

# A twice-found *ongaro* of Maccagno Inferiore and the Zagórze Śląskie hoard (*tpq* 1632)

Borys Paszkiewicz

University of Wrocław, Institute of Archaeology

ORCID: 0000-0001-9148-2751

DOI: 10.54103/milanoup.193.c295

## Abstract

*In 1820, a hoard was found near an old manor house at Zagórze Śląskie (then Prussia, now Poland). The hoard was briefly and not quite correctly reported in a contemporary antiquarian journal, and next totally forgotten. Its concealment resulted most probably from events of the Thirty Years' War or the plague of 1633. The hoard contained several untypical coins, possibly chosen for their religious message, among others, a unique *ongaro* of Maccagno Inferiore. This makes us to consider the time, ways and reasons of the contemporary inflow of north-Italian gold coins into the lands of the Bohemian Crown the area of Zagórze belonged to in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.*

The leading Silesian scientific journal of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Correspondenz der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur*, published in 1820 a report on a hoard of gold and silver coins from the time of the Thirty Years' War, found at Kynau (today Zagórze Śląskie, Walim commune, Wałbrzych powiat, Poland)<sup>1</sup>. For unknown reasons, the report did not enter scholarly circulation and – as far as it is known to the present writer – no one quoted it. Therefore, the hoard has been forgotten<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, it is extremely interesting and, despite many shortcomings of the published account, worth closer attention. It included, among others, a unique coin of the county of Maccagno Inferiore.

The author of the find report was Christian August Kallinich (1763-1828), a city councillor of Świdnica (Schweidnitz). He was keenly interested in history and monuments, but his larger works on these topics remained unpublished<sup>3</sup>. There was even *Münzgeschichte der Stadt Schweidnitz* among them<sup>4</sup>, but his numismatic knowledge, judging from the account in question, was modest. The

---

1 KALLINICH 1820.

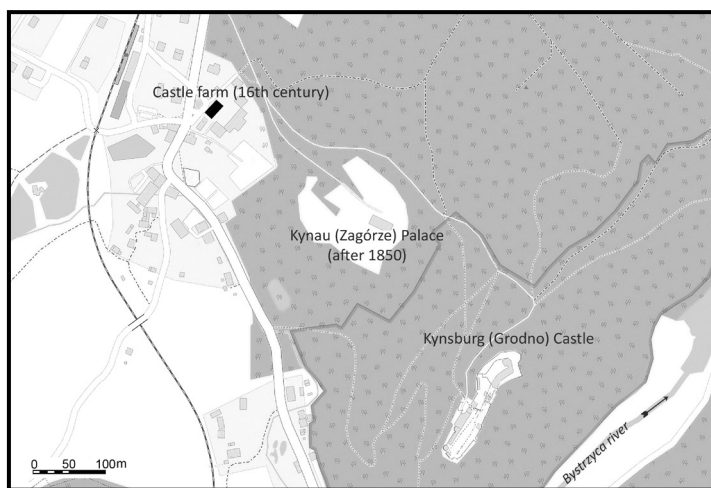
2 MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983 and MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1991; DEMIDZIUK 2000: 215-216.

3 *Verzeichniss* 1868: 65; *Rathay-Biographien* at [http://www.rathay-biographien.de/persoentlichkeiten/S/Schlesische\\_Provinzialblaetter/Schlesische\\_Ptvinzialblaetter.htm](http://www.rathay-biographien.de/persoentlichkeiten/S/Schlesische_Provinzialblaetter/Schlesische_Ptvinzialblaetter.htm). [accessed on 27/12/2023]

4 SCHMIDT 1846: 266.

report has been annotated: ‘from a letter to Professor Büsching’ (dated from Świdnica, 30 March 1820), as have been also other find accounts signed with Kallinich’s name in this journal. Professor Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching (1783-1829) was not only the editor of *Correspondenz*, but also the world’s first university professor of archaeology from 1817, a distinguished researcher of antiquities and folklore, the founder of the first public museum in Wrocław (*Königliches Museum für Kunst und Alterthümer*) and lecturer at the University of Wrocław (then Breslau)<sup>5</sup>.

Kallinich writes that the coins were sent to him for inspection c. 20 March 1820 by a brewer from Kynau. They were found while digging a lime pit opposite the brewer’s house. The sort of the container the coins were stored in has not been reported. The brewer’s name known from another source was Klemm<sup>6</sup>, and his house, built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is still standing today at 16, Główna Street in Zagórze Śląskie (Figs. 1 and 2). It probably served originally as the residence of the estate manager<sup>7</sup>, and during the reconstruction – probably just the one in 1820 – decorative, carved stone window sills were discovered there<sup>8</sup>, proving its original, representative function.



**Fig. 1.** The location of the former brewer’s house (ul. Główna 16) on today’s map of Zagórze Śląskie. Drawing by Nicole Lenkow (©OpenStreetMap contributors, Open Data Commons Open Database License).

5 HALUB 1997.

6 BÜSCHING 1827: 19.

7 The construction of the manor under the castle, together with the brewery, was attributed to the owner of the Kynsburg estate, George de Logau, in 1568-87. However, the publication on this subject (RIEMANN 1925: 57) is not written in a critical way.

8 ZEMPLIN 1826: 18.



**Fig. 2.** The former brewer's house in Zagórze Śląskie (building no. 16, Główna Street), in March 2024 (photo by Borys Paszkiewicz).

The Silesian village of Kynau in the Walbrzyskie Mountains (a mountain range in the Central Sudetes) emerged in the 14<sup>th</sup> century at the foot of the Kinsberg Castle (later Kynsburg, today Grodno). In the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Silesia was attached to the lands of the Crown of Bohemia. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, copper and silver ores were mined in the Bystrzyca River valley below the castle<sup>9</sup>. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Kynsburg castle and estate were in the hands of the Bohemian king and emperor. They then began to be officially called Kunigsberg (Koenigsberg). They passed from hand to hand, being valued at 40-50 thousand thalers, as a capital investment and a pledge of loans. From 1607 as a pledge, and from 1618 as property, Kunigsberg belonged to John George, Count de Hohenzollern, a military man and poor member of the famous dynasty. He was probably attracted by its name: Koenigsberg in Prussia was the capital of the most important line of the Hohenzollerns. John George stayed mainly in the army and died early (in 1622), leaving the estate to his widow, Helen née Berka de Dubé<sup>10</sup>. After the defeat at Dessauer

9 STOLARCZYK, MADZIARZ 2021: 98, 100.

10 ZEMPLIN 1826: 20, 50-64.

Bridge in 1626, Mansfeld's Protestant army marched through right-bank Silesia, and then through the left-bank – Valdštejn's (Wallenstein's) Catholic army, both destroying and robbing everything in their path<sup>11</sup>. In 1632, most of Silesia was occupied by Protestant troops from Saxony, Brandenburg and Sweden, driven out at the end of 1633<sup>12</sup>. This episode was probably related to the presence of the Swedish crew at the castle and the escape of Countess Helen with her daughter, Anna Catherine. The dowager countess died in 1633. The castle was heavily devastated by the Swedes, attracted by the local legend about Hussite treasures hidden there<sup>13</sup>. To make matters worse, in 1633 the bubonic plague struck Silesia<sup>14</sup>. After returning to the estate (probably in 1635, after the Peace of Prague was concluded), Countess Anna Catherine de Hohenzollern became engaged in 1636 to a colonel of the Imperial army, Baron Eberhard Manteuffel-Szoegel from Courland, whom she nursed in the castle from wounds suffered in battle (he died in 1637)<sup>15</sup>. In general, however, the owners did not spend much time in the castle, and the estate was managed by administrators styled *Burghauptmann*. From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this function was performed by Georg Kuhl (Küel) of Bögendorf and Seifersdorf (in 1605-1607, he was the owner of the Kynsburg estate), from c.1618 by Heinrich von Britzky (presumably from the Magdeburg-area noble family of Brietzke), and after 1622 von Reideburg (unfortunately, it is not known which descendant of this extended Silesian family)<sup>16</sup>. They probably occupied the manor at the foot of the castle, where the hoard was found. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Kynsburg estate belonged to the de Lieres family<sup>17</sup>, and in 1819 it was subdivided and auctioned.

