea.

⁵⁰ In this paper.

⁵¹ S. G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, University of Wisconsin Press, tome 2, 1973, p. 35.

⁵² Casa de Moneda “*La Vieja*” functioned simultaneously with the new mint, until 1681, but still using the old technique of coining by hammer.

⁵³ The installation, together with the technicians, left from Austria to Spain in February 1582. Initially they wanted the new mint to be set up in Sevilla, where the galleys carrying the precious metal from the New World arrived. But, in May 1583, Philip II chose as the place for the new mint an old paper factory and a mill on the Eresma River in Segovia. The work started on November, 7, 1583 with German technicians, according to the plans made by the famous Spanish architect Juan de Herrera. In June 1st, 1585 the machine arrived in Segovia. It was considered the biggest expedition for the transfer of

the help of 14 German technicians, and equipped in 1584 with devices brought from the mint in Hall, near Innsbruck. In 1591 at “*el Real Ingenio*” the first smelting iron furnace in Spain functioned, and it manufactured laminated iron plate. The equipment with the most advanced technique of the time was due to an understanding between Philip II and the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. In exchange for the new technology, Spain offered to Austria several manoeuvring troops and some artillery equipment. The new German machinery used for manufacturing coins – the roll press⁵⁴ – was invented in 1550 in Augsburg. It only existed in several mints in Central Europe, i.e. in the Habsburg Empire, when, in 1582, it was brought to Spain as well⁵⁵. It was only in March 1586 that “*el Real Ingenio*” started producing coins systematically, employing this press – it coined the first samples of 8 and 4 reals⁵⁶.

The introduction in the mint of the method of metal rolling led to the coins manufacturing with a quasi-perfect edge. Among the reals from the Babadag hoard there is also an Segovia workshop coin – a sample of 4 reals 1613, coined during the reign of Philip III. But, according to the coin manufacturer’s set of initials – *B* or *TB* joined – the coin comes from the old workshop – *Casa Vieja*.

The hydraulic power use of the mills expanded, in 1661 it was also adopted by the mints from Cuenca, Granada, and with animal traction in Madrid, Sevilla, Toledo, Trujillo, Córdoba, Valladolid, Burgos and La Coruña. However this time they employed Catalanian technicians⁵⁷. Once they started the new coining mechanism, on November 12th, 1587, Philip II ordered a judicial commission, under the honourable

industrial technology ever to be made up to that moment, G. Murray, *El Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, Historia de la Ceca – sus monedas*” in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 87, 1997, pp. 41-43.

⁵⁴ The machine (Pl. II, fig. 3) was equipped with some cylinders – rolling seals, rollers – which were engraved with the coin’s obverse and reverse (Pl.II, fig. 5). These were rolled by a big hydraulic wheel (Pl. II, fig.4). Through the cylinders they pulled and laminated the iron sheet, thus imprinting the obverse and reverse images (Pl. II, fig. 6).

⁵⁵ In this case we find it to be extremely hazardous the statement according to which the coining method employing the roll press was a very “modern” one in South-Eastern Europe in 1560, (C. Zwecker, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *Un nou taler moldovenesc emis în anul 1562 de către Despot Vodă*, in *CN*, 8, 2002, p. 249, note 3). Moreover, the fact that the method would have been introduced in Moldavia by Despot Vodă (1561-1563) is, in our opinion, a noble desire, but purely imaginary, (*ibidem*, p. 249). The installation of such a mechanism would not have remained unnoticed at the time, it should have been registered in chronicles or documents.

It is known that around 1508, the famous Florentine artist – architect, sculptor – Bramante coined medals with the help of a so-called “screw-press”. In 1538, 30 years later, another great Florentine artist – Benvenuto Cellini – used a similar press to coin a series of small coins. Around 1555, a lot of such screw-presses were installed in the mint from Paris. But the roll press, invented in 1550 in Augsburg, was used in the first decades of the second half of the 16th century in some of the mints from Central Europe, in the territories controlled by the Habsburgs – Germany, Austria, Hungary and, obviously, Spain, G. Murray, *El Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, Historia de la Ceca*, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 85, 1997, pp.40-43.

⁵⁶ In this mint, between 1609-1682, they coined the extraordinary samples of “*Cincuentin*” – 50 reals, of 77mm and 173 g.

⁵⁷ G. Murray, *El Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, Historia de la Ceca – sus monedas*” in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 87, 1997, pp. 41-43.

magistrate Armenteros leadership, to check if they observed the rules concerning the silver purity and fineness used for the reals manufacturing⁵⁸.

Unfortunately, the Philip II's wise policy outcome was wasted by his follower – Philip III – resulting during the reign of Philip IV in a series of severe trouble regarding the coining as well.

One of this serious situations was generated by the great scandal which broke in the Potosi mint matter, a situation which deeply affected Spain. At Potosi, in the first half of the 17th century, they widely employed the silver's fineness substantial decrease used for the coins⁵⁹.

Obviously, the Potosi workshop coins, which came with the American fleet together with the workshops from the New World other issues, had spread in the entire Spain, and even abroad. The effect caused in Spain by the great scandal was devastating, on the one hand the world did not trust the royal coin any longer, and on the other hand the country was widely affected by the Spanish coin disparagement in Europe.

By a Royal decree issued on December 22nd 1650, Philip IV ended the problem of Potosi. He gave the Viceroy of Peru, Marqués de Mancera, the liberty to solve the real devaluation by creating a new coin. The Royal Decree ordered the coins' iconography change: “...so that the drawing on the moulds should not imitate the old images, on one side they should put the weapons of Castilia and Leon, and on the other side two columns with the watchword *Plus Ultra* in the middle”⁶⁰. Thus, in 1653 they began coining the reals with column – “*el columnario*” – or *colonați* (approx. the

⁵⁸ G. Murray, *King Philip II: The Missing assayer mark on his coins from Segovia mint*, in Friends of the Segovia Mint, 1998, <http://www.segoviamint.org/english/articles/a1.htm>.

⁵⁹ By the Royal Order from December 23rd, 1642, Philip IV established the purity of the silver coin which was to be minted in the workshops from America. Thus, the fineness of the silver should have been 11 dinars and 4 grains, that is 931‰, H. Burzio, *Diccionario de la Moneda Hispanoamericana*, tome II, 1958, Santiago de Chile, pp. 388-389. This order should have been strictly followed by all the coin manufacturers from the American coin workshops, its disobedience was considered a crime against the king. But, in 1644, they discovered that the coins minted by the Potosi mint did not correspond to the established norm. The proportions of the fraud committed by the workshop were not known, the Treasury could not estimate the losses or the degradation of the image of the Spanish coin among the European traders. On April 12th, 1644 don Andrés de Ferrera, the king's coin chief manufacturer, demanded the President of the Treasury Board to set up a committee – “*con tot secreto*” – to end this situation, The General Archive of Simancas (hereafter AGS), Valladolid, doc. 876, page 10, included in sheet 3175 of the Asociación de Amigos de la Casa de la Moneda de Segovia (AACMS – The Association of Friends of the Segovia Mint). Despite the severe measures, the situation deteriorated, and in 1648 they again found devalued coins minted by “*La Casa de Moneda de Potosi*”. Thus, on July 7th, 1648 The Trade House of Sevilla informed the king that the coins arriving from the New World were not accepted by the merchants – “*los embarazos ocasionados por la moneda de Indias, no queriendo aceptarla los comerciantes hasta que se realizase el ensayo respective*”, AGS, doc. 938, page 3, sheet 3320, AACMS. On July 8th, 1648, the Royal Council of the Treasury of the Kingdom of Aragon complained about finding some flaws in the alloy of the reals from the “Indies” - “*falta da hasta 3 Reales en monedas de a 8 Reales en monedas provenientes del pago al ejército real*”, AGS, doc. 934, sheet 3310, AACMS. On September 5th, 1648, the Kngdom of Castilia sent a similar complaint, AGS, doc. 934, page 13, sheet 3309, AACSM.

⁶⁰ Fr. Jovel, R. Jovel, *Los efectos del “Gran Escandalo” de Potosi en España*, in *Historias Acuñadas*, 2001, p. 69.

columned ones, tr.n.), or *stâlpari* (approx. the pillared ones, tr.n.), names under which they are mentioned in the Romanian documents.

The mint from Potosi, today in Bolivia, owes its existence to an event which influenced the entire Europe future economic development: around 1550, in the Spanish colonies from the New World they founded in Peru the legendary “*Rich Mountain*”, that is the silver mine from Potosi. From that moment on, enormous quantities of silver started to arrive in Spain. From this amount, an important part left towards the German lands, given the fact that Spain supported with substantial sums the Holy Roman Empire existence and prosperity. For almost a century – 1574-1651 – the Potosi mint was the New World’s Spanish coin workshops most important and most productive. Between 1580-1617 this reached the peak of its activity. The phenomenon is also to be encountered in the hoards from Romania which contain Spanish coins.

