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COINS OF KINGS FROM SAXON DYNASTY STATE OF INVESTIGATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

The first sixty years of the 18th century, the period of personal union with Saxony, so called Saxon times, are quite controversial both in Polish historiography and numismatics. Numismatic problems of that epoch were undertaken rather unwillingly. Sometimes, they were presented within more complete elaborations or marginally in papers of economic character,¹ more often they were the subject of small contributions.² Initially, in Polish numismatics Saxon epoch was treated as the period of complete monetary chaos, enlarged by Northern and Seven Year Wars and reflecting the economic and political decline of Rzeczypospolita (the Polish State) of those times. Though the latest studies did not change that accepted image totally, yet they

represent a new point of view, somewhat modifying pessimistic opinions about Saxon times. Contemporary authors as Andrzej Mikołajczyk and Zbigniew Żabiński notice attempts, undertaken in the discussed period, to introduce a certain monetary order. From this point of view, they evaluate provisions of universal from 1717 establishing the mutual ratio of coin value according to the market level and regulations of August III from 1749–1753 and 1753–1762.³

In the history of modern Polish coins, Saxon epoch is characterized, apart from monarchs and chronological borders, by the features of the mintage consisting in the weakening of minting production and in its transporting from the Crown to Saxony. However, that period cannot be treated uniformly. In 1698–1748 the Crown mints did not work and August II, limited by *pacta conventa*, struck Polish coins in Leipzig only at the beginning of the 18th century and in a very limited amount. Similarly, Lithuanian coins emitted in Grodno and municipal ones of Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń were produced in a very small number. In 1749–1763 mint production in Saxony and in Prussian towns was increased which was manifested by the enlarged variety of struck coins, emitted now in higher quantities. The year 1749 is the limiting date since it marks the beginnings of reforms introduced by August III in Polish monetary system. The above division was proposed by Andrzej Mikołajczyk⁴ in his latest work devoted to the genesis of the Polish modern coin. In general, minting production of Saxon epoch as compared to other periods, tended to stagnation.

The fact that kings August II and August III were Saxon electors at the same time resulted in double

¹I. Za g ó r s k i, *Monety dawnej Polski jako też prowincji i miast do niej nigdy należących z trzech ostatnich wieków*, Warszawa 1845; M. G u m o w s k i, *Podręcznik numizmatyki polskiej*, Kraków 1914, *idem*, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz 1960; J. A. S z w a g r z y k, *Pieniądz na ziemiach polskich X–XX w.*, Wrocław 1973; T. K a ł k o w s k i, *Tysiąc lat monety polskiej*, Kraków 1974; W. K o n o p c z y Ń s k i, *Przesilenie monetarne w Polsce za Augusta III*, "Ekonomista" 1910, 1, pp. 1–50; Ł. J a s i Ń s k i, *Beiträge zur Finanzgeschichte Polens im 18 Jhd.*, Posen 1910; E. L i p i Ń s k i, *Reforma pieniężna za Augusta III*, [in:] *Studia nad historią polskiej myśli ekonomicznej*, Warszawa 1956, pp. 411–418.

²K. B o ł s u n o w s k i, *Wiadomość o fałszowaniu monet polskich w Owruclu*, "Zapiski Numizmatyczne" 1889, 1, p. 7 and H. S a d o w s k i, *Dukaty z czasów saskich w Polsce*, "Wędrowiec" 1900, 15, p. 287; H. M a Ń k o w s k i, *Uwagi o Augustdorach polskich fałszowanych przez Fryderyka II*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne", 1909, 11, pp. 199–200; M. G u m o w s k i, *Tymfy Augusta III z 1753 r.* "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1910, 1, pp. 10–11; R. M ę k i c k i, *Monety elektorskie Sasów polskich*, "Na Ziemi Naszej" 1910, 8, pp. 63–64; A. D o m a r a d z k i, *Talary koronne Augusta II i beichlingowskie z 1702 r.*, "Łódzki Numizmatyk" 1965, 1, 2, pp. 4–6; T. K a ł k o w s k i, *Pieniądz polski w pierwszej ćwierci XVIII w.*, "Numizmatyk Krakowski" 1966, 4, pp. 195–196; E. M r o w i Ń s k i, *Jeszcze o groszach Albrechta, Fryderyka II i Jana z Kostrzyna bitych na stopę polską*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1978, p. 141; P. A r n o l d, *Saské ražené a početní toлары v letech 1667–1838*, "Numismatické listy" 1976, 31, 4, pp. 97–115.

³A. M i k o ł a j c z y k, *Geneza i rozwój nowożytnej monety polskiej na tle europejskim (XVI – pol. XVIII w.)*, Kraków 1983, pp. 191–208; Z. Ż a b i Ń s k i, *Systemy monetarne w okresie saskim*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1975, 19, 4, pp. 193–206; *idem*, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich*, Wrocław 1981, pp. 128–138.

⁴M i k o ł a j c z y k, *op. cit.*, p. 191 and *passim*.

character of minting which they patronized. Breaking *pacta conventa*, they struck coins according to the Polish mintfoot and local iconographic tradition for Poland, at the same time striking coins according to Saxon mintfoot with images of old 17th century types meant for Saxony. The latter, however, possessed both Polish and Saxon coats of arms and titles. That is why, those coins were called Polish-Saxon⁵ in Polish numismatic literature. This notion leads sometimes to misunderstandings since it suggests the existence of some Polish-Saxon monetary system while in fact, we deal with two different systems, the Polish and the Saxon ones. Therefore, the postulates of contemporary researchers⁶ to change this imprecise and misleading terminology seem to be right.

