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Borys PASZKIEWICZ*

MONUMENTA SARMATARUM, OR A CONCISE INTRODUCTION TO THE POLISH PAST AND ITS TRACES

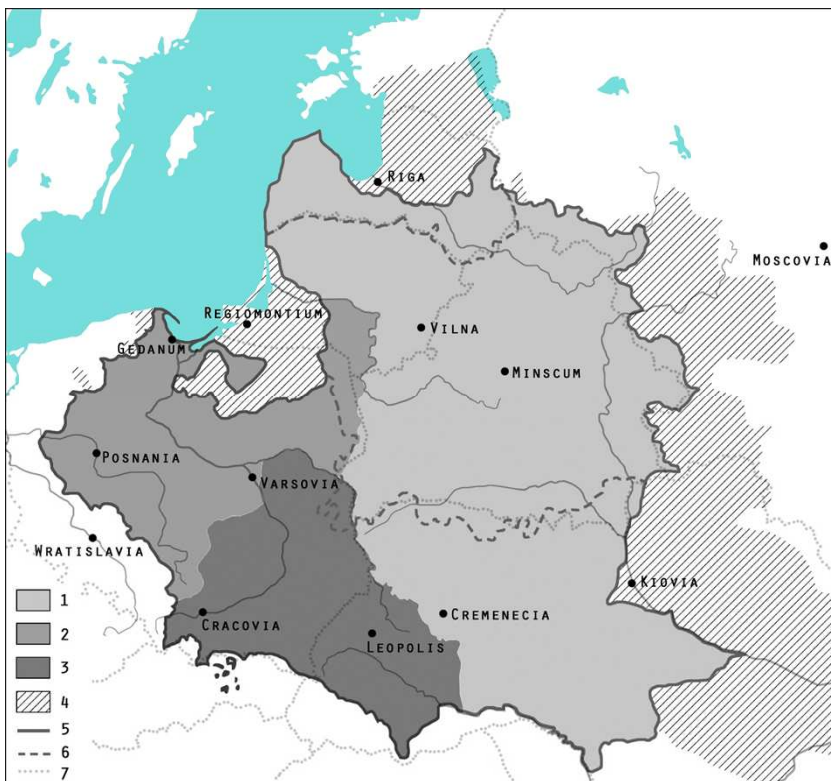
1. The Republic of the Two Nations

The modern map is a poor aid when we wish to understand the history of the Polish culture, Polish numismatics included, because of the participation in this process of eastern neighbours: Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, and to some extent, also Estonia, Russia and Romania (with Moldova). The high-medieval Polish state which used to have a territory approximately like that of modern Poland had disintegrated by the 13th century. Already in the early 13th century, West Pomerania slipped from the Polish polity for good, followed in the mid-14th century by Silesia. The Kingdom of Poland reconstructed by King Casimir the Great (1333–70) shifted eastward, along trade routes linking the Baltic with the Black Sea. The personal union concluded in 1385 and consolidated in the 15th century between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the latter with a vast territory which covered present-day Lithuania, Belarus, much of Ukraine and some areas of western Russia, significantly altered the map of Europe, and the political meaning of the concept of the “Polish nation” resulting from acculturation.¹ In 1454 the inhabitants organized into the Prussian League refused obedience to their rulers and paid homage to the king of Poland. Ultimately, the western portion of Prussia became an autonomous province of Poland while the eastern remained a fief of the Kingdom of Poland. A century later, in 1560, Livonia (present-day Latvia and Estonia) acceded of their own volition to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A constitutional union put into effect in Lublin in 1569 ultimately joined both the thrones and the parliaments of the two states. The Kingdom of Poland (or *Korona*, “the Crown”) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were its two equal participants, and Polish laws and the monetary system were extended to Lithuania. The state which emerged from this union was known officially as *Rzeczpospolita* (best translated into English as “the Republic” rather than “the Commonwealth”, since the Polish name alluded deliberately to the Roman Republic), or more elaborately – *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów* – “the Republic of The Two Nations”. Unlike the union of England and Scotland, or that of Aragon and Castile, no common and neutral territorial name for this state was introduced. The term used in this sense in literature was “Sarmatia”, but it never acquired an official standing. The Polish and Ruthenian nobility

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¹ For a discussion of the Polish-Lithuanian union see in more detail Frost 2015.

liked to trace their ancestry to the ancient Sarmatians² of whose presence in their land they had read in Claudius Ptolemy. A passion for liberty and equality, ascribed to Sarmatians of the bygone age, the right to elect their king and to refuse obedience to a bad ruler, were indispensable elements of this national identity. The appeal of this ethos not only attracted many immigrants from the East and the West but also persuaded some of the nobility in Silesia long fallen out from the Polish orbit, to return to the Polish identity.³ The Lithuanian nobility also tried to trace their origins to ancient Rome and mythical immigrants from “l’Italia”,⁴ nor were some of the noble inhabitants of the *Korona* averse to claiming a similar Roman genealogy.