As a result of the ownership changes, the brewery was bought by the private person who undertook the construction works, during which the treasure was found. However, the ruins of the castle were intended to be used by local peasants as building material. To prevent this, the ruins were bought in 1823 by Professor Büsching for 20,000 thalers that he had won in the lottery. He then began the restoration of the castle, transforming it into a tourist attraction<sup>18</sup>. It is not known whether, having bought the castle, he tried to follow the message about the hoard, received three years earlier.

Kallinich had received twelve gold coins, 45 thaler-size silver ones and twelve smaller than a thaler, so a total of 69, and this is consistent with the list of 37

11 LESZCZYŃSKI, PIWARSKI 1963: 344.

12 MAJEWSKI 1993: 101, 103; LESZCZYŃSKI, PIWARSKI 1963: 350-353.

13 ZEMPLIN 1826: 64-65, 76-77.

14 GRUDNIEWSKI 2020.

15 ZEMPLIN 1826: 66-68.

16 ZEMPLIN 1826: 50, 56, 61 and 63.

17 *Tabele* 1975: 114.

18 BURDUKIEWICZ, DEMIDZIUŁ, BOŃCZUK-DAWIDZIUŁ 2016: 200.

items he made. It was not clearly stated whether the listed parcel was part or a whole of the find. The list can hardly be considered satisfactory to numismatists. Some coin descriptions are too general and do not allow to identify a country of origin, other ones confused details, making the identification of some coins uncertain. Büsching's numismatic knowledge was average and he was unlikely to detect mistakes of the author and typesetter. Therefore, the description of the find must be examined in a critical way. The revised list of discovered coins is given at the end of this contribution, with original descriptions of the coins attached. The suggested interpretation is justified in the footnotes.

The hoard was chronologically extensive. The latest coin determining the time of its concealment is dated 1632: a thaler of Ferdinand II from an unspecified country of the Austrian dynasty. In theory, it is possible that some of vaguely recorded Dutch ducats or other inaccurately described coins were younger, but the presence of several coins of 1630 and 1631 confirms the accuracy of this *terminus post quem*. The oldest are three illegible Prague groschen (likely from 1471-1516) and the fourth one, with the name of Ferdinand I, as well as an undated Saxon *Schreckenberger* from 1500-07. The identification of the latter coin may not be entirely certain, however, the single-angel *Schreckenberger* coinage was finished in 1571, so it was certainly not later. The presence of Prague groschen can only partially be justified by their reintroduction into circulation in January 1625. They then received a nominal value of 3 kreuzers, even though their bullion value was approximately 50% higher than that of current coins of this denomination. They eventually ceased to be legal tender on 26 September 1644<sup>19</sup>. However, Prague groschen are not accompanied by later Bohemian small coins in the hoard. A similar situation is visible, for example, in the hoards from Bröthen (*tpq* 1626) and Horka (*tpq* 1639) in Upper Lusatia<sup>20</sup>. Perhaps it was the discriminatory valuation of these coins in Bohemia that made owners to export them to the other lands of the Bohemian Crown. This proves that only a bullion value of small coins attracted the owner and these had not dropped out of circulation, but came from previously accumulated resources. There were also five groschen from Prussia belonging then to Poland. They were struck in the royal mint in Toruń and the ducal mint in Königsberg in the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. An exception is the Prussian groschen from 1589 – a coin which is met with in hoards from the Łęczyca and Sieradz Lands in central Poland in the 1620s rather than in Prussia itself, and absent from Silesia. Its occurrence in the Zagórze Śląskie hoard is difficult to explain and should probably be considered accidental. Apart from the Lucerne thaler from 1550-67, the pre-1570 coins in the hoard are therefore smaller or larger groschen.

19 VOREL 2000: 211, 221.

20 HAUPT 1956: 58, 132.

The set of Dutch thalers is not surprising but specific. It contains diverse standards, including those rarely found in Central Europe, such as *daalder van 60 groot*. What is unusual is the lack of coins from the Spanish Netherlands, usually present in Silesian hoards from that time<sup>21</sup>. Among the Northern Netherlandish coinage, Frisian and West Frisian coins are predominant, while in other hoards Gelderland and Utrecht dominate this sector. Danish marks are a typical component of contemporary Silesian hoards. The mass outflow of these coins to the Reich in the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was caused by the debasement of small Danish coins<sup>22</sup>. Swiss thalers are also not exceptional, although they are more frequent in hoards from Pomerania and the area of the Polish Crown. However, those are Zoug and St Gall coins, not Lucerne or Shaffhouse as in the Zagórze hoard. These last two cities provided small coins, rarely medium ones, often met with in Bohemian hoards, while in the Zagórze hoard three thalers were found, including a very old one (of Lucerne) with a design of Saint Leger (Leodegar).

Perhaps the last one leads to a solution. There was another thaler in the hoard, equally unique in this part of Europe: the coin from the joint abbey of Murbach and Lure, with the same Saint Leger. Due to his martyrdom, this saint was invoked against eye diseases. This made the coins with his explicit design a sacred defence against blindness<sup>23</sup>. At least these two thalers would not be accidental in the hoard, although the two thalers of Shaffhouse still remain a mystery.

The lack of coins of Silesian duchies in the hoard may be due to the fact that Zagórze was located in the Duchy of Świdnica which belonged to the king. The period after the monetary reform of 1624 (the 'imperial *Calada*') was a time of deep regression of the Silesian ducal coinage<sup>24</sup>. Kallinich certainly was not able to discern Silesian coins among the royal (imperial) coinage; they may be hidden among the ten thalers of Rudolf II and Ferdinand II from the 'uncertain Hapsburg lands.'

Gold coins are mostly poorly described and only two of them have more details recorded. One of them is the Hungarian gold florin from 1573. This may be the oldest gold coin in the hoard, if it was not the Turkish altin. Altins, although not very numerous in Silesia, appear in many hoards, always as an addition to other gold coins. In the great hoard from Głogów (*tpq* 1656) there were as many as 21 of them<sup>25</sup>. In hoards uncovered before c.1960, they were only exceptionally recognized, being usually hidden – as in Kallinich's report – under the term 'gold coins with Arabic inscriptions.' Their occurrence, resulting

21 MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: nos. 401, 486.

22 VOREL 2009: 274.

23 TRAVAINI 2009: 24.

24 FRIEDENSBURG 1899: 56.

25 GROCHOWSKA-JASNOS 2023: 47, 175-181.

from intense trade and military contacts among Poland, the Hapsburg lands and Turkey, should not be surprising. However, since they are clearly more frequent in Bohemia and Moravia<sup>26</sup>, it can be assumed that they came to southern Silesia from beyond the Sudetes. Dutch ducats, which were the main gold coinage in the Zagórze hoard, have not yet achieved a similar position in contemporary Silesian hoards, only gradually replacing Hungarian gold florins. The role they played in this hoard, together with the thalers of North Netherlands, indicates their inflow with the Baltic trade from the north. The meeting of these two directions of coin inflow suggests that the hoarded coins were gathered on the spot.