From the five hoards presented by us, two deposits also contain reals coined in the Potosi workshop. In the “Babadag” hoard there is a sample of 8 reals issued during the reign of Philip IV, bearing the coin manufacturer’s initial - *T*. In the deposit from “Eforie Sud II”, as we have shown, the majority of the samples of reals – 32 – comes from the Potosi workshop. Out of these, 12 samples are certainly coined during the reign of Philip IV, 18 samples being uncertain (Philip III or Philip IV), with a strong inclination for the period of Philip IV. If until the discovery of the deposit from “Eforie Sud II”, the largest number of reals minted at Potosi from the deposits in our country dated from the reign of Philip III – 21 samples⁶¹ - at the moment the Philip IV’s time issues come first – 44 samples⁶². To all the samples from 1617-1665 we clearly notice a deterioration of the fineness and of the accuracy in the stamping dies execution, as well as a metal’s quality decrease. This is especially noticeable on the coins from the reign of Philip IV.

We find it extremely significant the fact that the Spanish reals, from the hoards founded in Romania, are to be found in the highest amount especially in the deposits founded in Dobroudja. And among the reals from these batches, most of the samples are minted by the colonial mints. The example of the two great discoveries of reals is eloquent – the “Vadu” hoard – 26 samples of reals, out of which the majority is minted in the workshop from Mexico and, the hoard from “Eforie Sud II” – 67 samples of reals, out of which 49 samples are colonial issues.

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The silver coins of medium value are represented first and foremost by the *orts*. The *orts* – or $\frac{1}{4}$ thalers – started circulating in the Romanian Countries mainly in the first half of the 17th century. Being equivalent to a quarter of a thaler, the coin was

⁶¹ For your edification see our table from Annex III, Ana-Maria Velter, Constața Știrbu, in RI, 24, 2004, 1-2, pp. 184-189.

⁶² To this number we add the samples minted at Potosi, from the “Vadu” hoard. *Vide supra*, note 16.

minted for the first time in 1507 at Zwickau, in Saxony.⁶³ Since 1521 it started being coined in Brandenburg also, where, only from the time of Georg Wilhelm (1619-1640), it circulated under the name of ort.⁶⁴ At Danzig the orts were first minted in 1609. In Poland they were coined sometime later, from 1620, at Bromberg, and they were initially equivalent to 16 grossus⁶⁵. The great majority of orts coming from the Wallachia and Dobroudja hoards is minted at Danzig and in Poland. Most of the samples were coined between 1610-1629. In this category we include the samples from the hoards presented by us. In the one from Eforie Sud I – 22 samples of orts from Danzig minted in 1617 (1) and between 1623-1626 (21); in the “Silistra” deposit – 5 samples of orts from Poland, minted between 1622-1624 and 2 samples from Danzig, from 1625; in the “Babadag” hoard – 4 samples of orts from Danzig, coined between 1623-1625.

Beside the Polish coins, in the monetary circulation from our country there were also the coins from the Duchy of Prussia, a Polish crown fief between 1525-1657. The Prussian mint is represented in our batch by three samples of orts, coined in the Königsberg mint during of Georg Wilhelm margrave reign (1619-1640): in the “Eforie Sud I” (1) and “Silistra” (2) hoards.

The orts coming from the Polish lands are mainly issues from Danzig and Poland, being accompanied by the ones minted in Prussia, as a Polish fief, as well as by the ones from Lorraine. Their arrival and circulation in the Romanian Countries took place mainly in the first half of the 17th century. Together with the triple grossus, the orts coined during the reign of Sigismund III (1587-1632) were the most popular and the most numerous Polish issues in the Romanian territories, obviously, with a positive inclination in Moldavia. Of a superior quality, the orts were well received on the market, which is also reflected in the hoards foundet in Romania⁶⁶. In the documents of that time they are mentioned especially in connection to the land sales and the tax payment.

The next medium value silver coins are the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar issued testons. The four Denominations of this type come as follows – three samples from the “Eforie Sud I” (1) and “Silistra” (2) hoards, and from an isolated discovery at Sinoe, Constanța County (1)⁶⁷. It refers to a teston issued during the reign of Charles III (1545-1595-1608), which is present in the “Silistra” deposit, to two samples from the time of Charles IV (1625-1634, 1641-1675) from the “Eforie Sud I” and “Silistra”

⁶³ H. Fengler, G. Gierow and W. Unger, *Transpress Lexikon Numismatik*, Berlin, 1976, p. 409.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ E. Hutten-Czapski, *Catalogue de la Collection de medailles et monnaies polonaises*, II-reprint, Graz, 1957, p. 131.

⁶⁶ See for this matter Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter, *Tezaurul de la Săpoca, județul Buzău*, in *Musaios*, 4/1, 1994, p. 347; Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter, E. Păunescu, *Circulația talerilor în secolele XVI-XVII în Țara Românească; problema falsurilor. (Tezaurul de la Urziceni, jud. Ialomița)*, in *CN*, 6, 1990, p. 169.

⁶⁷ The coin was presented for identification during 2004, cf. G. Custurea.

hoards, and to a sample from the duke Francisc II, count of Vaudémont reign (1625-1632), fondet at Sinoe.

The teston from the “Silistra” hoard issued by Charles III⁶⁸ is a sample from the first part of his reign. Although the image on our coin is almost completely erased, we can still distinguish the fleurons of a crown. Or, the crowned duke’s image appears only on the issues from his youth, from the first part of his reign. To compare, we present a sample of ¼ of teston⁶⁹. The duke is represented with a young face, crowned, with armour, in profile towards the right. The dated quarters of teston, issued during the reign of Charles III, are rare. There are no such samples except for the years 1553, 1554 and 1556, but they allow a time framework for the undated samples. In our case even only the way of presenting the effigy helps us. The issues from the second part of the duke’s reign present him with a mature face, with a beard and without a crown.

The other two samples of Duchy of Lorraine and Bar teston which are present in our hoards, are issued during the reign of Charles IV (1625-1634; 1641-1675)⁷⁰. Due to his strong anti-French policy in 1634 the duke was forced to give up the power, abdicating in favour of his brother Nicolas – Francisc (1634-1641). In 1641 however, he managed to recover the Duchy. Our samples date from the duke’s first reign, being coined in 1629, respectively in 1632. The teston from 1632 represents one of the last Nancy workshop’s issues, before the town was conquered by the French troops⁷¹. Both samples belong to the first iconographic type, the duke being shown with a young face. Starting with 1664, the testons bear the image of a different bust, an older one, being directly inspired by the iconography on the French royal coins.

The fourth sample of teston of Lorraine and Bar, coming from the isolated discovery from Sinoe, dates from the Francisc II of Vaudémont duke time (1625-1632). Due to the arrogant behaviour of his daughter-in-law, Nicole, duchess of

⁶⁸ When the time of death of duke Francisc (1544-1545), who only reigned for 363 days, his minor son, *Charles III of Lorraine and Bar (1545-1595-1608)*, who was only two and a half years old, took over the leadership of the duchy. He was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Nicolas, bishop of Metz and Verdun, and of his mother Catherine of Denmark, the niece of Charles Quintus, who was in favour of the latter and of the Empire. From 1545 to 1559 the regency of the duchy was ensured by the two guardians of Charles III. Declared of age in 1555, at 12 years old, Charles III was able to take over the Duchy only in 1559. He was a very good administrator of his Duchy, which led to his name of “Great Duke”. Among other things, Charles III is the founder of the Academy from Pont-à-Mousson; he is also the one who decided that the year should start with January 1st, since 1584. He embellished the town of Nancy, turning it into a true capital of a Duchy. He did not reside in Bar, but he made a few journeys there, especially between 1559-1584. During his reign he tried to adopt a policy of balance between France and the Empire. He married Claude of France, the daughter of the king of France Henry II and of Catherine de Medicis. Their son, Henry, married in 1598 Catherine de Bourbon, the sister of the king of France, Henry IV, (*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Ed. VI, Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁶⁹ Apud *GENEALOGIE et MONNAIES des DUCS de LORRAINE, Période comprise entre MATHIEU II (1220) et FRANÇOIS III (1737)*, according to Boudeau 1527, www.faulquemont.com/e_lorraine.html.

⁷⁰ The year when Charles IV took over the duchy, 1625, coincides with the coming to power of the cardinal Richelieu in France. The duke’s policy led him to an open conflict with the French royalty.

⁷¹ In 1633 Louis XIII occupied Nancy. During the stationing of the French troops, the coin workshop here minted small fractional coins, without the duke’s name, A. Engel, R. Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique moderne et contemporaine*, Bologna, 1965, p.191.

Lorraine and Bar (1624-1625), in November 1625 Francis II pushes her away, and he is brought to the head of the state by the General States Assembly, given his right of male inheritance⁷². Shortly after his election, Francis II abdicated in favour of his son, Charles IV, retiring to the county of Salm. Here he opened a coin workshop in Badonvilliers, where he minted coins with the title of duke of Lorraine and Bar, alongside with his son's issues⁷³. His testons are rare, only the samples from 1626, 1628, 1629, 1630 and 1631 are known⁷⁴.

In Dobroudja, up to now, the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar's issues have only been found in the three mentioned points: Eforie Sud I, Silistra and Sinoe. Such issues are known to us from eight other deposits, exclusively from Wallachia⁷⁵. The earliest are the coins from the reign of Charles III, which were found only in two other hoards found in Dâmbovița County – a teston in the one from Găinești and an ort in the one from Crovu.

The next coin, registered at no. 14 in the "Silistra" hoard catalogue, comes from the bishopric of Breslau mint. It refers to a sample of 15 kreuzers minted during the Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt bishop time (1671-1682). It is the latest issue from that hoard, being coined in 1679.