The fact of transferring the minting production from the Crown to Saxony influenced the paucity of source basis available for the Polish numismatists. The richest material is abroad, first of all, in Registry and Numismatic Office in Dresden. Some documents can be found in Registries in Leipzig and Berlin and also in Main Registry of Old Files in Poland. *Acta Borussica* II from 1908, 1910 should be mentioned here as some publications dealing with the Saxon period. Silesian Diplomatic Codex elaborated by F. Friedensburg is of supplementary character.

In Poland, some minting documents from August II's and August III's times were published by I. Zagórski. Summarized opinions and articles from magazines devoted to monetary problems in 1761–1762, not published before, were included at the end of W. Konopczyński's treatise dealing with monetary turning-point in times of August III. Small sources in forms of memorials, summary papers, schedules, registers, specifications and some universals are still scattered,⁷ Sejm diaries, regional councils files, fiscal books, bills and customs books, F. Łojko's files⁸ etc. await to be elaborated from the numismatic point of view.

In Poland the most representative collections of Polish and Saxon coins belong to numismatic offices in

National Museum in Warsaw and Cracow. The above mentioned numismatic office in Dresden boasts of the unique collection of Saxon coins coming, among others, from the period of August II's and August III's reigns.

Present recording of material coming from finds from the Saxon period was led by "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne", at present "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne". Moreover, we are indebted to foreign authors such as V. M. Potin and B. Kluge,⁹ for publications of materials devoted to finds in the Polish territory from the examined period. Z. Duksa prepared a partial stock-book of hoards from Lithuanian territories, M. Kotlar published Ukrainian hoards from the 18th century among which there were a lot of Polish coins struck by August II and August III.¹⁰

The beginnings of studies on coins from Saxon period date back to the end of the 19th century. However, coins of both Wettins did not awake such an interest among Polish numismatists as coins of other monarchs. To a great extent it resulted from the character of mintage in Saxon period and from a very meagre source basis in Poland. Our catalogue publications and general articles from the beginnings of the 20th century included coins of Polish rulers August II and August III,¹¹ whereas Saxon coins of those kings with Polish coats of arms and titles were listed in Hutten-Czapski's catalogue yet without illustrations.¹² J. F. Klotsch, F. Schrötter, E. Bahrfeldt and F. A. Vossberg¹³ should be mentioned here as the

⁵M. Gumowski, *Monety sasko-polskie*, Kraków 1910, used it as the first one.

⁶E. Kopiccki, review of the work by Cz. Kamiński, J. Żukowski, *Katalog monet polskich 1697–1763 (okres saski)*, Warszawa 1980, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1981, 6, p. 115; Żabiński, *Systemy monetarne...*, p. 193.

⁷"Acta Borussica" II, Berlin 1908, "Acta Borussica" III, Berlin 1910; F. Friedensburg, *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, Wrocław 1899; Zagórski, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–177; Konopczyński, *op. cit.*, M. Gumowski, *Bibliografia numizmatyki polskiej*, Toruń 1967.

⁸H. Madurowicz-Urbńska, *Prace Feliksa Łojki nad historią gospodarczą i ekonomiką Polski*, part I. Pieniądz, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych 39, Wrocław 1976; also T. Czacki, *O litewskich i polskich prawach...*, Kraków 1861.

⁹V. M. Potin, *Znaleziska monet na obszarze Polski według danych archiwów leningradzkich*, part I, 1859–1889, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1967, 11, pp. 1–87; part II, 1890–1913, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1971, 15, 4, pp. 197–256; B. Kluge, *Znaleziska monet z XVI–XVIII w. na obszarze Polski na podstawie archiwum Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeów Państwowych w Berlinie*, part I, 1820–1849, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1978, 22, 2, p. 106; part II, 1850–1868, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1979, 23, 2, pp. 106–107.

¹⁰M. Kotlar, *Znaleziska monet z XVIII w. na obszarze Ukrainiejskiej SRR*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1977, 21, 4; Z. Duksa, *Wiadomości o znaleziskach skarbow monet na Litwie na podstawie doniesień prasowych z lat 1951–1971*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1973, 17, 3, pp. 167–176.

¹¹K. W. Stężyński, J. S. Bandtkie, *Numizmatyka krajowa*, 2, Warszawa 1840; K. Beyer, *Skorowidz monet polskich od 1506 do 1825 roku ułożony... w 1862 r.*, Kraków 1880; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Skorowidz monet litewskich*, Warszawa 1875; Zagórski, *op. cit.*

¹²E. H. Czapski, *Catalogue de la collection des medailles et monnaies polonaises*, v. 3, Petersburg–Kraków 1880, reed. Graz 1957.

¹³J. F. Klotsch, *Versuch einer Chursächsischen Münzgeschichte*, 1–2, Chemnitz 1779–1780; F. Schrötter, *Das preussische Münzwesen im 18 JHD*, Berlin 1910. E. Bahrfeldt, *Die Münzen und Medaillen Sammlung in der Marienburg*, 2, Gdańsk 1904; 3, Gdańsk 1906; 5, Gdańsk 1910; 6 Gdańsk 1916; F. A. Vossberg, *Münzgeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Berlin 1852.

foreign authors dealing with the mintage of Saxon times.