The only Italian coin in the hoard attracts special attention. Kallinich was so interested in it that, although he was not able to identify it, he described it as precisely as he could, giving the present writer the opportunity to solve the riddle. The coin comes from the county of Maccagno Inferiore, a small imperial fief in Lombardy, held by the Mandelli family: MON[eta] AVR[ea] CO[mitis] MAC[haniae] IN[ferioris] C[uriae] R[egalis] ET V[icarii] I[mperii] PER[petui]. The ruler thus styled, James III, is not named on the coin. On 16 July 1622, Emperor Ferdinand II granted him the dignity of permanent vicar of the empire (*Sacri Romani Imperii vicarius perpetuus*) – of a rather honorary meaning – and the right to mint coins of only roughly described standards. The count had already launched the production of debased imitations of popular gold coins a year earlier<sup>27</sup>, hiding the declaration of their real origin in a way that made it difficult to decipher, as it is seen here. Maccagno's special location – on the borders of Lombardy with Piedmont and the Swiss Bailiwicks Beyond the Mountains – facilitated the distribution of coins imitating various foreign designs, mostly Dutch and Hungarian ones. The count thus joined the last phase of the great monetary crisis of the Reich, called “*die Kipper- und Wipperzeit*”. Maccagno coins are very diverse, but also very rare. They certainly were mercilessly melted down after their weakness had been perceived.

Such a coin is still absent from *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*. It was first published by Giulio Superti Furga in 1976 (Fig. 3). He suggested that it was «one of the first, if not the first at all» coin struck by James Mandelli<sup>28</sup>. The monographer of the Maccagno coinage, Luca Gianazza, rejected this speculation due to the extended title of the issuer, styling him a vicar, unlike on his first coins. The latter scholar still knew only one specimen of this *ongaro*, listed by him as type 22. Ongari types 23 and 24, with different obverses, were struck with the same reverse die<sup>29</sup>. The obverse die has not yet been linked with another reverse.

26 MILITKÝ *et al.* 2020: 196-204.

27 GIANAZZA 2003: 67-68, 95.

28 SUPERTI FURGA 1976: 227-228.

29 GIANAZZA 2003: 130-131.





**Fig. 3.** Maccagno Inferiore, James III Mandelli, ongaro, 1622; Gianazza 22 (Nomisma Aste srl 2, 22-23/10/2022, no. 713; 3.44 g, 22 mm; reproduced by kind permission).

A comparison of the legends in the photo of the Superti Furga specimen with the description of the coin from Zagórze shows minor differences: CO·MAC instead of COMAC, R·ET· instead of RE· and PERR instead of PER. Kallinich copied some legends very precisely (e.g., items 25 and 26 of his list), others very carelessly (e.g., item 24 – doubled L; items 9 and 16 – entire legends misquoted!). In the description of item 23, there is a typical manuscript error: U instead of N. Therefore, it is difficult to vouch for a difference between the coin from Zagórze and the Superti Furga specimen. The method of combining dies in the Maccagno mint, as observed by Gianazza, suggests that the reverse die used to strike three types of coins did not have a duplicate that differs by one letter and has not been preserved today. Therefore, the differences between the coin legends recorded by Kallinich and those photographed by Superti Furga likely come from mistakes made by the former and the coin found at Zagórze represented Gianazza's type 22.

Superti Furga did not reveal the origin of the coin he published. Gianazza knew of no other specimen. The same piece appeared at auctions in Italy in 2019 and 2022<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, it is possible – although by no means certain – that this is the specimen found in Zagórze Śląskie in 1820.

Luca Gianazza came to know of only one find of an *ongaro* from Maccagno. It was the hoard from Niederhone (today part of Eschwege, Hesse), which contained a coin of type 31/1B from 1623. This hoard was hidden after 1632,

30 Varesi SRL, Pavia, Sale 75, 12 November 2019, l. 275, and Nomisma Aste SRL, Verona, Sale 2, 22-23 October 2022, l. 713.



i.e., strictly contemporarily with the Zagórze Śląskie hoard<sup>31</sup>. It was found in 1780, but the coin in question was recognized only in 1987, i.e., after a similarly long time as the coin from Zagórze. There could have been more finds, but identifying the Maccagno coins was too difficult for researchers. Gianazza knew about the presence of these coins in other countries from Netherlandish money-books from 1626-33 (and even there, they were misattributed!)<sup>32</sup>, which were contemporary with both hoards. After this time, Maccagno coins disappeared from similar publications, leaving only one more trace in a document from Switzerland from 1636<sup>33</sup>.

No more finds of Maccagno coins in Silesia are known. However, one can consider these *ongari* as an element of a broader phenomenon of gold coinage, including *ongari* from Turin and minor mints of Piedmont and Emilia. This phenomenon must be considered separately from Venetian ducats, the circulation of which followed its own rules (although in Central Europe in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they were not numerous). Compared to them, the *ongari* of the first issue had a slightly lower gold purity and weight<sup>34</sup>. Maccagno began its coinage twenty years after the larger wave that lasted from 1595 to 1602. Debased *ongari* are found in Austria (e.g., Haibach ob der Donau, *tpq* 1650)<sup>35</sup>, but they occurred first in Bohemia (see table 1; Fig. 4), in the great hoard from Plzeň, which originally consisted of over 800 gold coins. Only in this treasure they are accompanied by three *scudi* from the earlier phase of gold coinage (1558-62), as well as two florins of Ferdinand I Medici from 1595 and 1596. The Plzeň hoard is dated with the latest coin from 1615. In the second hoard, also of considerable size, from another large city, i.e., Prague itself (from the New Town hall), the latest coin was a year younger. It is quite probable that the abandonment of both hoards was related to the outbreak of the Protestant uprising in Bohemia in May 1618, which turned into the Thirty Years' War. Count Ernest de Mansfeld, being financed by Venice and Charles Emanuel I de Savoy, occupied Plzeň in November 1618. There were too few Charles Emanuel's coins in the Plzeň hoard to consider this treasure – as Josef Ječný did in his description – as part of Mansfeld's cash resources. More likely, it was money hidden from his soldiers in the besieged city where Catholics from Western Bohemia were taking refuge. Occasionally, north Italian gold coins found their way to Bohemian hoards after the end of the war, where they were represented by the *ongari* of Philip Spinola of Tassarolo, struck around 1637.

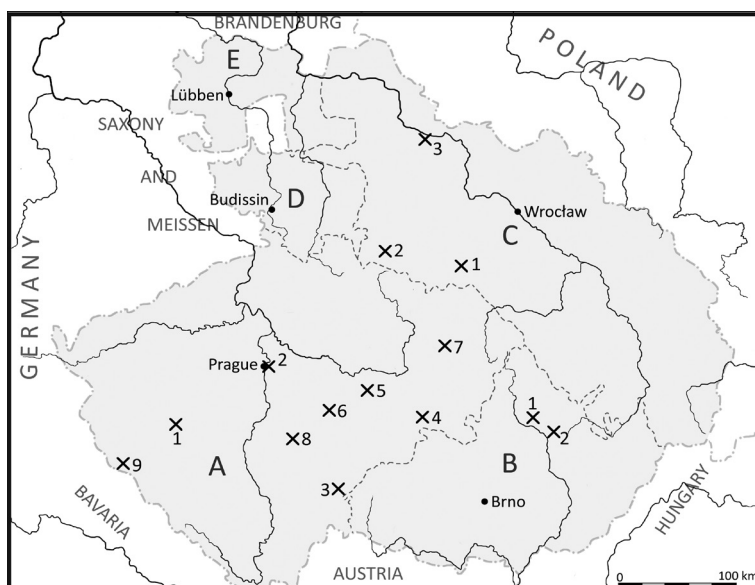
31 KLÜSSENDORF 1987: 69.

32 GIANAZZA 2003: 89-90.

33 GIANAZZA 2003: 90.

34 BELLESIA 1993-97: 9.

35 KOCH 1974: 263: a 'ducat' of Philip Spinola of Tassarolo from 1637.



**Fig. 4.** Finds of north-Italian gold coins in the Bohemian Crown Lands: (A) Bohemia, (B) Moravia, (C) Silesia, (D) Upper Lusatia, (E) Lower Lusatia. The numbers correspond to the finds in Table 1 (drawing by Nicole Lenkow).