If the coin itself has no extraordinary quality, being an ordinary sample of 15 kreuzers, nevertheless for the monetary circulation in Dobroudja it is a premiere, being the only Breslau issue found here up to the present. Its issuer was a character worthy of our attention⁷⁶.

⁷² *Monnaies des Ducs de Lorraine, Lorraine – Duché de Lorraine – François II (26/11/1625-15/10/1632)*, <http://www.cgb.fr/monnaies/vso/v09/gb/monnaiesgb812c.html>.

⁷³ A. Engel, R. Serrure, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

⁷⁴ *Monnaies des Ducs de Lorraine, op. cit.*

⁷⁵ Chronologically, the hoards from Pieterale, Giurgiu County, Voetin, Vrancea County, Verguleasa, Olt County, Găinești, Dâmbovița County, Crovu, Dâmbovița County, Guruieni, Teleorman County, Gărăgău, Teleorman County and Târgoviște II, Dâmbovița County. See on this matter Constanța Știrbu, Ana-Maria Velter, *La circulation des monnaies en argent a haute valeur des états, des villes et des autorités ecclésiastiques Allemands sur le territoire Roumain aux XVI^{ème} et XVII^{ème} siècles*, in XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997, Berlin, 2000, p. 1237-1238.

⁷⁶ Born in 1616 in a Lutheran family, Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt converted to Catholicism in 1637. during the war of 30 years he quickly climbed up the ladder of honors. In 1647 he reaches the top, being elected High Prior of the Saint John's Order, apud *Great Orders of Chivalry, The Knights of Saint John in Germany*, in www.chivalricorders.org/orders/stjohn/johanger.htm. But, despite his high rank, the prestige and all the qualities and honours of the newly elected High Prior, the Order was excluded from the negotiations of the Peace Treaties from Munster and Osnabruck from 1648. However, through diplomacy and great perseverance in 1688 Fra'Friedrich (Landgraf) of Hesse-Darmstadt succeeded in obtaining for the Order the sum of 50,000 florins from the Province of Holland, in exchange for the benefits brought by the Haarlem army. His career is still flourishing after the war ends. In 1652, upon the recommendation of the emperor Ferdinand III, he was elected Cardinal. Later, Philip IV of Spain appointed him Admiral of his fleet in the Mediterranean and general of the galleys from Spain and Sardine. In 1671 he was anointed Bishop of Breslau and Prince of Niesz. Shortly before his death, in 1682 he was appointed Imperial Ambassador to the Holy Chair in Rome, J. Jungnitz, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, Copyright © 1907 by Robert Appleton Company Online Edition Copyright ©1999 by Kevin Knight Imprimatur. + John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, Breslau, in www.newadvent.org. while he was a bishop, the diocese of Breslau flourished. He was an excellent spiritual and secular administrator.

The last category of coins from the five 17th century hoards presented in this paper is that of small silver coins.

It refers to two triple grossus coins from the reign of Sigismund III (1587-1632), which are part of the “Silistra” hoard. The first sample is minted for Poland in 1590, at Cracow, and the second one, coined at Riga, in 1597. The analysis of the hoards from Romania which contain Polish coins revealed the fact that these are present in a larger number in the discoveries from Moldavia, whereas in Wallachia and the Ottoman Empire territories the number of Polish coins is lower.

According to the coinage years, the two samples of triple grossus from the “Silstra” hoard come from the period of Polish coin high penetration and circulation in our country, that is between 1589-1620. The presence in the hoards of only two samples of this type of coin is to be explained by the severe reduction of its penetration in our territories after 1620. Several causes brought about this phenomenon. First of all, the great devaluation of these coins during the reign of Sigismund III, practiced officially in three stages: 1604, 1616 and 1623. The silver content decreased from 13-14 **lotons** to 7 and ½⁷⁷, and the weight, according to the sovereign’s monetary orders dropped from 2.19 g in 1604 to 1.97 g in 1623⁷⁸. At the same time, we should take into account the fact that in Poland, since 1627, they stipulated the mintage of small coins suspension in favour of the high value ones, especially of the thaler.

As far as the triple grossus of Riga is concerned, the analysis of the 16th–17th century hoards reveals the fact that almost all the samples from this town, which are present in these deposits, are represented by this nominal. The grossus from Riga, which arrived on our territories, are coined after the monetary reforms from 1580 and 1581 made by Stephen Bathory, who unified the Polish and Lithuanian monetary systems – in 1580, which Riga joined in 1581, thus incorporating the entire Livonia⁷⁹.

From the end of the 16th century until the half of the 17th, the Polish coins which circulated on the Romanian territories was substantial and of good quality. From 1659 this diminished drastically, due, firstly, to the monetary crisis which Poland had faced.

In Dobroudja, beside these samples, we also know coins of triple grossus coming from the hoards from Enisala, Viile, as well as from a series of isolated discoveries⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ M. Kirmis, *Handbush der Polnische Münzkunde*, Posen, 1892, p. 111; L. Huszár, *A lengyel pénzék forgalma Magyarországon a XVI-XVII században*, NK, 68-69, 1970, p. 59.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁹ M. Gumowski, *Hanbush der Polnische Numismatik*, Graz, 1960, p. 43; A. Mikolajczyk, *Polish Factor in the Balkan Monetary Affaires of the late 16th and 17th Century*, in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 22/1, 1986, p. 67.

⁸⁰ Ioana Custurea, G. Custurea, in *BSNR.....*; *vide infra*, table IV.

During the 17th century, as in the previous century, both gold Denominations and silver coins of small, medium and high value circulated on the Romanian market. The five hoards analysis show the fact that the coins from their structure reflect, on a small scale, the issues which circulated both on the Romanian and Balkan market during that period. Also, the monetary values are the usual ones for the hoards which were accumulated and hidden under the political and economical circumstances of the 17th century in Dobroudja. On one hand, the deposits dating from the 17th century are homogenous, made up of the same monetary type, discovered: in Dobroudja *passim* (approx. 1574-1640), containing akçe and ½ dirhams⁸¹, Dobroudja II *passim* (1492-1607), containing Hungarian dinars⁸², Nalbant, Tulcea County (1595-1648)⁸³, Movilița II, Topraisar commune, Constanța County (approx. 1603-1649)⁸⁴, Târgușor, Constanța County (approx. 1603-1649)⁸⁵. On the other hand, the deposits are mixed, made up of fractional coins – Polish, Hungarian, Ottoman – in a smaller quantity due to the strong devaluation from this century, of medium value silver coins – 10, 15, 20 kreuzers, testons, orts – and, more frequently, of high value silver coins – florins of 28 stuivers, thalers, reals – and of gold coins. Such as the ones found at: Hârșova, Constanța County, containing Polish and Hungarian issues⁸⁶, Enisala, Sarichioi commune, Tulcea County (1479-1618)⁸⁷, Medgidia, Constanța County (1577-1653)⁸⁸, Viile, Ioan Corvin commune, Constanța County (1588-1667)⁸⁹, Vadu, Corbu commune, Constanța County (1370-1685)⁹⁰.

Besides, these are also the monetary types coming from the isolated discoveries from this province. In table IV we present a list of the European coins from the 16th–17th century, which come from the isolated coin discoveries from Dobroudja.

⁸¹ Novelty, NHAMC Collection.

⁸² Information from Gabriel Custurea.

⁸³ M. Maxim, in CN7, 1996, pp. 199-208.

⁸⁴ Novelty. Information from Gabriel Custurea, (NHAMC Collection).

⁸⁵ Novelty. Information from Gabriel Custurea, (NHAMC Collection).

⁸⁶ G. Custurea, in Peuce, 10, 1984, pp. 555-558, or at Isaccea, Tulcea County, containing polish triple grossus and ottoman coins, (cf. B. Mitrea, in BSNR, 70-74, 1976-1980, p. 605, no. 354).

⁸⁷ G. Custurea, in Crisia, 8, 1978, pp. 531-536.

⁸⁸ Novelty. Information from Gabriel Custurea, (NHAMC Collection).

⁸⁹ G. Custurea, A. Murat, in Pontica 12, 1979, pp. 207-219; G. Custurea, Antoaneta Vertan, G. Talmațchi, in Pontica, 30, 1997, pp. 382-383, no. 1806-1814.

⁹⁰ Information from S. Iosipescu.