Within the works of economic and historical character pre-war historians provided us with descriptions of financial policy and fiscal administration of Saxon epoch, the problem of monetary falsifications of Friderick II and prices. Those issues were continued in newer elaborations and enlarged by other subjects, first of all, due to A. Mikołajczyk and Z. Żabiński.¹⁴ Not taking into account few small contributions, the first numismatic work drawing attention and dealing with Saxon coins of Wettins from the period of their reigns in Poland is *Monety sasko-polskie (Polish-Saxon Coins)* by Gumowski.¹⁵ The work consists of two parts. The first one contains the characteristics of Saxon coins struck by August II and August III. The author calls our attention to features distinguishing them from Polish coins as regards legends, images and first of all the mintfoot according to which they were struck. However, he mistakes orts for half-talers and 1/2 ort for 1/4 taler while ort equaled 1/4 taler or 1/3 Rechnungstaler and 1/2 ort equaled 1/8 taler or 1/6 Rechnungstaler. Proper values are presented by W. Haupt and Z. Żabiński,¹⁶ Further on, Gumowski discusses occasional coins and emissions of the children of August III on which there were Polish coats of arms and titles (coins of Friderick Christian – Saxon elector, of Xavery – administrator of Duchy, of Klemens Waclaw – Archbishop and Trewir elector). The second part of the work contains catalogue list of coins struck by August II and August III into which the author also included coins struck by the former before he mounted the Polish throne (1694–1697), however without their illustrations as not having anything in common with Poland. To the list, Gumowski did not enclose either monetary legends or literal and dotted variants giving reasons for this decision in a great deal of changeless stamps (dies), resulting from highly developed minting techniques in Saxony. In footnotes, Gumowski explained abbreviations and signs

appearing on coins giving short explanations or information about family connections and duties performed by members of the Saxon dynasty. Main types of coins were illustrated in separate tables. In the list, he did not manage to include all variants and sometimes even all types of Saxon coins, yet as he himself said, his work was an outline which would need some supplements in future. The latest catalogue publications failed to fulfill this task either.¹⁷ Especially the catalogue of C. Kamiński and J. Żukowski was so much criticized that in practice, it can be used only marginally.¹⁸

The first works from the field of financial policy of Saxon period are presented by Ł. Jasiński, W. Konopczyński and M. Nycz.¹⁹ While Jasiński based his studies on minting upon elaborations which were not the latest in his times, mostly on Kirmis' paper,²⁰ Konopczyński and Nycz based their works on substantial source basis. Describing monetary relations since the 17th century in hardly original and revelational way, Jasiński underlined the fact of constant changing of money for the worse and the influx of forged currency to the country. He saw the Sejm tending to purge the monetary relations, yet he saw no advantages neither in the universal from 1717 nor in regulations proclaimed by August II in 1749–1753 and 1753–1762. Dealing with monetary turning-point in 1751–1763 Konopczyński used apart from Polish also the comprehensive Prussian, Saxon, French and even Danish and English materials. In an introduction to his book, the author discussed more important events leading to the fall of currency, next he explained the reasons of an unprofitable for Poland balance of payments causing the fast egress of financial means from the country. He also pointed out the fatal consequences of the decision to close the Crown mints in 1685. The insufficiency of its own coins made the population accept foreign currency and deprived the Poles of the management over balance of payments and trade turnover of the country. In the face of the situation of urgent need for money, Konopczyński did not consider the illegal

¹⁴A. Mikołajczyk, *Obrót monet Augusta II i III na zachodnich ziemiach koronnych w świetle znalezisk z okresu saskiego 1697–1763*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1974, 17, 3, pp. 153–168; i d e m, *Obieg pieniężny w Polsce środkowej w XVI do XVIII w.* Łódź 1980; i d e m, *Złote monety w nowożytnych znaleziskach ziem koronnych, próba rekonstrukcji ich obiegu*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1978, 22, pp. 65–92; Żabiński, *Systemy monetarne...*, i d e m, *Systemy pieniężne...*, i d e m, *Próba ustalenia miernika siły nabywczej pieniądza w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1958, 2, 3, pp. 1–10; i d e m, *Siła nabywcza pieniądza w Krakowie w XVII i XVIII w.*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1973, 18, 3, pp. 129–137.

¹⁵Gumowski, *op. cit.*

¹⁶W. Haupt, *Sächsische Münzkunde*, Berlin 1974; Żabiński, *Systemy monetarne...*, p. 131.

¹⁷T. Jabłoński, W. Terlecki, *Katalog monet polskich 1669–1763*, Warszawa 1969; Cz. Kamiński, J. Żukowski, *Katalog monet polskich 1697–1763 (okres saski)*, Warszawa 1980; E. Kopiccki, *Katalog podstawowych typów monet i banknotów Polski oraz ziem historycznie z Polską związanych*, 3 (1632–1795), Warszawa 1978; 6, *Monety obce władców Polski i pretendentów do korony polskiej (1002–1794)*, Warszawa 1980.

¹⁸Cf. E. Kopiccki, review of the work by Kamiński, Żukowski, *Katalog...*, pp. 111–117.

¹⁹Jasiński, *op. cit.*; Konopczyński, *op. cit.*; M. Nycz, *Geneza reform skarbowych sejmu niemieckiego (studium z dziejów skarbowo-wojskowych z lat 1697–1717)*, Poznań 1938.

²⁰M. Kirmis, *Handbuch der polnischen Münzkunde*, Poznań 1892.

production of Polish copper and silver coins led from 1749 in Dresden, Gubin, Grünthal and later in Leipzig²¹ to be disadvantageous.

A very valuable study from the field of fiscal reforms of the Silent Sejm is presented in the work of M. Nycz.²² The author showed here, among others, the monetary problem together with its intricacies from Boratini's and Tymf's activities to the forgery of Friderick II. The work of E. Stańczak²³ is the latest paper supplementing the knowledge of Saxon epoch from the economic point of view.