No.	Locality	<i>tpq</i>	North-Italian coins	Reference
(A) Bohemia				
1	Plzeň	1615	Mantua, Vincenzo I, <i>ongaro</i> , no date (1596- <i>c.</i> 1600) (1); Ferdinand I, 'ducat', n.d. (1612-26) (1) Modena, Alfonso II, 'ducats' (i.e., scudi), n.d. (1558-62) (3); Cesare d'Este, 'ducats', n.d. (1598-1600) (8), and 1603 <sup>36</sup> (2). Parma, Ranuccio I Farnese, 'ducats', 1602 (1), 1603 (2). 'Savoy', Carlo Emanuele I, 'ducat', 1601, with arms and Madonna (3), 1602 (4), and 1603 (2). Tassarolo, Agostino I Spinola (1604-17), 'ducat', n.d. (1)	JEČNÝ 1921: 25-28
2	Prague, New Town Hall	1616	Modena, Cesare d'Este, 'ducat', n.d. (1598-1600) <sup>37</sup> (1); 'Savoy', Carlo Emanuele I, 'ducat', 1602 (2)	LOEHR 1908: 44-45

<sup>36</sup> This year is not recorded in *CNI* IX: 227-228; Ječný, however, writes clearly: «Modena: 3 dukáty Alfonsa II. (1558-1562) bez letopočtu, 8 dukátů Cesare d' Este (1597-1628) bez letopočtu a 2 z r[oku] 1603». Perhaps these were coins unrecorded in literature.

<sup>37</sup> The end of the issue according to BELLESIA 1993-97: 11.

3	Kamenice nad Lipou, okr. Pelhřimov	1618	‘Modena’	FIALA 1922: 170-171. <i>Tp</i> <sub>q</sub> after HRADIL 2015: 256.
4	Chlumětín, okr. Žďár nad Sázavou	1627	‘Savoy’, Carlo Emanuele I, ‘ducat’, 1603 (1)	SKALSKÝ 1926
5	Potěhy, okr. Kutná Hora	1627	‘Savoy’, Carlo Emanuele I, ‘ducat’, 1603 (1)	ČERMÁK 1891-93
6	Kácov, okr. Kutná Hora	1641	Modena, Cesare d’Este, ‘ducat’, n.d. (1598-1600) (1)	NOHEJLOVÁ-PRÁTOVÁ 1953
7	Chábory, okr. Rychnov nad Kněžnou	1645	Modena, Cesare d’Este, <i>ongaro</i> , n.d. (1598-1600) (1)	SMOLÍK 1900: col. 548
8	Radič (Smilkov), okr. Benešov	1654	Tassarolo, Filippo Spinola (1617-88), ‘ducat’, n.d. (c.1637) (1)	SMOLÍK 1904: cols. 631-2
9	Postřekov, okr. Domažlice	1662	Tassarolo, Filippo Spinola (1617-88), <i>ongaro</i> , n.d. (c.1637) (1)	HÁSKOVÁ 1969-70: 205
(B) Moravia				
1	Uničov, okr. Olomouc	1616	Savoy, Carlo Emanuele I, <i>ongaro</i> , 1601, Turin (1); Messerano, Francesco Filiberto Ferrero Fieschi, ducat, n.d. (1593-97) (1); Modena, Cesare d’Este, <i>ongaro</i> , n.d. (1598-1600) (1)	HRADIL 2015: 213-224
2	Lašťany, okr. Olomouc	1620	Modena, Cesare d’Este, ‘ducat’, n.d. (1598-1600) (1)	HRADIL 2015: 223
(C) Silesia				
1	Zagórze Śląskie, pow. wałbrzyski	1632	Maccagno, Giacomo III, <i>ongaro</i> , 1622 (1)	KALLINICH 1820
2	Piechowice, pow. karkonoski	1643	Savoy-Piedmont, Carlo Emanuele I, ‘ducat’ of uncertain type, 1601 (1)	MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1991: no. 732
3	Głogów	1656	Correggio, Camillo d’Austria, <i>ongaro</i> , n.d. (1597-1605) (1); Parma, Ranuccio I Farnese, <i>ongaro</i> , n.d. (c.1600-01 <sup>38</sup> ) (1); Modena, Cesare d’Este, <i>ongaro</i> , 1598 (1); Savoy-Piedmont, Carlo Emanuele I, <i>ongaro</i> , 1603, Turin (1); Tassarolo, Filippo Spinola (1617-88), <i>ongaro</i> , 1637 (1)	GROCHOWSKA-JASNOS 2023

**Table 1.** North-Italian gold coins in the finds from the Bohemian Crown Lands (see also Fig. 4).

38 The issue period according to BELLESIA 1993-97: 11.

There are definitely fewer finds of these coins in Moravia – only two hoards. The large complex of gold coins from Uničov (352 coins), although being similar to the Plzeň and Prague hoards, was hidden not in the town, but outside it, under the gallows. The monographer of the hoard, Filip Hradil, believes that it was hidden in such a disreputable place outside the town as a result of the coup carried out in the town by the Protestant minority in May 1619 and the loss of the sense of security by the Catholics<sup>39</sup>. Both Moravian hoards come from the initial period of the Thirty Years' War.

The *ongari* representation in Silesia is equally modest – three hoards in an area much larger than Moravia – but clearly later than the Moravian one. The earliest hoard, from Zagórze Śląskie, was hidden only after 1632, and the latest one, from Głogów, eight years after the peace of Westphalia was concluded. The hoard from Piechowice, containing at least 94 coins (only gold, *tpq* 1643), next to the *ongaro* of Charles Emanuel I, yielded a Tuscan florin from 1595 – similarly to the Plzeň hoard. Głogów lies far to the north, but Piechowice is located close to the mountain border with Bohemia, much west of Zagórze. Interestingly, a 'ducat' of Charles Emanuel I from 1603 was also found far to the north, in Prussia, in the hoard from Borowiec near Elbląg (*tpq* 1632)<sup>40</sup>, and unspecified 'Sardinian' gold coins (maybe this is how Piedmontese coins were named) in Siemoń near Toruń (*tpq* 1622).<sup>41</sup> However, there are no north Italian gold coins between Silesia and Prussia, in Greater Poland or in the Sieradz Land. They are also absent west of Silesia, in Upper Lusatia.

The finds show that already before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, debased *ongari* from northern Italy reached Bohemia and Moravia. Since initially other Italian gold coins (Papal, Tuscan etc.) also appeared in Bohemian hoards, as well as silver coins from the same north Italian mints<sup>42</sup>, this inflow was an aspect of a broader monetary crisis, which in the lands of Bohemian Crown took the form of inflation of small change and growing demand for large coins<sup>43</sup>. The secondary factor could be the financial involvement of southern and western European countries in Bohemian internal politics. Certainly, a search of written sources would bring more knowledge on this subject. It is still not known why north Italian gold coins reached Silesia only later, coming from Bohemia, perhaps in the saddlebags of soldiers of fighting armies, and are totally absent from Lusatia.

39 HRADIL 2017: 272-273.

40 MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983: no. 541.

41 MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1991: no. 174\*.

42 E.g., in the same village of Postřekov, where *ongari* were hoarded after 1662, a silver hoard was hidden forty years earlier, containing *bianco* from Bologna, *mezgo testone* from Mirandola and *forini* from Messerano and Parma; see HÁSKOVÁ 1966.

43 VOREL 2000: 174-181.

Does this conclusion also apply to the Maccagno coin from Zagórze, if *ongari* from this mint have been observed in the Netherlands and Hesse, and not in Bohemia? However, it seems that Count James Mandelli was a victim of his own caution: his coins, even if found somewhere, remained (and still remain) unrecognized. It is also quite possible that an unregistered find from the Czech Republic had contained the Maccagno *ongaro* from 1622 of a previously unknown type, sold in December 2021 by the Prague coin dealer company Aurea (Fig. 5). Netherlandish money-books are exceptionally numerous and relatively well known, and make scholars aware of presence of these coins in the Netherlands. The writer therefore believes that the circulation of Maccagno coins outside the Alps did not differ significantly from that of other north Italian *ongari*. On the other hand, if the symbolic meaning of selected thalers from the Zagórze hoard has been suggested above, one must also note the symbolic value of the *ongaro* from Maccagno. Not only was Madonna placed on it, who would be easier to find on Hungarian florins (there was one of them in the hoard), but She was surrounded by the text of the hymn *Sub tuum praesidium confugimus, sancta Dei Genitrix*. Lucia Travaini aptly observed: «Maggiore attenzione dovrebbe essere dedicata all'iconografia delle monete documentate in diversi contesti in quanto la loro presenza potrebbe essere stata determinata da scelte devozionali»<sup>44</sup>. In relation to the more literate, early modern era, this observation may be supplemented with the postulate to also take into account the content of monetary legends.