Table IV

The coins distribution on issuers and denominations dating from the 16th–17th century, in isolated discoveries on the territory of Dobroudja

No.	Place of discovery	Country	Issuers	Denominations	Milesim	Samples	Remarks
1	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Saxony	Johan Friedrich Mauriciu	¼ Thaler	1543	1 inv. 31185	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 150
2	<i>Passim</i>	Spain	Philip II	4 Reals	1556-1598	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 1
3	Vadu, Constanța County	Spain	Philip II or Philip III	1 Real	1556-1621	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 2
4	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Spain	Philip II or Philip III	4 Reals	1556-1621	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 3
5	Vadu, Constanța County	Spain	Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV	4 Reals	1556-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 573, no. 4
6	Târgușor Ester, Constanța County	Spain	Philip II, Philip III or Philip IV	8 Reals	1556-1665	1	Private collection
7	Peștera, Constanța County	Saxony	August I	Thaler	1561	1 inv. 51085	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 151
8	Chirnogeni, Constanța County	Saxony	August I	½ Thaler	1564	1 inv. 51087	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 152
9	<i>Passim</i>	Austria / Tyrol	Ferdinand I	Thaler	1564-1595	6	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 246, no. 71-76
10	Târgușor_Ester, Constanța County	Venice	Pascuale Cicognia	Imitation of ducat	1585-1595	1	Novelty
11	<i>Passim</i>	Venice	Pascuale Cicognia	(counterfeit) Imitation of ducat, AR	1585-1595	1	Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 839

12	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Hungary	Rudolf II	Thaler	1590	1	
13	<i>Passim</i>	Transylv ania	Sigismund Bathory	Thaler	1591	1	Pontica, 14, p. 344, no. 347
14	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County	Poland, Crown	Sigismund III	3 Grossus	1593	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
15	Ostrov, Constanța County	Austria	Rudolf II	¼ Thaler	1594	1 inv. 30976	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 244, no. 1
16	Pecineaga, Constanța County	Venice	Marino Grimani	½ quartino	1595	1	Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 838
17	Nalbant, Tulcea County	Poland, Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1596	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512
18	Canlia, Constanța County	The United province s of the Netherla nds	Campen	Lion-thaler	f. a. (before 1597)	1	Pontica, 16, p. 318, no. 840
19	Babadag, Tulcea County	Hungary	Rudolf II	Thaler	1598	1	Peuce, 8, p. 513, no. 173
20	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	3 Grossus	1598	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
21	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Spain	Philip III	4 Reals	1598-1621	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no. 6
22	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1599		
23	Sulina, Tulcea County	Spain	Philip III or Philip IV	8 Reals	1600-1665	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 193

24	Constanța, Constanța County	Oldenbur g	Anton Günther (during the reign of Ferdinand III)	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 51086	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 250, no. 165
25	Constanța (?), Constanța County	Transylv ania	Gabriel Bathory	Grossus	1608-1613	5	Pontica, 14, p. 343, no. 332- 336
26	Târgușor- Ester, Constanța County	Poland, Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1609-1632	1	G.C., Istropontica, p. 587, no. 146
27	Topraisar, Constanța County	HRE	Zwolle (during Mathias I)	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1612-1619	1	Pontica, 160, p. 318, no. 841
28	<i>Passim</i>	HRE	Zwolle (during Mathias I)	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1612-1619	1	Pontica, 20, p. 318, no. 842
29	Constanța, Constanța County	Transylv ania	Gabriel Bethlen	Grossus	1613-1629	9	Pontica, 14, 344, no. 337- 345
30	<i>Passim</i>	France	Louis XIII	2 Tournois	1614	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 245
31	<i>Passim</i>	The United Province s of the Netherla nds	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1614	1	BSNR,1983- 1985,131- 133,1987, p.442,no.63
32	Agigea, Constanța County	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1615	1	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 14, p. 345, no. 350
33	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1615	1	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 14, p. 345, no. 352

34	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Poland/ Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1615	1	
35	<i>Passim</i>	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1616, 1616, 1623	3	Pontica, 14, p. 346, no. 357- 359
36	<i>Passim</i>	HRE	Dewenter	Counterfeit of florin of 28 stuivers	1618	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1995
37	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	6 grossus	1619 / S-B	1	Inv. 11759
38	<i>Passim</i>	Embden	During Ferdinand II	Florin of 28 stuivers	1619-1637	1	BSNR, 77-79, 1983-1985, 131-133, p. 442, no. 57
39	<i>Passim</i>	Embden	During Ferdinand II	Florin of 28 stuivers	1619-1637	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1994
40	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County ⁹¹	Prussia / Polish crown fief	Georg Wilhelm	Ort	1621	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
41	Cernavodă, Constanța County	Spain	Philip IV	2 Reals	1621-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no. 8
42	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Spain	Philip IV	8 Reals	1621-1665	1	E.O-T. and Gr. O., Peuce, 9, p. 278, no. 195
43	<i>Passim</i>	Spain	Philip IV	4 Reals	1621-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no. 7
44	<i>Passim</i>	Spain	Philip IV	2 Reals	1621-1665	1	Istropontica, p. 574, no.5
45	Hârșova, Constanța County	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	Ort	1621, 1622, 1623	3	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 830-832
46	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1623	1	

⁹¹ O. Ilescu, SCN, 2, 1956, p. 57.

47	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1623	1	Inv. 11530
48	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Poland / Coraoan	Sigismund III	Ort	1624	1	
49	<i>Passim</i>	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	Ort	1624	1	A.V. and G.C., Pontica, 16, p. 317, no. 835
50	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1624	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 9, p. 278
51	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Crown	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1624	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 9, p. 278
52	Northern Dobroudja	Poland / Danzig	Sigismund III	6 Grossus	1624	1	Inv. 13507
53	Nalbant, Tulcea County	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Holland	Lion-thaler	1625	1	Cut; E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 187
54	Sinoe, Constanța County	Lorraine and Bar	Francisc II, count of Vaudémont	Teston	1625-1632	1	Cf. G. Custurea
55	<i>Passim</i>	Saxony	Johann Georg I	½ Thaler	1626	1 inv. 54860	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 153

56	Slava Rusă, Tulcea County	Italy / Modena	Francesco I d'Este	Scudo per Levante, imitation of a florin of 28 stuivers	1629-1658	1	Cast, low quality metal
57	Târgușor- Ester, Constanța County	Italy / Venice		Counterfeit of a ducat		1	Ordinary metal plated with gold
58	Potârnichea , Constanța County	The United Provinces of the Netherla nds	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1636	1	Pontica, 31, p. 322, no. 1951
59	<i>Passim</i>	Saxony	Johann Georg I	¼ Thaler	1636	1 inv. 54859	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 249, no. 154
60	Isaccea, Tulcea County	Embden	During Ferdinand III	Florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 12089	Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 184
61	<i>Passim</i>	Oldenburg	Anton Günther (during Ferdinand III)	Florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 31051	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 250, no.163
62	<i>Passim</i>	Oldenburg	Anton Günther (during Ferdinand III)	Florin of 28 stuivers	1637-1657	1 inv. 31063	G.C., Pontica, 20, p. 250, no.164
63	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1641	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no.1997

64	Hârşova, Constanța County, near the Fortress	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Utrecht	Lion-thaler	1645	1	Private collection
65	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Campen	Lion-thaler	1646	1	BSNR, 1983- 1985, 131- 133, 1987, p. 442, no. 58
66	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Zwolle	Lion-thaler	1646	1	BSNR, 1983- 1985, 131- 133, 1987, p. 442, no. 62
67	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Nether- lands	Geldern	Lion-thaler	1646	1	BSNR, 1983- 1985, 131- 133, 1987, p. 442, no. 64
68	Isaccea, Tulcea County	The United Province s of the Netherla nds	Zwolle	Lion-thaler	1647	1	
69	Northern Dobroudja	The United Province s of the Netherla nds	Campen	Lion-thaler	1648	1 inv. 14559	Peuce, 9, p. 278, no. 210
70	<i>Passim</i>	Transyl- vania	Gheorghe Rakoczi II	Thaler	1649	1	Pontica, 14, p. 344, no. .348

71	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Zwolle	½ Lion-thaler	1651	1 inv. 14561	Peuce,9, p. 278, no.211
72	<i>Passim</i>	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1658	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 246
73	Isaccea, Tulcea County	France	Loius XIV	5 Sous	1659	1	Pontica, 21-22, p. 348, no. 1345
74	Corbu, Constanța County	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1659	1	Pontica 21-22, p. 384, no. 1345
75	Isaccea, Tulcea County	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1660	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 185
76	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Dewenter	Ducat AR	1663	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1996
77	Slava Rusă, Tulcea County	France	Louis XIV	Levantine imitation of 5 Sous	1664	1	E.O-T., Peuce, 8, p. 512, no. 192
78	Isaccea, Tulcea County	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1665	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 244
79	Ioan Corvin, Constanța County	France	Guillaume d'Orange	1/12 Écu	1666	1	O.I., SCN, 2, p. 456, no. 24
80	<i>Passim</i>	France	Louis XIV	5 Sous	1666	1	Pontica, 13, p. 361, no. 247
81	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Utrecht	Counterfeit of a lion-thaler, plated with AR	1681	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1998

82	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Campen	Lion-thaler	1682	1	BSNR, 1983-1985, 131-133, 1987, p. 442, no. 59
83	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Campen	Lion-thaler	1684	1	BSNR, 1983-1985, 131-133, 1987, p. 442, no. 61
84	Sâmbăta Nouă, Tulcea County	Brandenburg	Friedrich III	2/3 Thaler	1688-1701	1 inv. 41615	
85	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	Campen	Lion-thaler	17 th century	1	BSNR, 1983-1985, 131-133, 1987, p. 442, no. 60
86	Târgușor-Ester, Constanța County	Venice	?	Soldino, AE	17 th century	1	Pontica, 32, p. 356, no. 2151
87	Oltina, Constanța County	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	?	Lion-thaler	17 th century	1	Pontica, 31, p. 322, no. 1940
88	<i>Passim</i>	The United Provinces of the Netherlands	?	Counterfeit of a lion-thaler	17 th century	1	Pontica, 31, p. 324, no. 1999
89	Târgușor-Ester, Constanța County	Ragusa	Municipality	Grosetto (?)	17 th century	5	G.C., Istropontica, p. 586, no. 136-140

The local 17th century deposits are rather mixed batches, gathering together gold and silver coins, high value, medium value or small coins.