Financial policy of the Prussian king in relation to Poland in 1751 – 1762 constitutes a vast subject discussed both by native and foreign authors. However, the difference in treating Friderick II's forgeries by Polish and German, older and younger numismatists is clearly pronounced. German numismatists or historians dealing, yet unwillingly, with this problem tried to excuse the Prussian king. They explained that the debasing of currency value, which they did not call a forgery, should be treated as a kind of war tax, military contribution necessary for saving the Prussian State.²⁴ Among German authors a new outlook on the discussed issue was presented recently by J. K. Hoensch.²⁵ In our native literature Friderick II's activities before and after the 7-year War were described by M. Gumowski, W. Konopczyński and A. Mikołajczyk.²⁶ All three of them are hard on Prussian minting production, moreover Mikołajczyk in the most radical way calls a forgery the Polish coins with reduced value produced before the outbreak of 7-year War, sponsored by the Prussian die but meant as export to Poland. Gumowski tends to call the first period of forged production the imitation of name, mintfoot and die. The author judges the motives of Prussian ruler in an unequivocal way i.e. rush for profits and the desire to compete against Saxon mintage.²⁷ While Konopczyński studied that problem from the point of view of consequences and the

significance for declining Rzeczypospolita, Gumowski dealt rather with analysis of its causes and its course. As a source basis he used the collection of files Acta Borussica, Malbork catalogue by Bahrfeldt and Silesian Diplomatic Codex by Friedensburg.²⁸ The period of 1751 – 1763 is a chronological limit for this work. Here, Gumowski presents monetary relations of Poland, Saxony and Prussia, devotes his attention to the role of secret financial councillor – J. F. Grauman in Prussian undertaking and also the Prussian-Saxon competition. Separately he discusses the production of mints from Królewiec, Szczecin and Wrocław before the outbreak of the 7-year War. In one way, in this case supporting the opinion of Konopczyński, the author treats Augustus III's breaking Pacta Conventa regulations and striking copper solidi in Dresden, Gubin and in Grünthal from 1749 and ducats and tymfs in Leipzig from 1752 and in a different way he treats the production of Polish types of coins struck under Prussian die. Although the coins of August III were not completely legal but, bearing a die of the Polish king, were much better than Prussian ones and were kindly accepted in Poland. According to Gumowski their production was a reply of Polish-Saxon court in Dresden to the intensive activity of Prussian mints, by the way stressing the rule that supplying the country with money and profits obtained from this should have belonged to the Polish king. Gumowski considers the Prussian monetary production from 1755/1756, i.e. from the moment of Prussian occupation of Saxony as a result of military operations, to be totally forged. The decree on striking false and subvalued coins supported with August III's die in the mint in Wrocław was emitted before the outbreak of war while the occupation of Leipzig and Dresden made the accomplishment of that intention easier²⁹.

In Mikołajczyk's paper, the lack of adjustment of new monetary system of Prussia introduced in 1750 to traditional and profitable trade with Poland in Eastern Prussia, is mentioned as one of reasons of undertaking production of Polish sub-valued coins by Prussian mints in 1751 – 1753. Prussian money was accepted by the Polish merchants very unwillingly. The author claims also that long-lasting and systematic practice of exporting forged silver to Rzeczypospolita must have influenced the forming and functioning of Polish monetary market.³⁰

An opposite point of view is represented by J. K. Hoensch who devoted his precious though controver-

²¹Konopczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 1 and *passim*.

²²Nycz, *op. cit.*

²³E. Stańczak, *Kamera saska za czasów Augusta III*, Warszawa 1973.

²⁴Klotsch, *op. cit.*; Schröter, *op. cit.*; *Führer durch die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett*, Berlin 1919.

²⁵J. K. Hoensch, *Manipulacje walutowe Fryderyka II w okresie wojny siedmioletniej i ich wpływ na polską reformę monetarną z 1775 – 1766*, "Roczniki Historyczne" 1973, 39, pp. 41 – 104.

²⁶M. Gumowski, *Falszerstwa monetarne Fryderyka II*, Poznań 1948; Konopczyński, *op. cit.*; *idem*, *Polska w dobie wojny siedmioletniej*, part II (1759 – 1763), Warszawa 1911; Mikołajczyk, *Obrót...*, and in the review being the polemics with the quoted article of J. K. Hoensch, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1975, 19, 1, pp. 59 – 63.

²⁷Gumowski, *Falszerstwa...*, pp. 14 – 15.

²⁸"Acta Borussica", *op. cit.* Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*, Friedensburg, *op. cit.*

²⁹Gumowski, *Falszerstwa...*, pp. 13 – 14, 21.

³⁰Mikołajczyk, *Obrót...*, pp. 165 – 167.

sial study to reforms from 1765 – 1766 presenting them on the broad background comprising also minting policy of Friderick II. According to Hoensch, Prussian decision to begin striking Polish types of coins in 1751 – 1753 was caused by production of copper and silver coins of the Crown started by Augustus III in Saxon mints. In this light, the whole problem was brought to competition of Saxony with Prussia to get as much profits as possible from the monetary chaos in Rzeczypospolita. Hoensch does not see any difference between breaking *pacta conventa* by August III and foreign interference with economic life in Poland. To his mind, counterfeit of Polish coins by Prussia and striking coins by August III are treated as harmless forgeries aiming at preventing the lack of money.³¹ One can hardly agree with this opinion. The adequate sources cited, among others, by Gumowski,³² give enough evidence that acting motives of Friderick II did not result from the concern for the monetary situation in Poland. The profits of Prussian State obtained in the first period of counterfeit of Polish money (1751 – 1735) was estimated by Hoensch for 250,000 to 500,000 talers. According to him, Prussian striking of Polish types of coins bearing August III's die and having much reduced inner value during 7-year war was a real forgery. This time, the total profit coming from the forgery was to be 3,300,000 talers.³³ Similarly to Konopczyński, Hoensch is convinced about the corruption of the Polish Treasurer, Teodor Wessel, who having frustrated the universal about the reduction of queer money was to take 8,000 ducats on the account of future bribery. Mikołajczyk does not seem to be of the same opinion claiming that although projects of Wessel's bribery are known yet the reduction ordered by him in 1761 seems to oppose this. The German historian disapproves also of the minister Brühl and his secretary known later as baron von