**Fig. 5.** Maccagno Inferiore, James III Mandelli, *ongaro*, 1622; Obv. similar to Gianazza 25 and 26 but different in legend and with a griffin between the knight's feet, Rev. die-identical with the Obv. of Gianazza 31/1B and 31/2 variants (Aurea Numismatika sale 102, 04/12/2021, no. 162; 3.38 g; reproduced by kind permission).

<sup>44</sup> TRAVAINI 2013: 33.

The hoard from Zagórze represented a relatively small capital of nearly 70 thalers. In the 1620s, the Silesian city of Brzeg paid 230 thalers annually to the mayor, c.150 thalers to the parish priest or doctor of medicine, c.35 thalers to the forester, 7-9 thalers to the farm hand, 4-7 thalers to the coachman, 11⅓ thalers to the headsman, and to the seasonal workers 1/30-1/10 thaler per day<sup>45</sup>. Certainly, the amount in the hoard significantly exceeded the daily needs of a resident of ancient Kynau, but it did not enable him or her to significantly improve his financial status. It is quite probable that it was the property of some person connected with the manor where it was hidden, and the date of the youngest coin, the Ferdinand II thaler (so a home coin), coincides with the year of the invasion of the Swedes, which prompted the owners of the castle to flee, and the bubonic plague<sup>46</sup>.

## List of coins from the Zagórze Śląskie 1820 hoard

(Kallinich's accounts are given in guillemets)

Bohemia, uncertain ruler<sup>47</sup>, Prager groschen, heavily worn (3 pcs.).

«31. 3 bömische oder Prager Groschen sehr verw. schlecht Silber».

Bohemia, Ferdinand I, Prager groschen, no date (1527-1547) (1).

«33. 1 böm. Groschen *Ferdinand. Prim.*»

Bohemia or uncertain Austrian land in Germany, Rudolf II, thaler 1609<sup>48</sup> (1).

«13. Ein Rudolphs-Thaler von 1609».

Bohemia, Ferdinand II, thalers with standing figure, 1630 and 1631 (3 altogether).

«5. 3 *Dito* [i.e., as item 4] mit ganzer Figur»<sup>49</sup>.

45 KWAK 1971: 42, 60, 80, 90 and 92.

46 The writer is much indebted to Dr Stefano Locatelli, Mr Pavel Gregor and Mrs Natalia Sawicka for supporting him with the necessary literature. This study has been produced with the assistance of the database Czech Medieval Sources online, provided by the LINDAT/CLARIAH-CZ Research Infrastructure (<https://lindat.cz>), supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports of the Czech Republic (Project No. LM2018101).

47 Most probably, Wladislas II (1471-1516), as his groschen, difficult to decipher for a non-numismatist, are often observed in hoards from this period. For an example parcel of Prague groschen in a Silesian hoard hidden in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see MILEJSKI 2020: 39-43.

48 Possible mints: Prague, Kutná Hora, Jáchymov, České Budějovice, Vienna, Hall and Ensisheim (MILLER ZU AICHHOLZ, LOEHR, HOLZMAIR 1948: 95).

49 Full-figure thalers of these years were minted only in the Bohemian mints.

Bohemia, Germany (uncertain Austrian land) or Hungary, Ferdinand II, thalers with bust, 1630 and 1631 (4 altogether)<sup>50</sup>.

«4. 4 Ferdinands-Thaler von 1630 und 1631, Brustbild».

Bohemia or uncertain Austrian land in Germany, Ferdinand II, thalers with bust, 1631 and 1632<sup>51</sup> (5 altogether).

«8. 5 Ferdinands-Gulden von 1631 m. Brustbild u. 1632».

Bohemia or Hungary, Matthias I, ducat, 1611<sup>52</sup> (1).

«2. 2 kaiserl. [Ducaten], einer von Matthias 1611...».

Germany, Brunswick-Lueneburg, Henry Julius, thaler, 1600, Andreasberg or Zellerfeld mint, WELTER 1971: no. 645 (1).

«18. 1 Gulden mit Wappen u. Umsch. *Henricus Julius D. G. Ep. Halb. D. Bru. E. L.*, auf der andern ein sogenannter wilder Mann. (Braunsch. Lünebg.) m[it] d[er] U[mschrift] *Honestum pro patria 1600*».

Germany, Constance, Free Imperial City, Ferdinand II, thaler, 1625, DAVENPORT 1967: no. 5177 (1).

«11. 1 Gulden mit d. U. u. d. Wappen von Constadt [*sic!*] und der Umschrift *mon. no. Civitat. Constantiensis 1625*, auf der andern der Doppel-Adler und d. U. *Ferd. II*».

Germany, Emden, Free City, the emperor's name not recorded, silver florin of 28 stivers (*achtentwintig*), no date (1624-53), DAVENPORT 1992: no. 507 or 508 (1).

«14. Ein Gulden, auf der einen Seite ein Doppel-Adler, auf der Brust den Reichs-Apfel mit einem hohen fast über die Adler-Köpfe gehenden Kreutze u. d. U. *Flor. argent. civit. Emb.*»

Germany, Luebeck, Free Imperial City, thaler, 1627, DAVENPORT 1967: no. 5449 (1).

«20. 1 Lübecker Gulden von 1627».

Germany, Murbach and Lure (Lueders), Imperial Abbeys, Leopold William of Austria (1626-1662), thaler, no date (1630), with St. Leger and the name of Ferdinand II, DAVENPORT 1967: no. 5617 (1).

«12. 1 Gulden, auf einer Seite der Doppel-Adler und *Ferd. II.* mit d. U. *D. G. Ro. im. Sem. au*, auf der andern ein segnender Bischof mit Krummstab und vielleicht

50 Bust thalers of Ferdinand II from 1630 and 1631 were struck in Wrocław, Vienna, Graz, Kremnica and Baia Mare. Hungary is hardly probable since Hungarian silver coins are virtually absent from Silesian pre-1659 hoards.

51 Possible mints: Prague, Kutná Hora, Jáchymov, Wrocław, Vienna, Graz, St. Veit, Kremnica and Baia Mare (MILLER ZU AICHHOLZ, LOEHR, HOLZMAIR 1948: 129). It is not known how Kallinich distinguished Hapsburg 'guldens' from 'thalers'.

52 If these details were correct, only the Prague and Kremnica mints are possible (MILLER ZU AICHHOLZ, LOEHR, HOLZMAIR 1948: 97).



Sprengwedel<sup>53</sup> in der linken; recht gut gezeichnet und drappirt, m. d. U. *Sanctus Lodegarius*».

Germany, Oettingen-Oettingen, Louis Eberhard, thaler, 1624, with Imperial eagle and the name of Ferdinand II, DAVENPORT 1976: no. 7136 (1).

«9. 1 Thaler m. d. U. *Ludwig Eberhard Ottingens*, um das Wappen, auf der andern Seite *Ferd. II.*<sup>54</sup> mit dem Kaiser-Adler von 1624».

Germany, Saxony-Wittenberg, Frederick III, George and John (?), schreckenberger, no date (1500-1507), SCHULTEN 1974: nos. 2985-2987 (1).