Due to long distance trading, widely practiced in this age, the coins quantity and quality on the market is highly superior of those from the previous century. The monetary deposits dating from this century put together more and more coins of high quality and value.

Another characteristic of these hoards is the presence in the same deposit of the issues from different centuries. Generally, on the Romanian Countries monetary market there were some coins which circulated for a long time, long after their mintage date. We refer, first of all, to the gold Denominations – for instance, the Venetian ducats – but also to the silver coins of small, medium or high value. Most of these issues date from the previous century, the 16th: in the hoards from “Eforie Sud I” – 1527/1598 – 1621/1665, “Eforie Sud II” – 1576-1621/1665, “Silistra” – 1545/1555/1608 – 1679, “Babadag” – 1556/1589 – 1637/1657, Dobroudja *passim* – approx. 1574-1640, “Cotu Văii” – 1576-1680, “Medgidia” – 1577-1653, “Viile” – 1588-1667, “Nalbant” – 1595-1648. but there are some from the 15th century as well: in the deposits from Enisala – 1479-1618, Dobroudja II *passim* – 1492-1607 and from Hărșova – 1492 – 1619.

An important parameter of the five hoards presented in this paper is the fact that they contain only European coins.

The mintage years analysis of the coins from the five hoards presented by us, together with that of the years of the coins which come from isolated discoveries, reveal a monetary market rhythmic provisioning in Dobroudja with coins which circulated at the time (see Table V). The most numerous issues are grouped between the second and the fourth decade of the century.

Table V.
The coins distribution according to the minting year

Date	Babadag (1556/1589- 1637-1657)	Eforie Sud I (1527/1598- 1621/1665)	Eforie Sud II (1576- 1621/1665)	Cotu Văii (1576- 1680)	Silistra (1545/15 55/1608- 1679)	Isolated discoveries	Total
1543						1/Saxony	1
1555- 1608					1 / HRE, Lorraine and Bar		1
1556- 1665		4/Spain					4
1556- 1589	1/Spain						1

1556-1598						1/Spain	1
1556-1621						2/Spain	2
1556-1665						2/Spain	2
1561						1/Saxony	1
1564						1/Saxony	1
1564-1595						1/Austria	1
1576			2/UP,Holl.	2/UP,Holl.			4
1576-1597				1/UP,Holl.			1
1585-1595						2/Venice	2
1589				1/UP,Holl. 1/UP, Utr.			2
1590					1/Poland	1/Hungary	2
1591						1/Transylvania	1
1593						1/Poland	1
1594						1/Austria	1
1595						1/Venice	1
1596						1/Poland	1
Before 1597						1/Campen	1
1597					1/Poland		1
1598						1/Hungary 1/Poland	2
1598-1621						1/Spain	1
1599						1/Poland	1
1600-1602		1/UP, Geld.					1
1600-1665						1/Spain	1
1603-1667						1/HRE, Old	1
1604				1/UP, Westf			1

1606-1607	1/Spain						1
1608-1613						1/Transylv ania	1
1608-1617					1/HRE, Campen 1/HRE, Zwolle		2
1608-1618		2/HRE, Zwolle					2
1609-1632						1/Poland	1
1611			1/HRE, Zwolle				3
1611-1619			3/HRE, Camp	5/UP, Camp 7/UP, Zwolle			15
1612	1/UP,Overij.		1/HRE,Zw olle; 1/UP, Fries				3
1612-1619						2/HRE, Zwolle	2
1613	1/Spain		1/Bouill.				2
1613-1621	1/Spain						1
1613-1629						1/Transylv ania	1
1614						1/France 1/UP,Geld.	2
1615						3/Poland	3
1616		1/UP, Utr.		1/UP,Zwoll e	1/UP, Zeel	2/Poland	5
1617		1/HRE,Dew. 1/Danzig		1/UP,West 1/UP,Geld			4
1617-1624		1/Poland					1
1618		1/HRE,Dew	2/HRE,De w	1/UP,Cam		1/HRE,De wenter	5
1619						1/Poland	1

1619-1637		1/HRE,Old. 6/HRE,Emb.	17/HRE, Embden	11/HRE, Embden	1/HRE,E mbden	1/HRE,Em bden	37
1619-1657			2/HRE, Embden				2
1620-1622		1/Prus.fief Pol.					1
1621	1/HRE, Dewenter					1/Prussia 1/Poland	3
1621-1665						4/Spain	4
1622					5/Poland	1/Poland	6
1623	1/Poland	3/Danzig			1/Poland	4/Poland	9
1624	2/Poland	9/Danzig			1/Poland	5/Poland	17
1624-1629	1/Spain						1
1625	1/Poland	6/Danzig			2/Poland	1/UP,Holl.	10
1626		2/Danzig				1/HRE Saxony 1/HRE Lorraine- Bar	4
1628-1658		1/It, Modena		1/It., Modena			2
1629	1/Spain	1/HRE Lorraine-Bar					2
1629-1658						1/It., Modena	1
1631-1646		1/Venice					1
1632					1/HRE, Lorraine- Bar		1
1633				1/UP, Holl.			1
1634					1/UP, West		1
1636						1/UP,Geld 1/Saxony	2
1637-1650	1/HRE,Old						1

1637-1657	1/HRE, Embden	16/HRE, Old 17/HRE, Embden	8/HRE, Embden; 11/HRE, Old	8/HRE, Embden 11/HRE, Old		1/HRE, Embden 2/HRE, Old	75
1639					1/UP, Utr		1
1640		1/UP, Geld					1
1641	1/UP, Geld			1/UP, Geld		1/UP, Geld	3
1642-1649	1/Spain						1
1643				1/UP, Geld 1/UP, Utr			2
1645						1/UP, Utr	1
1646						3/UP, Cam., Zwol., Geld.	3
1646-1655		1/Venice					1
1647				1/UP, Geld 1/UP, Utrr		1/UP, Zwolle	3
1648		1/UP, Geld 2/UP, West		1/UP, Zwol		1/UP, Camp	5
1649		1/UP, Zwol 1/UP, Utr.				1/Transylv ania	3
1650		1/UP, West					1
1651						1/UP, Zwolle	1
1652		1/UP, Camp		1/UP, Geld			2
1657				1/UP, Cam			1
1658					1/UP, West	1/France	2
1659						2/France	2
1660						1/France	1
1662				1/UP, Geld			1
1663						1/UP, Dew.	1
1664						1/France	1
1665						1/France	1
1666				1/UP, dew.		2/France	3

1679					1/HRE, Breslau		1
1680				1/HRE, Cam 4/HRE, Zwol			5
1681				1/HRE, Cam		1/UP, Utr	2
1682						1/UP, Cam.	1
1684						1/UP, Cam	1
1688- 1701						1/Brand	1
17 th centur y			1/HRE, Zwolle; 1/UP, Overij; 2/HRE, Imitation Embden			2/UP, 1/UP, counterfeit 1/Ragusa	8

If in the “Silistra” and “Babadag” hoards the accumulation is quite linear, in the deposits from “Eforie Sud I”, “Eforie Sud II” and “Cotu Văii” there is a peak. Situated between 1621-1637-1657, this peak is formed by an accumulation of Spanish reals (1621-1657) and of florins of 28 stuivers (1637-1657) minted at Embden and Oldenburg. It is the exact moment when these coins entered massively the Ottoman Empire and the territories depending on it.

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The accumulation of the 17th century deposits foundet in Dobroudja, including, obviously, the five deposits presented by us, took place, as everywhere else, either locally, from the coins which circulated at the time, or in other areas, the hoards being brought here by different means. In the local accumulations case, the coins from the structure of those deposits reached Dobroudja, in most of the cases, by means of trading, following different routes. These routes followed by the coins are of two categories: internal and external. Set at the crossroads between the Orient and the Occident, the Romanian territories formed a real centre for the commercial routes. The Romanian Countries favourable geographic positioning and, especially, of Dobroudja, situated at the outskirts of two entirely different economic systems – the Western

European and the Ottoman – connected in the Middle Ages the region to the great international trade practiced on terrestrial, fluvial and maritime routes. Dobroudja was part of the important trading area set up at the Danube's Mouths by the Genovese merchants in the 13th century. Due to its many advantages, the region knew an early intense economic development, becoming an important point in the trade from Western and Northern Europe, on one hand, and, on the other hand, from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, as well as from the Far Orient. In the 16th–17th century, Dobroudja, being part of the Ottoman Empire, was crossed by the caravans which connected Istanbul to the different world's corners⁹².

Although officially the Ottoman traders did not trade in the Christian territories, the reality was different. The caravans carrying various goods left and came ceaselessly to and from Istanbul. At that time there were three main routes for the long distance trade practiced by the Sublime Porte: the Maghreb route⁹³, the Russian route and the Hanseatic route⁹⁴. The last two also crossed the Romanian territories. Thus, the Russian route started from Istanbul, passed Bucharest, following the Dneper North, going to Kiev, up to Smolensk, Novgorod, stopping at Narva, on the Baltic coast. From here it went back to Novgorod, to Moscow, following the Volga South, to Cere (today Kazan), then to Astrahan, Tabriz, going back to Istanbul through Armenia⁹⁵.