Gartenberg-Sadogórski. The author also underlines the inaptitude of Polish Sejm in the field of monetary policy and the lack of frontier protection which made the false money get into Poland. On this background, Hoensch considers Prussian activities as one of factors which forced the country to introduce later monetary reforms.³⁴

Also W. Rjabcewič dealt with the problem of forged money from the Saxon period. He meant a specific group of coins struck in Moscow since 1707 about which he found information in the registry of Numismatic Department of Hermitage and in the private correspondence of Peter I. They were called 6 grossi (1707) and tymfs (orts 1707 – 1709), they imitated coins of August II and were destined to the Russian army quartered in Poland during the Northern War. There are no data confirming the volume of their production. The author supposes that some amounts of 6 grossi and orts falsified in Moscow could be found among coins treated as original, however their calculation would require a precise qualitative-metrological and iconographical and paleographical analysis performed on as many specimens as possible from collections of Poland, Soviet Union and East Germany.³⁵

The history of prices plays an important role in describing the changing purchasing power of money within centuries. Papers from this branch were prepared by S. Hoszowski, S. Siegel, E. Tomaszewski and T. Furtak.³⁶ These works are of some help for contemporary authors dealing with the above mentioned problems. Z. Żabiński devoted two articles to studying the value of money in the 17th and 18th century in Poland. He elaborated an indicator by means of which it was possible to analyse the purchasing power of money in various historical periods. It is the so called "trofa" i.e. the cost of 3000 calories included in basic food (carbohydrates, fats, proteins) in ratio 1800:900:300 calories,³⁷ Mikołajczyk also uses this indicator while studying money value of finds.³⁸

The analysis of Polish and Saxon monetary system under the reign of August II and August III has been made by Z. Żabiński. The author underlines the influence of Saxon monetary system on forming money relations in Poland. He also approves of the universal from 1717 which due to establishing money value

³¹ Hoensch, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³² Gumowski, *Falszerstwa...*, pp. 24 – 25.

³³ Data dealing with the Prussian profit gained from forging Polish money show some divergence. In the work *Obieg...*, p. 100, A. Mikołajczyk evaluates the minting profit in years 1751 – 1756 to be 150,000 – 250,000 talers. Polish losses in the whole period of 1751 – 1763 are also differently calculated, according to the diaries of Stanisław August Poniatowski they came up to 25 mln of talers; W. Konopczyński uses the number of 20 mln of talers in works cited by him; J. K. Hoensch applies the data of R. Koser, *Die preussischen Finanzen im siebenjährigen Kriege. Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte* 13 (1900), pp. 153 – 217 and 329 – 375, calls our attention to difficulties in calculating the global profit achieved from Poland, caused by the lack or insufficiency of statistical data and proper minting books. According to the assumption of this author the coins struck with the Polish dies constituted 50% of Prussian minting production and Saxon production in the period of 7-year War.

³⁴ Mikołajczyk, reviews of the work by J.K. Hoensch, *Manipulacje...*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1975, 19, 1, pp. 59 – 63.

³⁵ W. Rjabcewič, *Falszywa emisja Piotra I szóstaków koronnych Augusta II, Sprawozdania z posiedzeń komisji naukowych PAN, Kraków 1979, 23/2, p. 292.*

³⁶ S. Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w latach 1701 – 1914, Lwów 1934; T. Furtak, Ceny w Gdańsku w latach 1701 – 1815, Lwów 1935.*

³⁷ Żabiński, *Próba...*, p. 4; *idem, Siła nabywcza...*

³⁸ Mikołajczyk, *Obieg...*, pp. 117 – 136.

according to market rate introduced a relative order and prevented from further variations. It also brought about a far-going consistence between Saxon and Polish monetary systems, which, simplifying conversions, was significant in the face of economic relations with Saxony. Żabiński notices the attempts to restore Polish mintage under the reign of August III. According to him the value of augustdor is supposed to be 30 Polish zlotys and half-augustdor equalled 15 Polish zlotys and not 20 Polish zlotys (2 1/2 talers) as the older literature suggested. It should be stressed here that metrological data, not only of augustdors, differ as cited by various authors. Żabiński accords with the data by M. Kirmis which are the most reliable, as it seems to him. Next, Żabiński expresses his opinion that reforms of the king Stanisław August Poniatowski were a logical continuation of reforms begun in Saxon epoch. This point of view is shared also by Mikołajczyk.³⁹

An important problem of money circulation, among others in Saxon period, was undertaken by Mikołajczyk.⁴⁰ His studies with the help of massive finds material are of special significance constituting the basis for reflecting the solid picture of the Polish monetary market in the discussed period. Mikołajczyk attempts as well to show directions of the passage of Polish monetary masses.⁴¹ But in the first half of the 18th century we face mostly the afflux of foreign currency to Rzeczypospolita and in smaller degree, the egress of the Polish coin abroad. Studies upon the latter are hindered since the suitable materials are in foreign registries or in foreign publications. Borrowing information from them supplements our knowledge about the subjects mentioned above. For example, W. Rjabcewič⁴² described the presence of Polish coins in hoards from Czerniahów – Siewierz province and in eastern Byelorussia.