«28. 1 Groschen (c. 4 Gr. am Werth) m. d. U. *Grossus novus Ducum Saxon.*, auf der andern ein Engel als Schildhalter, worauf zwei gekreuzte Schwerdter m. d. U. *Johannes Friedericus Georgius*»<sup>55</sup>.

Germany, Tyrol or Alsace, Maximilian III, thaler with bust, 1618, Hall or Ensisheim mints, DAVENPORT 1974: no. 3324 or 3327 (1)<sup>56</sup>.

«7. 1 *Dito* [i.e., Thaler] mit dem Brustbilde Maximilian d. I. v. 1618».

United Netherlands, Deventer, Free Imperial City, Matthias I, silver florin of 28 stivers (*achtentwintig*), uncertain year (1617-21), PURMER 2009: no. De29 or 30; DELMONTE 1967: no. 1107 (1).

«27. 1 *Dito* [i.e., Gulden] mit Doppel-Adler m. d. U. *Imp. Sem. aug. Matthias I.*, auf der andern S. um das Wappen *Flor. arg. civit. Imp. Davenis.*»

United Netherlands, Friesland, *arendsdaalder van 60 groot*, uncertain year (1617-1619), JASEK 2020: no. 63; PURMER 2009: no. Fr53 (1); DELMONTE 1967: no. 1073; 1618? (allegedly 1629)<sup>57</sup> (1).

«16. 1 Gulden, auf der einen Seite das Wappen mit d. U. *Moneta argentea Ordnum Brisiae* [*sic*], auf der andern der Doppeladler m. d. U. *Si deus pro nobis quis otra* [*sic*] *nos.*»<sup>58</sup>

«17. 1 friesischer Gulden mit derselben Umschrift 1629».

53 Kallinich does not recognize the attribute of St Leger of Autun on the coins of Lucerne and the Murbach Abbey – the drill with which the saint's eyes were drilled – and he assumes that it is a sprinkler (see MARECKI, RÖTER 2009: 394).

54 Actually, LUDWIG EBERHARD COMES OTING and FERDINANDVS II...

55 The names of Elector John Frederick and Duke George the Bearded appear in this order on coins from 1532-39, but there are no schreckenbergers among them, and the description clearly indicates this denomination. It was assumed therefore that the order Kallinich quoted the names is correct, but the starting point was misplaced.

56 MILLER ZU AICHHOLZ, LOEHR, HOLZMAIR 1948: 105. Thalers of this ruler as the Teutonic Grand Master and thalers of Maximilian I of Bavaria show no busts.

57 Frisian coins of this type from 1629 are not known, and the existence of such coins with the year 1619 is uncertain (JASEK 2020: 114).

58 While the reading *Brisiae* instead of FRISLÆ was probably due to the specific form of the Roman F on these coins and their poor minting, the reverse sentence is repeated literally from the description of item 10 instead of the actual wording SI DEVS NOBISCVM QVIS CONT(RA) NO(S). This indicates the low accuracy of the description.

United Netherlands, Guelders, Friesland or West Friesland<sup>59</sup>, *Nederlandse rijksdaalder*, 1620, DELMONTE 1967: nos. 938, 940 or 947; DAVENPORT 1974: nos. 4828, 4829 or 4842 (4).

«24. 4 *Dito* [i.e., Gulden] mit einem m. einem Lorbeerkranze geschmückten Brustbilde ein Schwerdt in der rechten, in der Linken ein Schild mit 2 Löwen 1620. *Mo. arg. pro confoe. Belg. [sic!]*, m. U. *Concordia res parvae crescunt*».

United Netherlands, Kampen, Free Imperial City, Rudolph II as 'electus', *arendrijksdaalder*, no date (1596-98), DAVENPORT 1979: no. 8881; PURMER 2009: no. Ka21; DELMONTE 1967: no. 700 (1).

«26. *Dito* [i.e., Gulden] der Doppeladler mit dem Kreuz und der Krone darüber, und d. U. *Rudol. II. D. G. Elec. Rom. Imp. sem. augus.*, auf der andern eine Festung mit Fallgatter und 3 Thürmen *Mone. no. civitatis Impe. Campensis*».

United Netherlands, Kampen, Free Imperial City, Matthias I, silver florin of 28 stivers (*achtentwintig*), no date (1612-19), PURMER 2009: no. Ka43; DELMONTE 1967: no. 1113 (4).

«23. 4 Gulden m. Doppeladler u. d. U. *Matth. I. D. G. Rom. Imp. sem. aug.*, auf der andern S. das in 4 Theile getheilte Wappen m. U. *Flor. arg. cin. Imp. Ampeu*» [sic].

United Netherlands, West Friesland, *Nederlandse rijksdaalder*, 1622, DELMONTE 1967: no. 940 (1).

«15. Ein westfrischer Gulden von 1622 mit d. Umsch. *Concordia res parvae crescunt* um den Löwen, der ein Pfeilbund hält; auf der andern Seite ein Held mit einem Lorbeerkranz, und einem Wappen oder Schild in der linken mit 2 Löwen».

United Netherlands, West Friesland, half *Nederlandse rijksdaalder* or half lion-thaler, uncertain year, DELMONTE 1967: no. 873 or 956 (1).

«29. ½ Gulden m. U. *Mo. arg. pro confoe. Belg. Westfrisiae*».

United Netherlands, West Friesland, *prinsendaalder* (helmeted *rijksdaalder*) 1593, DELMONTE 1967: no. 924; DAVENPORT 1985: no. 8865 (1).

«25. 1 *Dito* [i.e., Gulden] von 1593 ein Ritter m. d. Schwerdt und d. U. *Mone. no. arg. Domi Westfrisiae*».

United Netherlands, Zealand, *arendsdaalder van 60 groot*, 1602 (1) and 1618 (1). DELMONTE 1967: no. 1071.

«10. 2 Zeland-Gulden von 1618 und 1602 auf der einen Seite der Doppel-Adler und d. U. *Si Deus pro nobis quis otra [sic!] nos*».

United Netherlands, Zwolle, Free Imperial City, Matthias I (posthumous issue), silver florin of 28 stivers (*achtentwintig*), 1621, PURMER 2009: no. Zw49; DELMONTE 1967: no. 1114 (1).

59 The provinces are identified only by the remark about the 'shield with two lions.' However, none of them struck thalers with the date at the bust, as it is suggested by the description, so this detail must have been misplaced.

«19. 1 Gulden m. d. Doppel-Adler u. d. U. *Matth. 1. D. G. Rom. Imp.*, auf der andern *Flor. arg. civitat. Imp. Zwoll 1621*».

United Netherlands, uncertain provinces, ducats of various years from 1597 on (8).

«1. 8 alte Holländer Ducaten, wovon der älteste von 1597 war».

Switzerland, Lucerne, thaler, n.d. (1550-1567), WIELANDT 1969: no. 29; DAVENPORT 1985: no. 8740 (1).

«21. 1 Lucerner m. Wappen auf einer und einem erträglich gezeichneten Bisch. in der rechten Hand ein Buch, in der linken den Krummstab und Sprengwedel haltend, auf einer Art von Thron m. d. U. *Sanctus Feodigarius*» [sic].

Switzerland, Shaffhouse, thaler, 1622, HMZ: 2-763d; DAVENPORT 1974: no. 4627 (2).

«22. 2 Gulden mit einfachem Adler m. U. *Deus spes nostra*, auf der andern ein Steinbock oder Widder halb aus einer Kapelle springend m. U. *Moneta nova fusensis* [sic] 1622».

Italy, Maccagno Inferiore, Giacomo III Mandelli, ongaro, 1622, GIANAZZA 2003: no. 22 (1).

«3. Einer mit einem geharnischten Manne ohne Helm von 1622 m. d. U. *Mon. aur. Comac. in. c. Re. V. 1. Per.*, auf dem Revers eine Madonna mit dem Kinde, den Kremnitzern gleich, flach aber gut geprägt, m. d. U. *Sub tuum Per. Con. s. D. Genit.*»

Denmark, Christian IV, mark, 1614, HEDE 1978: no. 99 (?) (1).