The second one, the Hanseatic route, started from Istanbul, passed Wallachia, through Bucharest, went to Cracow, or making a detour, to Kiev, Cracow, from here to Breslau, going to Leipzig or Prague, up to Nüremberg, Frankfurt, Cologne, from here to Antwerp, crossing the English Channel to London, Kings Lynn, Hull, Newcastle, Edinburgh, then by sea, to Scandinavia - Oslo, Stockholm - then back to Danzig, where it split, one way leading to Riga, Reval, Novgorod, Smolensk, Kiev, Bucharest and again at Istanbul. Another way went to Cracow, Lwów, Iași, from here on the “*Moldavian route*” to Galați, Brăila, splitting again towards Bucharest or towards the Black Sea and, finally, back to Istanbul⁹⁶.

At the same time with these, there was an entire network of shorter, regional routes. Ever since the 13th century, the Balkan trade routes had been closely connected to the routes of faith⁹⁷. One of the most travelled routes led from Istanbul to Messembria, Varna, Caliacra, Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia, Vidin, crossed the Danube,

⁹² The Customs Register from Tulcea, 16th century, Tomaso Alberti (Foreign Travellers).

⁹³ This route started from Istanbul, across Turkey, leading to Alepp, Jebel, Damascus, Ma'an (today Amman), to Medina, Mecca, reaching Cairo, Jalu, Marzuq, Ghat, Ghudamis, Algiers, further on to Tunis, Tripoli, Benghazi, returning to Alexandria, to Beirut, to Jebel (again), Smyrna, with a short stop on the Turkish coast and, finally, back to Istanbul, cf. Antara Nepa, *Caravans and Trade Routes*, in *Ottoman Traders' Guild*, 2005, <http://www.ottoman-traders.com/caravan.html>.

⁹⁴ Cf. Antara Nepa, *Caravans and Trade Routes*, in *Ottoman Traders' Guild*, 2005, <http://www.ottoman-traders.com/caravan.html>.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ R. Theodorescu, *Routes de la foi, routes du négoce*, in Actes de la Conférence “Le Sud-Est européen, carrefour de civilisations”, (siège de l'UNESCO, Paris, 9 et 10 février 1998), Paris, 1998, p. 33.

arriving in Wallachia. Here it joined other routes leading North, to Moldavia, Poland, reaching the Baltic shore. Or leading West, to Transylvania, and from here to Central and Western Europe.

From the Ottoman Empire the merchants brought mainly spices: saffron, cumin, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, pepper, salt, sugar. Then drugs: opium, *benzion* (natural resin), arsenic, *mirobolani* (an astringent plum-like fruit), balm of Mithridate, perfumes. Different textiles: silk (especially green, light blue and red), crimson damask, crimson velvet, cotton, linens, carpets. Foods: wheat, barley, millet, olive oil, oranges, lemons, rhubarb, wines. Dyes, especially carmine and indigo. Luxuries: gold dust, copper, quicksilver, coral, Chinese porcelain, Lemnian earth, precious stones, pearls, incense, sandalwood, alum, gum Arabic, glass trinkets, mirrors, wallpaper, furs and slaves.

At Istanbul, there came caravans and ships carrying foods: grains, soda, pickled herrings, cod and salmon, dried fish. Different textiles: woollen cloth, *kersies*⁹⁸ of different colours, caps. Luxuries: silver coins, amber, paper, various jewellery, trinkets, beaten sheets of tin and copper. The contraband goods were mostly brought in by ships: ammunition and armament, iron, steel, bronze, tin, copper, gun powder for cannons and harquebus, saltpetre, iron balls for cannons and harquebus, coarse canvas, millstones, logs for masts and galleys. From the Northern lands, they brought: timber, wax, whale blubber, seal's teeth, furs, flax, hemp⁹⁹.

The merchants who carried these goods also passed through the Romanian territories on their way from or to Istanbul. Here there was an entire network of inner routes which connected these lands to the great trade. Especially merchants from Moldavia, Wallachia and even Transylvania passed through Dobroudja. They carried mainly wax, ox leather, horses¹⁰⁰, and on their way back they brought expensive cloths, jewellery, glass samples¹⁰¹. The Sublime Porte was extremely interested in stimulating and carrying on a free trade, as much as possible. To this matter it built and maintained a series of roads and bridges on the entire territory of the Empire¹⁰².

Many of the terrestrial trade routes which passed through Dobroudja were closely connected to the fluvial routes – on the Danube, on the Prut. The Sublime Porte rigorously controlled the traffic between the Danube and the Black Sea by an efficient customs system, in the main ports – Brăila, Măcin, Isaccea, Tulcea. These centres were also crossed by some important local trade routes which were part of some larger international trade routes. Such were: “*the Brăila route*”, which

⁹⁸ Thick cloth for the top of the boots.

⁹⁹ Cf. Antara Nepa, *Caravans and Trade Routes*, in Ottoman Traders' Guild, 2005, <http://www.ottoman-traders.com/caravan.html>.

¹⁰⁰ C. Luca, *Rutele balcanice ale comerțului Țărilor Române cu Veneția în secolul al XVII-lea*, in SMIM, 19, 2001, p. 227.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² In 1610 the Venetians noticed how surprisingly easy it was to trade goods with the Romanian Countries, Renzo Paci, *La “scala” di Spalato e el commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e seicento*, Venice 1971, pp. 104-105, *apud* C. Luca, *op.cit.*, pp. 227-228.

represented the large Braşov route southern end¹⁰³, connecting the Black Sea, Transylvania and Central Europe; the famous “*Moldavian route*”¹⁰⁴ as well as “*the Galaţi route*”¹⁰⁵ which connected the south of the country and the region of Dobroudja to the north, to the Baltic area; finally, a route across Dobroudja, “*the Turkish route*”, which joined the Romanian territories with those of the Ottoman Empire¹⁰⁶.

An important trade route was the maritime one. Contrary to the things we have known so far about the foreign trade ships penetration in the Black Sea in the 17th century, the trade on the maritime route was intensely practiced during this century too. Thus, at the end of the 16th century, in the Black Sea ports there were many ships with traders carrying different goods. A series of customs regulations of the time speak about foreign traders – called *zimmi* (especially the Venetians) and *harbi* – and about the maritime ships which bring them – *deniz, gemileri* – characteristic both for the navigation on the Black Sea and on the Mediterranean¹⁰⁷.

In the 17th century these foreign merchants were mostly French, English and Dutch. It is known that during the second half of the 16th century the frequent armed conflicts between the Sublime Porte and the Republic of Venice greatly reduced the presence of the Venetian merchants in the Empire’s territories, especially in the Black Sea. They were quickly replaced by the French, English and Dutch traders. France negotiated the first *Capitulations* in 1536, which were not signed until 1569. England and Holland initially came under the French pavilion. Starting with 1580 and 1583 the sultan granted the English their own capitulations – the Levant Company being created in 1581. The Dutch would not obtain theirs until 1612.

And yet, despite all the restrictions, the presence of Venice in the Black Sea is registered in a series of documents of the time. To this matter we quote two documents – the first from 1619/1620, the second from 1622/1623 – which prove that the Venetian traders were allowed by the sultan to purchase white sturgeon and caviar from the Chilia port and from the Danube’s Mouths¹⁰⁸. Several years later, apparently the number of Venetian merchants was quite high in the area, given the fact that, upon

¹⁰³ Ş. Papacostea, *Începuturile politicii comerciale a Țării Româneşti şi a Moldovei (secolele XIV-XVI). Drum şi Stat*, in the tome *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc*, Cluj, 1988, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴ Old, large and important international trade route, depending on the century, which crossed the entire Moldavia, following the valley of the Siret for most of its length, and which ensured the connection with Poland and the Baltic Sea.

¹⁰⁵ This route, upstream the river Bârlad, reached north, connecting Poland to Istanbul. (P. Păltănea, *Informaţii despre evoluţia demografică şi a teritoriului oraşului Galaţi până la 1918*, in AIAI, 1987, I, p. 27). See also Ana-Maria Velter, G. Custurea, *Un tezaur monetar medieval descoperit în zona oraşului Galaţi*, in CN, 9-11, 2005, pp.

¹⁰⁶ For the terrestrial trade routes which crossed the Balkan territories see S. Dimitrov, N. Jecsev and V. Tonev, *Istorijska Dobroudja*, Sofia, 1988, t. 3, p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ Anca Popescu, *Circulaţia mărfurilor la Dunărea de Jos reflectată în “kanunname”-le (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea)*, in RdeI, t. 6, 1996, no. 3-4, p. 255-278.

¹⁰⁸ Şt. Andreescu, *Problema închiderii Mării Negre la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea şi în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, in the tome *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 138; M. Berindei, *Les venetiens en Mer Noire XVI-XVII siècles*, p. 207-224.

the request of the Venetian bail from Istanbul, Alvize Contarini, Girolamo Tomasi was appointed consul in the Chilia port on October 8/16 1640, the latter “*having to deal with the business of the Venetians who came to these regions*”¹⁰⁹.

In the last quarter of the 17th century, although the rivalries between the two “*blocs*”¹¹⁰ do not disappear, now begins an age of relative political calm between the Muslim world and the Christian one from the Mediterranean, between the East and the West of this important sea¹¹¹. But the most radical change in the Mediterranean during this century is the apparition in the waters of some extra-Mediterranean powers – the Dutch and the English fleets. The phenomenon had a strong echo in the Black Sea waters as well.