Some general conclusions can be drawn from Mikołajczyk's works quoted here though they do not comprise the whole Polish territories. In relation to

Saxon times the conclusions are the following: the first half of the 18th century, as compared to the 17th century, is characterized by a smaller number of discovered hoards. It concerns the reign of August II particularly and is connected with much limited Polish monetary production of those times. The only coins of August II appearing in hoards deposited in 1697 – 1733 are the Crown 6 grossi, with one exception, struck in 1702. They can also be met in finds from Lithuania. Coins of August II do not make even 1% of hoard contents coming from western territories of the Crown. Quantitative and qualitative changes in structure and in number of finds refer to times under the reign of August III. Among most often met coins of that sovereign are orts from 1754 – 1756, denari from 1753 – 1754, 6 grossi from 1755 and grossi from 1755. Apart from hoards, we have at our disposal also many loose finds. The share of August III's coins in monetary finds from his epoch, also coming from the western provinces of the Crown, is 38,4%. This distinct transition in quality is evident for the increase in minting production in the second half of the 18th century but at the same time it makes us think whether it was caused by the Saxon minting under the reign of August III. Mikołajczyk suspects that many coin hoards contain forged coins of Frederick II, yet to distinguish them is hardly possible. Next, the author concludes, on the basis of analysis of source materials coming from finds, that the role of Polish coins in monetary circulation in the Crown in the first half of the 18th century was not very important.⁴³

The main part of foreign coins in hoards from the first half of the 18th century consists of Prussian coins. A typical deposit from the period of 7-year War contains, apart from Jan Kazimierz's coins, also coins of August III and Frederick II. As regards types, 6 grossi, Polish and Prussian orts and zlotys (florens) of Jan Kazimierz dominate here. Local gold coins appeared in the 18th century finds very rarely, however Dutch ducats⁴⁴ are met in hoards quite often.

While trying to evaluate money deposits from the 18th century, Mikołajczyk concludes that they reflected the backward tendencies within money market, resulting from the economic crisis increasing from the middle of the 17th century in Poland.⁴⁵ The author doubts whether any bigger changes in the picture of the market during the reign of both kings, August II and August III would be possible, even if the source basis was enlarged.⁴⁶ Our knowledge about Saxon epoch is

³⁹ Żabiński, *Systemy monetarne...*; i d e m, *Systemy pieniężne...*; i d e m, *Systemy monetarne Rzeszy Niemieckiej* (in the press); Mikołajczyk, *Geneza...*, p. 192.

⁴⁰ Mikołajczyk, *Obrót...*; i d e m, *Obieg...*; i d e m, *Złote monety...*

⁴¹ Mikołajczyk, *Pieniądz polski na Węgrzech w XVII – XVIII w.*, "Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi" (seria archeologiczna) 1979, 26, pp. 165 – 265.

⁴² V. N. Rjabcewič, *Monetnye klady XVII i pervoj četverti XVIII v., na territorii Černigovo-Severskoj zemli i vostočnoj Belorussi*, "Numizmatika i Sfragistika" 1963, 1, pp. 152 – 202; i d e m, *Monetnye klady vtoroj četverti XVIII v. – pervoj poloviny XIX w. na territorii Černigovo-Severskoj zemli i vostočnoj Belorussi*, "Numizmatika i Sfragistika" 1974, 5, pp. 114 – 126.

⁴³ Mikołajczyk, *Obrót...*, pp. 167 – 168.

⁴⁴ Mikołajczyk, *Obieg...*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*; i d e m, *Romatyczne iluzje i ekonomiczna rzeczywistość skarbow monet z XVI – XVIII w. Kilka przykładów środkowopolskich*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1979, 23, 3.

⁴⁶ Mikołajczyk, *Obrót...*, p. 168.

supplemented by papers from the field of history of Polish economic thought written by A. Popiół-Szymańska and E. Lipiński.⁴⁷

The development of research studies on Saxon period will depend on source basis available for Polish numismatists. The total change in situation as to written sources is hardly expected. However, it would be useful to publish them within more complex codex which has been postulated much earlier.⁴⁸ Some inconsiderable possibilities can be found in getting new material from findings. However, it requires precise recordings and monographic studies on coin hoards. M. Męciewska and A. Mikołajczyk⁴⁹ have begun to work on publishing a stock-book of modern hoards. There is still a need for modern typological catalogue with marked types and variants and with full literature, which should be based on laborious listing works performed on maximal number of specimens coming from different collections or hoards and on approp-

riate written sources. The first step in this direction would be a precise survey in Polish museums.

Since Gumowski's work,⁵⁰ being rather of outline character, is 75 years old a new monography of minting history in Saxon period should be prepared from the contemporary point of view. Studies illustrating the Polish monetary market should comprise the whole territories of previous Rzeczypospolita. The lack of Saxon coins of August II and August III observed in hoards coming from Poland ought to be carefully explained. Appointing the percentage of forged coins of Friderick II in monetary circulation on Polish territories will depend on the possibility of undertaking works of metallographic character. Let us hope that the fulfillment of this condition will help to get to know rather complicated history of Polish coins in Saxon epoch.

*Translated by
Elżbieta Lubińska*

DISCUSSION

Marta Męciewska

Is it likely that neither tests nor comparative studies between those imitations or suggested Prussian imitations and August's coins have been made? Such studies could help us to solve this problem. Are you, ladies and gentlemen, able to answer this question? (The author, Mrs. Korczyńska, was absent, her report was only read out).

Stanisław Suchodolski

In the 19th century, some tests on the touchstone were made but since that time nobody has dealt with it. It can be added here that many of these imitations can be differentiated easily and not because of the die since the dies in the early period were identical. The red colour of imitated coins which are of much worse fineness is very clearly seen. Of course, these coins should be treated as Prussian ones but it does not mean that others which apparently look very well are not silver-plated on the surface and copper inside. The conclusion is obvious, the same as the author suggested, that these coins should be examined metallographically in bigger series. This conclusion concerns not only these coins but all others which we talked about.