«30. Eine dänische Mark oder Ort. von 1614 m. d. U. *Christianus IIII. Mark danske*, auf der andern 3 Löwen in einem Schilde»<sup>60</sup>.

Hungary, Maximilian, gold florin 1573, Kremnica mint, HUSZÁR 1979: no. 973 (1).

«2. [...] einer [kaiserl. Ducat] von Ladislaus 1573 [...]»<sup>61</sup>.

Poland, Sigismund III, thalers with bust, uncertain years (1618-32)<sup>62</sup> (4).

«6. 4 Thaler mit dem Brustbilde Sigism. d. III.»

Poland, Prussia, King Sigismund I of Poland, groschen with the king's bust, uncertain years (1528-35), Toruń mint<sup>63</sup> (2).

«36. 2 *Dito* [i.e. Groschen] mit dem Brustbilde Sigism.»

Poland, Prussia, Duke Albert, groschen, uncertain year (1529-58), Königsberg mint (1).

60 To make the description corresponding to a coin of 1614, it must be assumed that it should read: «...m. d. U. *Christianus IIII.*, auf der anderen *Mark danske*, 3 Löwen...»

61 King Ladislaus on this coin was obviously the patron saint and not the issuer. Gold florins from 1573 were struck only in Kremnica.

62 Very rare medallion issues from earlier years of the reign (1587-1617) are hardly to be expected in the hoard.

63 In theory, it could have been any groschen of Sigismund I, Sigismund II Augustus or Sigismund III with their portrait. However, if Kallinich placed the coin among Prussian groschen, it proves that it was a coin of Sigismund I's Prussian Lands.

- «37. 1 *Dito* [i.e. Groschen] mit Alberts Brustbilde». Poland (?), Prussia (?), Duke Albert (?), groschen, 1534 (1).  
 «32. 1 Brandenburger [Groschen] von 1534 verw.»<sup>64</sup>  
 Poland, Prussia, Duke Albert, groschen, 1541, Koenigsberg mint, KOPICKI 1995: nos. 3782-83 (1).  
 «34. 1 Brandenburger Gr. v. 1541. m. d. U. *Justus ex fide vivit*». Poland, Prussia, Duke George Frederick, groschen, 1589, Koenigsberg mint, KOPICKI 1995: no. 3839 (1).  
 «35. 1 *Dito* [i.e. Brandenburger Groschen] v. 1589 mit dem Brustbild *Georg. Friedr.* u. ders. Umsch.»  
 Turkish Empire, uncertain ruler, altın (1).  
 «2. [Ein Ducat] mit arabischen Schrift»<sup>65</sup>.

## Bibliography

- BELLESIA 1993-97 = L. BELLESIA, *Inquadramento della produzione di ongari nelle zecche emiliane tra la fine del '500 e gli inizi del '600*, «Schweizer Münzblätter», 43-7 (1993-97): 8-13.  
 BURDUKIEWICZ, DEMIDZIUK, BOŃCZUK-DAWIDZIUK 2016 = J.M. BURDUKIEWICZ, K. DEMIDZIUK, U. BOŃCZUK-DAWIDZIUK, *Profesor Büsching na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim – początki archeologii akademickiej w Europie*, «Śląska Republika Uczonych», 7 (2016): 180-206.  
 BÜSCHING 1827 = J.G.G. BÜSCHING, *Die Kinsburg in ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustande, mit Erinnerungen aus dem Fremdenbuche auf derselben*, Breslau 1827.  
 ČERMÁK 1891-93 = C. ČERMÁK, *In Potěh...*, «Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien», 2 (1891-93): 70.  
 CNI IX = *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, IX, *Emilia (parte I): Parma e Piacenza, Modena e Reggio*, Milano 1925.  
 DAVENPORT 1967 = J.S. DAVENPORT, *German Church and City Talers 1600-1700*, Galesburg (Illinois) 1967.  
 DAVENPORT 1974 = J.S. DAVENPORT, *European Crowns 1600-1700*, Galesburg (Illinois) 1974.

64 The lack of a detailed description could result from the poor condition of the coin and the incomprehensible Lombardic capitals on groschen of Joachim I of Brandenburg. However, since there were no other Brandenburg coins in the hoard, and Kallinich clearly incorrectly recognized the Prussian groschen from 1541 and 1589 as Brandenburg coins, he most likely made a similar mistake here.

65 In the context of other 17<sup>th</sup> century Silesian hoards, it could only be a Turkish altın.

- DAVENPORT 1976 = J.S. DAVENPORT, *German Secular Talers 1600-1700*, Frankfurt am Main 1976.
- DAVENPORT 1979 = J.S. DAVENPORT, *German Talers 1500-1600*, Frankfurt am Main 1979.
- DAVENPORT 1985 = J.S. DAVENPORT, *European Crowns 1484-1600*, Frankfurt am Main 1985.
- DAVENPORT 1992 = J.S. DAVENPORT, *Silver Gulden 1559-1763*, Neuwied 1992.
- DELMONTE 1967 = A. DELMONTE, *Le Bénélux d'argent*, Amsterdam 1967.
- DEMIDZIUŁ 2000 = K. DEMIDZIUŁ, *Kreis Waldenburg w świetle archiwań archeologicznych do 1945 roku*, «Silesia Antiqua», 41 (2000): 207-229.
- FIALA 1922 = E. FIALA, *Zlatý poklad*, «Věstník Numismatické společnosti česko-slovenské v Praze», 4 (1922): 170-171.
- FRIEDENSBURG 1899 = F. FRIEDENSBURG, *Schlesiens neuere Münzgeschichte*, Breslau 1899 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, 19).
- GIANAZZA 2003 = L. GIANAZZA, *La zecca di Maccagno Inferiore e le sue monete*, Verbania 2003.
- GROCHOWSKA-JASNOS 2023 = M. GROCHOWSKA-JASNOS, *Blask złota i srebra, czyli pieniądź w baroku. Katalog wystawy skarbu monet nowożytnych z Głogowa (ukrytego po 1656)*, Głogów 2023.
- GRUDNIEWSKI 2020 = J. GRUDNIEWSKI, *Epidemie na terenach Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego*, part 2, <https://us.edu.pl/dr-jakub-grudniewski-epidemie-na-terenach-slaska-i-zaglebia-dabrowskiego-cz-2/> [accessed on 27/12/2023].
- HALUB 1997 = M. HALUB, *Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching 1783-1829. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der schlesischen Kulturgeschichte*, Wrocław 1997.
- HÁSKOVÁ 1966 = J. HÁSKOVÁ, *Nález mincí z třicetileté války v Postrékově, okr. Domažlice (1961)*, «Numismatický Sborník», 9 (1966): 263-266.
- HÁSKOVÁ 1969-70 = J. HÁSKOVÁ, *Nález mincí ze 17. století v Postrékově, okr. Domažlice (1964)*, «Numismatický Sborník», 11 (1969-70): 203-205.
- HAUPT 1956 = W. HAUPT, *Oberlausitzer Münzfunde des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1956.
- HEDE 1978 = H. HEDE, *Danmarks og Norges mønter 1541 – 1814 – 1977*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Copenhagen 1978.
- HMZ = J. RICHTER, R. KUNZMANN, *Neuer HMZ-Katalog, Bd. 2, Die Münzen der Schweiz und Liechtensteins 15./16. Jahrhundert bis Gegenwart*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., Regenstauf 2011.
- HRADIL 2015 = F. HRADIL, *Uničovský zlatý poklad. Nález mincí z počátku 17. století (rigorózní práce)*, Olomouc 2015: 213-224, available at [https://theses.cz/id/fpcr38/Filip\\_Hradil\\_Uniovsk\\_zlat\\_poklad\\_rigorzn\\_prce.pdf?zpet=%2Fvyhledavani%2F%3Fsearch%3Dad%26start%3D70](https://theses.cz/id/fpcr38/Filip_Hradil_Uniovsk_zlat_poklad_rigorzn_prce.pdf?zpet=%2Fvyhledavani%2F%3Fsearch%3Dad%26start%3D70) [accessed on 27/12/2023].