But not only the restrictions of the Sublime Porte limited the free trade in the Black Sea ports. At the time the maritime trade was also rendered more difficult by the Kazaks’ piracy. At the beginning of the 17th century in the Black Sea, the aggressive naval policy of the Kazaks from Moscow and Zaporozjie makes its presence more and more felt¹¹².

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The consumer goods circulation could not be stopped, though. And together with the goods, which were brought either by land or by river and sea, various coins came to Dobroudja as well. Thus, from the North, by land, the goods and the money came on the old and acknowledged “*Moldavian route*”¹¹³. Coming from the great Baltic trade, via Poland – from Danzig, a trade port and largely developed centre in the 16th-17th century, which connected the occidental trade routes to the ones from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, passing through the important emporium Lwów – the goods and the coins entered Moldavia. From here they were transported by caravans, on the old “*Moldavian route*”, reaching south, at the Danube’s ports – Galați, Măcin, Isaccea – where the Ottoman customs was¹¹⁴. From these centres, the goods and the money could continue their way either by land – through Dobroudja or through

¹⁰⁹ Șt. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The recent studies mention that previously, Fra Emido had been appointed consul, but he died on the way. The researcher Ștefan Andreescu assumes that Fra Emido could be one and the same with Emido Portelli d’Ascoli who died in 1636 in a shipwreck near Ragusa, *Ibidem*, p. 136-137. So, it is likely that the Venetians had a consulate in Chilia a bit earlier.

¹¹⁰ See, for instance, the War of Moreea, between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, at the end of the century – 1684-1698. Defeated by the Treaty of Karlovitz, the Empire will take its revenge in the next confrontation, between 1714-1718.

¹¹¹ H. Coutau-Bégarie, *Seapower in the Mediterranean in the 18th-19th century*, in *Law, strategy and Policy in the Mediterranean*, Newport, Naval War College Press, John B. Hattendorf (ed.), 1999, p. 37.

¹¹² Șt. Andreescu, *Reacții contra dominației otomane asupra mării Negre în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea: alianța între cazaci și tătari*, in SMIM, 19, 2001, pp. 129-153.

¹¹³ In 1619, the Venetian Polo Minia greatly praised this route, (E. de Hurmuzaki, IV/I, Bucharest, 1882, p. 599, doc. 516). The famous route started declining after 1672, because of the Turkish-Polish conflicts. These led to the forced exodus towards Transylvania of a high number of Armenian traders from Moldavia.

¹¹⁴ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului...op. cit.*, pp. 295-301; see also M. Mollat, *Istanbul à la rencontre de la Mer Noire et de la Méditerranée*, in AIESEE. Bulletin, t. 12, 1974, no. 2, pp. 31-32.

Wallachia to the Balkans – or by sea. On this important route there came the United Provinces of the Netherlands coins, of the Western and South-Western Europe – especially the lion-thalers, the florins of 28 stuivers and the reals – together with the Polish coins. The latter group is formed by current issues, alongside early coins – from the 15th century – already out of use on the Polish market, but still circulating on the Romanian territories.

Following the monetary types analysis in its structure, we believe that the deposit from Eforie Sud I was gathered in this geographical area – Baltic- Polish-Moldavian – reaching in the end Dobroudja. A category of coins came by sea, from the Baltic trade, a second category from the Polish- Moldavian space and, it is possible that a third category should have joined the hoard right in Dobroudja. However, the entire batch was destined for a journey on the Black Sea towards Constantinople, or towards South-Western and Western Europe. But, for different reasons, the hoards ended up in the sea, at 30-40 m from the shore. We believe that the “Eforie Sud II” hoard¹¹⁵ reached this territory also by sea, but this time coming from the Black Sea to Dobroudja. The hoard comes from the Venetian and Dutch traders area of great interest, from the Danube’s Mouths¹¹⁶.

A second trade route came from the west, from Wallachia, by land, with the caravans, or by river, with the ships on the Danube. Mostly the coins from Transylvania, Central and Southern Europe penetrated Dobroudja on this route. We think that the monetary hoards from Silistra, Cernavodă, Viile, Isaccea and Hârșova were circulated on this Danube route.

Finally, from the south, the coins came either by land, from the Mediterranean trade area, via the Balkans, or by sea, through the trade practiced on the Black Sea. Following these routes, the Turkish coins – akçes, dirhems, paras – and those of Western, South-Western and Southern Europe – especially the Venetian ducats, the United Provinces of the Netherlands lion-thalers, the florins of 28 stuivers and the Spanish reals, arrived on the monetary market of Dobroudja.

A large number of traders of various nations bustled with goods and money on these important routes. In 1632, for instance, the Dutch messenger in Constantinople, Paul of Strassburg, mentions that in Bucharest all the town’s streets and markets were full of expensive goods which had been exhibited for sale by Italian, Greek, Romanian, Turkish and Serbian merchants¹¹⁷. Beside these, as the historian Nicolae Iorga emphasises¹¹⁸, there were also Spanish Jews, many of them coming from the Ottoman Empire where they had settled after their driving away from Spain¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵ We think that the important deposit at Vadu came on the Black Sea shores also by sea, coming from the Black Sea to Dobroudja.

¹¹⁶ See Șt. Andreescu, *Problema închiderii Mării...op. cit.*; M. Berindei, *Les venetiens en ...op. cit.*; P. Cernovodeanu, *Comerțul Țărilor Române...op. cit.*

¹¹⁷ *Călători străini în Țările Române*, t. 5, p. 643; N. Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 53; *Istoria Românilor*, t. 5, p. 462.

¹¹⁸ N. Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc*, t. I, (*up to 1700*), Vălenii de Munte, 1915, p. 333.

¹¹⁹ R. Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris-Lille, 1990, pp. 10-11.

We should also not neglect the merchants from Republic of Ragusa role in the Romanian Countries trade and in the Western European coins spreading. The ships of Ragusa often came, alongside the Italian (especially Genovese) ones, in the Spanish ports from Cadix, Lisbona, Malaga and Alicante¹²⁰. Using both land and sea routes, they had their own centres in the big towns, and at the Danube's Mouths – at Babadag, Isaccea and Chilia, as well as in other areas from the Balkans – Silistra, Varna, Provadia, Sofia, Belgrad¹²¹. The merchants from Ragusa settled in the Romanian Countries and in the Balkans, forming true colonies of traders. The trade which they practiced however decreases in the second half of the 17th century, particularly after the great earthquake of 1667 which killed more than half of the inhabitants of Ragusa¹²², implicitly reducing the Republic role in the Adriatic trade, as well as that of market of the Balkan products.

From Poland, the circulation of goods, and especially of the coins – Polish and Western European – from the lands of Ruthenia to the Romanian Countries and to the Ottoman Empire was carried out mainly by the Armenian merchants from Lwów¹²³.

Also the Sublime Porte took some measures to protect the merchants who brought or carried goods by ship on the Danube¹²⁴. In 1618, for instance, the sultan Osman II demands the ruler of Wallachia, Gabriel Movilă, and the “*zabits*”¹²⁵ from some small ports on the Danube – Rusciuc, Nicopole, Silistra, Vidin, Turtucaia – to not make it difficult for the merchant Grigore and his men, who were bringing to the Empire sheep and cattle from Wallachia, gathered from several counties of the country. In the same document it is shown that such *translations of this act* were given to other merchants too, such as the coachman Petru and his people, who bought with their own money 10,000 sheep from several counties of the country¹²⁶. If at the beginning of the century the sultan warnings were rather gentle¹²⁷, towards the end, during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu, they became extremely severe. In June

¹²⁰ V. Vásquez de Prado, *Lettres marchands d'Anvers*, t. 1, p. 507.

¹²¹ C. Șerban, V. Șerban, *Rolul economic și politico-militar al orașelor din Dobrogea de Nord în secolele XVI-XVII*, in Peuce, 1971, no. 2, p. 285. They mention the bazaars from Tulcea where the merchants from Chios came with wine and fish. For the year 1623 the fairs at Babadag and Isaccea are known, where the merchants from Ragusa met, (M. Maxim, *Un tezaur ottoman din secolul al XVII-lea descoperit la Nalbant, jud. Tulcea*, in CN, 1996, no. 6, p. 207, apud K. Pârvan, *Asprul ottoman în contextual circulației monetare în țările române din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, diploma paper, Bucharest, 1979, p. 14-25, mss.

¹²² The town will spectacularly reborn around the middle of the 18th century, R. Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire...* pp. 334-336.

¹²³ *Vide supra*, notes 32, 33 and 49.

¹²⁴ See to this matter an order of the sultan Ahmed addressed to the ruler of Wallachia, Radu Șerban, dating from January 1609, which demanded him to punish those who plundered in the area of the lake Bistreț the ship of the trader Hagi Huseyn bringing goods from Belgrad. He was brining 2,000 ells of Indian satin, velvet, kemha (brocade), dishes for 20 small tables, 1,000 gold coins in cash, (Th. Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române cu Poarta Otomană în documente turcești(1601-1712)*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 130-133, doc. 36).

¹²⁵ Local Authorities.

¹²⁶ Th. Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române ...*, pp. 187-189, doc. 75.

¹²⁷ Iolanda Tighilu, *Dunărea și “pax otomanica” în sec. XVI-XVIII*, in RdeI, 5, 1994, 11-12, pp. 1149-1153.

1697, for example, the sultan Mustafa II demanded the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu to ensure the security on the entire Danube Romanian course, threatening that “...if only one man shall suffer damages, not only will you have to repay everything that he was plundered of and lost, but you will also be killed...”¹²⁸.