Metrology was mentioned here as regards the verification of mints, yet nobody paid attention to studies on metal itself and this is the only way of checking how the theoretical norm was respected i.e. the mintfoot determined by the Sejm which was fully respected in elaborations, for example, of Professor Żabiński. All these calculations are simply made in theory. Let me remind you, ladies and gentlemen, that the only so far or at least in the last few years, metallographic investigations performed or the first half of the 16th century and dealing with half-grossi of Świdnica mentioned at the Conference complicated the problem since the results appeared to be totally different than expected. The contents of silver was higher than we expected. It may result from different reasons. One of them may be that the proclamation was not respected or perhaps results of our analysis were unfortunately not very precise. I must admit that the comparison of results achieved in the same laboratory in studies on the same coins using different methods gives the difference of even several dozen per cent. It means that our present methods are less precise than those applied in the 19th century. Whether those methods were precise we also do not know. Let me make one more remark as regards terminology. When the mintfoot was discussed it was discussed in terms of decreasing and increasing. As I understood the author suggested that decreasing of mintfoot meant worsening of the coin value. It should be vice versa. I think it is high time to precise the terminology, to decide upon univocal notions. Of course, these terms are traditional, just for the 19th century, even Gumowski used them but they are not in agreement with our present feelings.

Jerzy Piniński

In our numismatic studies dealing with monetary forgeries of Friderick II there is a heart-felt grudge against this king for oppressing our country. However, we should not forget that we are not the only wronged since Friderick II forged a great number of coins of German duchies. We do not know whether the main reason

⁴⁷ A. Popiół-Szymańska, *Poglądy monetarne w Polsce od XV do XVIII w.*, Poznań 1978, pp. 146–147; E. Lipiński, *Stefan Garczyński – ekonomista czasów saskich*, "Ekonomista" 1955, 2, pp. 123–155.

⁴⁸ M. Grażyński, *Obecny stan i potrzeby polskiej numizmatyki*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne" 1916, 5, p. 35; M. Gumowski, *Potrzeby numizmatyki i medalografii polskiej*, "Nauka Polska" 1918, 1, pp. 313–328; 1919, 2, pp. 241–275; S. Suchodolski, *Dorobek naukowy numizmatyki polskiej w trzydziestoleciu*, "Biuletyn Numizmatyczny" 1974, 6, p. 101.

⁴⁹ M. Męciewska, A. Mikołajczyk, *Skarby monet z lat 1500–1649 na obszarze Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej. Inwentarz*, Warszawa 1983, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Gumowski, *Monety...*

of his activity was the fact that these coins were meant for Polish market. In any case, the forgery of Polish coins was meant not so much to oppress the Polish State but simply to gain profits from this procedure similarly as it was in case of other coins forged by the Prussian king.

Krzysztof Filipow

I mean the emission of Lithuanian coins during the reign of August II. After the last emissions of coins of Great Lithuanian Duchy in times of Jan II Kazimierz we can observe that Lithuanian minting almost stopped existing. It does not mean that ducal mint was closed. There is a trace of minting activity in the Great Lithuanian Duchy during the reign of Jan III Sobieski. I think about an attempt of producing copper 6-grossi from 1679 struck with signs of Titus Livius Boratini. Besides, the documents give the evidence that Boratini took part in works of minting committee in Vilna and also created beautiful medals which were probably struck in Vilna. I say probably, since apart from medals there is no trace of evidence in written sources about this fact. During August II's reign when it was possible to say that the Crown minting was almost shifted to Saxony, suddenly in 1706 a mint in Grodno began to work. Till nowadays, we are unable to explain this fact which is the more interesting as in 1707 a new emission struck by Ludwik Pociąg appeared. It is a great mystery. In 1707 August II was dethroned. In Lithuania there were no devotees of this Saxon monarch since the majority supported the candidature of Stanisław Leszczyński. In the same year, i.e. 1707, coins with the bust of the unwanted monarch – August II were struck. It brought about some repercussions. Pociąg was deprived of his post of the Treasurer and special edicts prosecuting these coins were issued. It is true that 6-grossi "cry nation" ("ludu płacz") which were later called after the initials of Ludwik Pociąg, appear in the hoards from the 18th century very seldom. In general, we possess very few hoards and findings with August II's and August III's coins. In Białystok province a hoard dating back to the second half of the 18th century with a large number of August III's coins was found in 1985. Apart from 6-grossi, orts outnumbered other coins and moreover there is a large number of forged money there. It is doubtless that these are copper coins only silver-plated but beside them good specimens of August III's orts also occur there.

The second problem concerns Saxon minting. Till nowadays we are not sure as to the dates of some coins. For example: it is obvious that at the beginnings of the 18th century a taler struck to celebrate the reactivation of the Order of the White Eagle was emitted but still we do not know the date of its emission. The year 1709 is mentioned in the catalogue but this date is uncertain. Till this day we do not know when this order was really reactivated. Was it 1709 or 1713? Only detailed studies conducted in future may solve our doubts connected not only with the above mentioned example but also with other Polish-Saxon emissions.

Henryk Wojtuiewicz

In reports, as we have heard, there were mentioned the problems of complaints of society about copper emissions of *boratynki* in the 17th century. And in fact, for the people living in the 17th century they were a great astonishment. However, there were no complaints about copper coins which were struck by August II and by Stanisław August. Copper as material was introduced into emissions of Polish coins quite legally in the 18th century. The reform from 1766 accepted Polish zloty divided into 30 copper grossi. Copper became a normal material to make money for circulation: solidi, half-grossi, grossi and 3-grossi. The society was mature enough to accept copper coins.