- HUSZÁR 1979 = L. HUSZÁR, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, Budapest & München 1979.
- JASEK 2020 = D. JASEK, *The Coinage of Friesland*, [Kraków] 2020.
- JEČNÝ 1921 = J. JEČNÝ, *Soupis a rozbor nálezů mincí v jihozáp. Čechách po stránce numismatické*, Plzeň 1921.
- KALLINICH 1820 = [C.A.] KALLINICH, *Münzen bei Kynau gefunden*, «Correspondenz der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur», 2/1 (1820): 35-38.
- KLÜSSENDORF 1987 = N. KLÜSSENDORF, *Der Münzschatz von Niederhone und die Hessen-Kasselsche Denkmalpflegeordnung von 1780*, Marburg 1987.
- KOCH 1974 = B. KOCH, *Münzfunde 1961-1965*, «Fundberichte aus Österreich», 8 (1974): 218-275.
- KOPICKI 1995 = E. KOPICKI, *Ilustrowany skorowidz pieniędzy polskich i z Polską związanych*, Warsaw 1995.
- KWAK 1971 = J. KWAK, *Finanse miasta Brzegu w latach wojny trzydziestoletniej*, Wrocław 1971.
- LESZCZYŃSKI, PIWARSKI 1963 = J. LESZCZYŃSKI, K. PIWARSKI, *Dzieje polityczne*, in K. MAŁEJCZYŃSKI (ed.), *Historia Śląska, vol 1: do roku 1763, part 3: od końca XVI w. do r. 1763*, Wrocław, Warsaw & Kraków 1963: 303-403.
- LOEHR 1908 = A.R. VON LOEHR, *Dukatenfund im Prager Strafgerichtsgebäude*, «Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde», 2 (1908): 44-45.
- MAJEWSKI 1993 = R. MAJEWSKI, *Wojna 30-letnia na Śląsku*, in K. BARTKIEWICZ (ed.), *Wojna trzydziestoletnia (1618-1648) na ziemiach nadodrzańskich*, Zielona Góra 1993: 87-108.
- MARECKI, ROTHER 2009 = J. MARECKI, L. ROTHER, *Jak czytać wizerunki świętych. Leksykon atrybutów i symboli hagiograficznych*, Kraków 2009.
- MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1983 = M. MĘCLEWSKA, A. MIKOŁAJCZYK, *Skarby monet z lat 1500-1649 na obszarze PRL. Inwentarz*, Warsaw 1983.
- MĘCLEWSKA, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1991 = M. MĘCLEWSKA, A. MIKOŁAJCZYK, *Skarby monet z lat 1650-1944 na obszarze Polski. Inwentarz II*, Wrocław, Warsaw & Kraków 1991.
- MILEJSKI 2020 = P. MILEJSKI, *Czy struktura skarbu z Osieczowa sugeruje dwufazowość tego znaleziska? Czyli skarb groszy praskich z Osieczowa*, in Ł. SROKA, P. MILEJSKI (eds), *Skarb groszy praskich i monet z XVII wieku z Osieczowa, powiat bolesławiecki*, Wrocław 2020: 35-47.
- MILITKÝ *et al.* 2020 = J. MILITKÝ, F. HRADIL, A. KNÁPEK, V. NOVÁK, K. SMÍŠEK, E. VILIMEC, *Poklad mincí z doby třicetileté války z Horních Rápotic*, Prague & Havlíčkův Brod 2020.
- MILLER ZU AICHHOLZ, LOEHR, HOLZMAIR 1948 = V. MILLER ZU AICHHOLZ, A. LOEHR, E. HOLZMAIR, *Österreichische Münzprägungen 1519-1938*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Wien 1948.
- NOHEJLOVÁ-PRÁTOVÁ 1953 = E. NOHEJLOVÁ-PRÁTOVÁ, *Nález v Kácově*, «Numismatický Sborník», 1 (1953): 118.

- PURMER 2009 = D. PURMER, *Handboek van de Nederlandse Provinciale Muntslag 1568-1795, 2, van de voormalige Provincies, Steden en Heerlijkbeden alsmede de gouden, zilveren en koperen afslagen*, s.l. 2009.
- RIEMANN 1925 = W. RIEMANN, *Geschichte und Sagen der Burgen und Städte im Kreise Waldenburg*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Friedland 1925.
- SCHMIDT 1846 = F.J. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Stadt Schweidnitz*, 1, Schweidnitz 1846.
- SCHULTEN 1974 = W. SCHULTEN, *Deutsche Münzen aus der Zeit Karls V. Typenkatalog der Gepräge zwischen dem Beginn der Talerprägung (1484) und der dritten Reichsmünzordnung (1559)*, Frankfurt/Main 1974.
- SKALSKÝ 1926 = G. SKALSKÝ, *Nález mincí z poč. války třicetileté v Chlumětíně u Svatky*, «Numismatický časopis československý», 2 (1926): 134-137.
- SMOLÍK 1900 = J. SMOLÍK, *Dva nálezy mincí*, «Památky archaeologické a místopisné», 19 (1900): 545-552.
- SMOLÍK 1904 = J. SMOLÍK, *Nález 8 zlatých a 37 str. mincí udál se letos v Radíči...*, «Památky archaeologické a místopisné», 21 (1904): 631-632.
- STOLARCZYK, MADZIARZ 2021 = T. STOLARCZYK, M. MADZIARZ, *Mining of non-ferrous metal ores in the valley of the Bystrzyca river in relation to Grodno Castle*, «Architectus», 68/4 (2021): 97-106.
- SUPERTI FURGA 1976 = G. SUPERTI FURGA, *Quattro monete inedite di altrettante zecche*, «Rivista Italiana di Numismatica», 78 (1976): 227-233.
- Tabele 1975 = *Tabele podatků gruntowego i ludności wsi śląskich z okolo 1765 roku*, Z. KWAŚNY, J. WOSCH (eds), Wrocław 1975.
- TRAVAINI 2009 = L. TRAVAINI, *Valori e disvalori simbolici delle monete: temi, problemi, interpretazioni*, in L. TRAVAINI (a cura di), *Valori e disvalori simbolici delle monete. I Trenta denari di Giuda*, Roma 2009: 13-61.
- TRAVAINI 2013 = L. TRAVAINI, *Il lato buono delle monete. Devozione, miracoli e insolite reliquie*, Bologna 2013.
- Verzeichniss 1868 = *Verzeichniss der in den Schriften der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur von 1804 bis 1863 incl. enthaltenen Aufsätze, geordnet nach den Verfassern in alphabetischen Folge*, Breslau [1868].
- VOREL 2000 = P. VOREL, *Od pražského groše ke koruně české. Průvodce dějinami peněz v českých zemích*, Prague 2000.
- VOREL 2009 = P. VOREL, *Stříbro v evropském peněžním oběhu 16.-17. století (1472-1717)*, Prague 2009.
- WELTER 1971 = G. WELTER, *Die Münzen der Welfen seit Heinrich dem Löwen*, Braunschweig 1971.
- WIELANDT 1969 = F. WIELANDT, *Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Standes Luzern*, Luzern 1969.
- ZEMPLIN 1826 = A. ZEMPLIN, *Beschreibung und Geschichte der Burg Kynsberg im Schlesierthale des Fürstenthums Schweidnitz, bis zum Jahre 1823*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [Breslau 1826].



## Webliography

*Rathay-Biographien:*

[http://www.rathay-biographien.de/persoenlichkeiten/S/Schlesische\\_Provinzialblaetter/Schlesische\\_Ptovinzialblaetter.htm](http://www.rathay-biographien.de/persoenlichkeiten/S/Schlesische_Provinzialblaetter/Schlesische_Ptovinzialblaetter.htm) [accessed on 27/12/2023].