Many testimonies of the century mention the fact that more and more foreign merchants now settled in the big towns or fairs in the Romanian Countries, especially in the ones situated on the great trade routes¹²⁹. The Minorite Emanuele Remodi shows in 1636 that at Iași there are 65 houses of Hungarian Catholics, French, Venetians or other merchants of Roman religion¹³⁰. In 1640, the Catholic priest Deodato Baksič mentioned a group of Greek merchants, established at Târgoviște, a town which became again the capital of Wallachia, who go to Venice every year carrying wax; “others go to Germany and Poland and all over Turkey and they are rich and powerful merchants”¹³¹.

Also, from a document from 1639, issued by Gheorghe I Rakoczi, the prince of Transylvania, we learn that in order to sell 5,000-6,000 sheep, an Ottoman merchant was asked for a real/thaler for each sheep, or 12 *dutce* (triple grossus), if he came to Transylvania. The prince bound himself to transport the animals only up to the Danube¹³². The *firman* from April 18, 1671, addressed to the *cadiis* (judges) and all the high officials on the route between Istanbul and the border of Wallachia, asked to not stop and hinder the ones who brought sheep – 45, 000 heads from Wallachia¹³³. In the same period of time, from Bucharest 120 scales of melted butter (10,300 kg) and cheese were bought and stored to be sent to Istanbul¹³⁴.

Being more and more part of the international trade, the Romanian Countries got directly involved, increasing the number of producers, craftsmen and merchants. Referring to the trade with Poland, the chronicler Miron Costin notices “...*Wallachia was, they say, full of gold, where at the time* (during the reign of Vasile Lupu 1634-1653, *n.n.*) *they brought from Moldavia oxen, horses, honey for sale and they brought from that country gold and silver...*”¹³⁵. The number of merchants, of money changers and of money lenders increases substantially now, in the 17th century.

The money exchange and the money trade profitableness caused an increasing number of foreign merchants, money changers and money lenders, especially Turks, Greeks and Jews, to settle down in the Romanian Countries. Especially in the second half of the 17th century, a lot of foreign creditors and merchants accompany in the

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 444-446, doc. 216.

¹²⁹ See to this matter the document from September 23, 1616, in which they mention the selling of some houses in Iași (Documents concerning the Romanian History (DIR), A, Moldavia, XVII, p. 47-48, no. 70), or the testimonies of some foreign travellers.

¹³⁰ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, t. 5, p. 95; Șt. Andreescu, *Problema închiderii...*, p. 136.

¹³¹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, t. 4, p. 35.

¹³² Șt. Meteș, *Relațiile comerciale ale Țării Românești cu Ardealul până în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Sighișoara, 1920, p. 160.

¹³³ Th. Gemil, *Relațiile Țărilor Române...*, pp. 335-337, doc. 150.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 338-340, doc. 152.

¹³⁵ Miron Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, Bucharest, 1956, p. 153.

Romanian Countries the new rulers who had borrowed money from them. Part of them settled here, dealing mainly with changing and trading money.

The values fluctuations from one area to another, as well as from one period to another, brought money gains to those who practiced such a job. If we take into account the ratio gold/silver from different European states¹³⁶ and its fluctuations from one area to another, we can explain the multiple monetary manipulations which happen in this century. Certainly, these fluctuations have consequences in the Ottoman Empire and, implicitly, in the Romanian Countries too.

Table VI
Monetary equivalences in the Ottoman Empire, in proportion to the akçe¹³⁷

Period	Venetian ducat	Spanish real	Dutch thaler
1600	125	78	68
1618	150	100	?
1632	220	110	100
1641	168	80	70
1646	170	80	80
1655	175	90	90
1668	250	110	120
1676	300	125	120
1683	300	130	120
1691	300-400	120-160	120-160

Table VII
Monetary equivalences in Poland, the Ottoman Empire, Wallachia and Moldavia¹³⁸

Period	Country	Venetian ducat	Spanish real	Dutch thaler	German thaler	Florin of 28 stuivers	Polish grossus	Ottoman akçe
1588	Lwów				1		36	
1588	Ottoman Empire				1			85

¹³⁶ In 1686 in Spain it was of 16.48, in England of 15.39, at Hamburg of 14.80, at Istanbul 16.00. See V. Vázquez de Prado, *Historia económica y social de España*, t.3 (*los siglos XVI-XVII*), Madrid, 1978, p. 635. For the gold/silver ratio, Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 136.

¹³⁷ Table drawn up following the pattern of the one drawn up by Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History...*, p. 144.

¹³⁸ Table drawn up according to the equivalences given by W. Szlapinkij, *op. cit.*, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 252, p. 2214, file 253, p. 739, file 400, p. 897, 976, file 53, p. 280, file 734, p. 168, 174, file 1147, p. 10,11, 80, file 1147, p. 37-39, 42-43, 45-46, 126, 135, 137 and file 48, p. 161, file 248, p. 948, 950, 952, file 524, p. 979.

1588	Moldavia							80
1599	Lwów			1			33	1
End of 16 th -beginning of 17 th	Ottoman Empire	1					57/60	
End of 16 th -beginning of 17 th	Lwów	1					56/60	
End of 16 th -beginning of 17 th	Moldavia	1					57/60	
1600	Ottoman Empire			1			35/40	70/80
1601	Danzig			1			30	1
1601	Thorun			1			29	1
1604	Lwów			1			34	1
1611	Lwów		1				40/42	
1620	Lwów		1				66/75	
1628/1629	Lwów						90	
1629	Iași					1	60	
1629	Lwów					1	54/60	
1636	Lwów					1	50	
1636	Bucharest					1	75	
1638	Danzig			1			75	
1638	Lwów			1			80	

But not only the equivalences fluctuation between coins brought gains, but also the difference between the coins weight. Thus, an imperial thaler weighed 25.98g of pure silver, while a lion-thaler only weighed 20.76 g, which means a rate of exchange of 1.25. Inevitably, the market prices were different in the Ottoman Empire various regions. The gold coins, for instance, were better rated in the Balkans, while

the silver coins were more valuable in the west of the Empire. So it was extremely profitable to buy the current coin at a low price in the west and then sell it with a higher price in Levant.

Although the *akçe* was no longer the current vital coin which used to be in the 16th century, still it remained the basic counting unit, all the references in the documents being done almost exclusively to it. At the end of the 17th century it was replaced by the *kurush*.

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To conclude, the Lower Danube area was a disputed place because of the important position it held on the commercial axis which connected the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean. Ever since the 13th century, the Genovese settlement at the Danube's Mouths served some strategic interests which gave the possibility of controlling a certain European trade routes segment. This trade area became more important during the 16th–17th century, when Europe was flooded with the silver and the gold brought by Spain from America. After 1550, the growth of the reserve of precious metals, due to the American overproduction of cheap silver and gold, caused an impressive amount of coins manufactured from these metals to pour out from the West to the Ottoman Empire. Especially the silver coming from the New World represented a vital source for financing Europe's trade, in general, and the trade with the Levant, in particular. Forming a unique economic universe, the Empire was at the time the biggest consumer of high value coins. From the end of the 16th century / the beginning of the 17th, the lack of cash in the Empire, and the massive devaluation of its silver coin became important factors in spreading the European coins and their devalued versions. The *akçe* extreme instability and, as a consequence, the loss of trust in it, was one of the factors which generated the flow of cheap silver from Europe, having devastating effects on the Ottoman monetary stability. The lack of their own coin was compensated by the West European coins. The most representative silver coins on the Ottoman Empire market and of the territories depending on it were the Dutch lion-thaler, named *esedi-kuruş* or *aslanli-kuruş*, and the Spanish coin of 8 reals, also named *real-kuruş*. Beside these denominations, the florins of 28 stuivers, named *Polish zolota*, "*talary zlotowe*" were successful too¹³⁹. They circulated in the Balkans, in the West and the centre of Anatolia, in Syria and Egypt, in the North-West of Africa. The gold coins, such as the Venetian ducat and the Hungarian ducat, circulated mainly in the Balkans.

As the Romanian Countries were under the Sublime Porte suzerainty, their economy was mostly oriented towards the south, playing an important role in ensuring its supplies of raw materials. Dobroudja – part of the Empire – became a transit territory for the goods which travelled to or came from Istanbul. In the 17th century,

¹³⁹ W. Szlapinkij, p. 12, note 60, cf. AICSL, fund 52, opis 2, file 248, p. 948.

the trade connections increase with the new European economic and financial powers – France, England, Holland – was imperative. Their competition led to the role and the importance declining that the trade practiced with the big Italian towns had.

From the facts known so far, we notice that, compared to the abundance of documentary information concerning the economic life in Dobroudja and at the Danube's Mouths in the 17th century, the coin discoveries are not consistent with it, either in number, or in importance. We take the liberty to assume that the lack of systematic, vast excavations in the contemporary sites is one of the objective reasons, together with the fact that the scientific data gathered so far are not made available. We should also add the subjective human and material reasons. That is, the precious metal temptation, which the medieval coins are generally made of, and the fear, still existing, in the relations between people and the authorities. These would be, in our opinion, the main reasons why we still cannot have a distinct and real image of the economy in the 16th–17th century or a clear coin discoveries record in this area. Therefore, the statistics which we have attempted to make are partial and relative.