Stanisław Suchodolski

Since we are reaching the end of this part of our Conference which deals directly with the political area of Poland, I think we can discuss the problems which are significant for all reports presented here so far.

Marta Męcłewska

Perhaps we will consider the problem how to examine the value of the metal. Can we choose one laboratory in Warsaw for the constant co-operation and sent to this laboratory samples for investigations by means of chemical method, instead of applying a very expensive and very complicated method of neutron activation?

Stanisław Suchodolski

The method of activation does not damage coins whereas the traditional method damages them and Museums oppose against using it.

Marta Męcłewska

It can hardly be called a damage.

Jerzy Piniński

I remember that in 1965 at the Conference of Slavic Archaeology Professor Kiersnowski postulated to sacrifice some coins from the massive numismatic material for investigations.

Stanisław Suchodolski

What is more, such a method was proposed by Professor Gumowski in his handbook "If you want to learn fineness, melt a coin".

Marta Męcłewska

Such attempts were made, of course. The same coin examined by means of chemical method and melting method was compared. Results were similar.

Stanisław Suchodolski

Unfortunately, my experiences are totally different as regards chemical method. Ladies and gentlemen, even results of chemical analysis of samples taken off the different parts of the same coin are not convergent. I suspect that the cause of our doubts is not only the inaccuracy of our methods, which is quite likely, but also heterogeneity of material which the coin was made of. The material may have different fineness in different points of the coin. Especially, in case of local analysis by means of spectrographic method the results may be divergent. It may happen that the density of copper is high in one case, in another case the density of copper may be lower with higher concentration of silver.

Marta Męcłewska

Yes, but I do not think that in the 16th or 17th century coins were melted so often in order to check their value.

Stanisław Suchodolski

This method seems to be the only reliable one.

Marta Męciewska

Surely, but this method could be used in a mint or in a big banking-house, whereas the ordinary merchant did not use it.

Stanisław Suchodolski

He probably tried a coin on a touchstone. It is known that in case of a touchstone it is possible to reach the accuracy up to one half an ounce. And this may be the limit which was respected in practice and not these thousandth parts which we are now trying to establish drawing conclusions on the basis of five thousandth or seven thousandth.

Marta Męciewska

Yes, indeed, some significant divergences may appear.

Tadeusz Poklewski

Cannot the method applied by researchers of excavation fabric be used here? The method consists in the series of spectral tests, even 50, from the same object and then establishing the mean value.

Stanisław Suchodolski

It seems to me that people living in the past centuries treated these problems with ease and evaluated them in some approximation. Moreover, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to remind you that some efforts made already to examine the fineness of coins from the period between the I and the II World War brought the results in which differences reached several per cent.

Ryszard Kiersnowski

In exchange books from the 16th and the 17th centuries where the quality of pounds, half ounces, denari was listed after transforming them into decimal system, the differences appeared to be very little. They reached some per cent only, yet they were noticed by the people dealing with this transformation. However, notions used there were of the type "such and such a coin has such and such a fineness" and this list was valid for many years. It means that a coin was not differentiated chronologically, it was not important whether a coin came from this or that period. What mattered was that such a denomination had such a fineness. In practice, denomination from the given year and denominations ten years older must have differed among themselves. These books were in use for a long period of time and were treated as a supposedly reliable handbook. A tendency towards a great accuracy is seen here which in practice, as it seems to me, did not have much in common with reality.

Can the difference between one and the other side of a coin result from its state of preservation in case of excavated coins? Is it possible that copper precipitated more on one side of the coin and less on the other and differences in measurements result from strictly physical conditions of a coin buried in the ground?

Stanisław Suchodolski

Conditions of remaining under the ground have the influence on the fineness of coins. The differences in fineness as compared to the rules established by the minting proclamation may also result from this. Cleaning coins, of course, increases the fineness.

Ryszard Kiersnowski

If we take a coin which has not been cleaned it appears that on the top of it there is a lot of copper which decreases the coin fineness. If the coin is cleaned it shows that the fineness is good. Probably the coin must be melted to achieve a clear picture.

Jerzy Piniński

Despite all, the contents of precious metals, not the weight or fineness, is the most important in a coin. The significance of specific gravity is especially clearly seen here.

Ryszard Kiersnowski

While examining mediaeval coins I tried to base my calculations on specific gravity and I am not convinced about a great convenience of this method.

Stanisław Suchodolski

I will remind you, ladies and gentlemen, what Professor Jean Lafouorie wrote about. He had an idea to weigh the weights in Numismatic Cabinet in Bibliotheque Nationale of the biggest numismatic collection in France, the biggest in the world. The weights which had been used for hundred years, almost till our times, were weighed. It appeared that one of basic weights was some per cent lighter than it should have been. In face of this fact all determinations of weight in all catalogues of Bibliotheque Nationale were mistaken. I think that in the past this difference must have been much greater.

Jerzy Piniński

In my opinion it is hardly possible to determine this mistake since these weights were used in various ways.

Tadeusz Poklewski

I will remind you, ladies and gentlemen, another discussion which took place in relation to Collegiate Church of Wiślica. During the discussion the exact data about the composition of mortars used in the 14th and 15th century while the Collegiate Church had been built were presented. Those were very precise calculations in percentage almost counted to gramms and then late Professor Mączyński from the Department of Architecture of Warsaw Technical High School got up and said: "the Institute of Building sends a precise recipe, a foreman takes it into his hands and says, 'John, give one more shovel of this sand'".

*Translated by
Elżbieta Lubińska*

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