Map 1. The Republic in the 17th–18th centuries and its partitions.

Key: (1) Russian partition 1795; (2) Prussian partition 1795; (3) Austrian partition 1795; (4) Polish-Lithuanian lands lost during the 17th century; (5) borders of the Republic by 1768; (6) internal borders of the Crown of Poland, Lithuania and Livonia; (7) state borders in 2022.

Drawing by Nicole Lenkow

² E.g., Starowolski 1655 – a catalogue of gravestone inscriptions from the Polish-Lithuanian Republic.

³ Cetwiński 2018.

⁴ Lelewel 1863, pp. 3–5.

The Republic (Map 1) was a multi-ethnic state, where next to the Polish, Ruthenian, Lithuanian and Latvian languages, German and Armenian were also widely used, highlanders used Wallachian and the large Jewish community spoke Yiddish. In Lithuania there were settlements of Tartar nobility – mostly descendants of political refugees. Additionally, there were large communities of Dutch and Scottish migrant farmers. Scholars used Latin. After the Union of Lublin, the elective Polish–Lithuanian throne was occupied by three Poles, three Swedes, two Germans, a Lithuanian, a Ruthenian (“Ukrainian” in modern classification), a Hungarian and a Frenchman. This would explain why so many public documents were published in Latin. In Lithuania the official language was Ruthenian (Old Belarusian), in 1696 replaced by Polish following the Polonisation of the Lithuanian elites. It was common to refer to the whole country as “Poland”, and to its citizens as “Poles”, especially when they ventured abroad. Ethnic differences were indicated by stating that someone was *gente Lithuanus* (or *Ruthenus*, or *Pruthenus*), *natione Polonus* – Lithuanian, Ruthenian, Prussian by tribe, Pole by nationality. In principle the representatives of all ethnic groups who had achieved a suitable material status could aspire to higher state offices, only the Jews were required to embrace Christianity, and the king had to be a Catholic. This ethnic diversity was accompanied by a diversity of religious confessions. Next to the churches of the principal Christian denominations (Roman or Greek Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Armenian, and many Protestant creeds, often built by religious refugees from western Europe), the inhabitants of the Republic erected mosques, synagogues and Karaite *kenesas*. The liberty and equal status of religious confessions enshrined in an agreement of 1573 ensured there was religious peace in the country.

Since 1364 Poland had its own university – the Cracow Academy (since 1817 known as the Jagiellonian University); in the 16th century others schools were founded, the most notable of them the university in Vilna (1579). The Lwów University was established in 1661. Another university important for the formation of Lithuanian and Polish elites was the *Academia Albertina* established in 1544 in Königsberg, the capital of Prussia, then a Polish fief, whereas sons of magnates usually completed their education in Padua where they left their coats-of-arms in Palazzo Bo and borrowed many Venetian ideas to implement in the system of the government of the Polish–Lithuanian Republic.

From as early as the 15th century curiosities and works of art were collected in the Treasury of the Crown. The Treasury and the private royal collections were significantly expanded by King Sigismund I (1506–48), whereas his son, Sigismund II Augustus (1548–72) was criticised with good reason for amassing a vast collection of valuables at a time when the Republic was embroiled in a draining war with Muscovy. Much of these collections was lost in the decades that followed, although the kings from the Swedish Vasa dynasty (1587–1668) were themselves avid collectors and patrons of the arts. The heaviest losses were caused by invasions: during the Muscovite War of 1654–67 and the Swedish invasion of 1655–60, which affected the

principal royal residences. The remainder of the collections were taken to Paris by John Casimir, the last of the Vasa kings after his abdication.⁵ Similarly, the collections formed by the later elective monarchs remained the property of their respective families, which explains the survival of the larger portion of the collections of Augustus II (1697–1706 and 1709–1733) and Augustus III (1734–1763), in Dresden however. Modelling themselves on the royalty, the nobility built up their own collections of art and curiosities. The earliest treasures of jewels and libraries originated during the 15th century. By the 17th century, many magnates, even some members of the middle nobility, had established their cabinets of curiosities.⁶ Of a different nature – didactic and academic – were the collections created in Gymnasium schools of larger towns, the oldest and most important of these established in the late 16th century in Toruń.

Heavy military defeats in the mid-17th century disrupted the peaceful religious coexistence in the Republic. A severe blow was the proclamation in 1701 in Eastern Prussia, formerly a Polish fief, of a sovereign kingdom which offered to the elites – particularly of Polish Prussia – a rival ethos and had as the only territory open to potential expansion the lands of the Republic. The might and self-reliance of the latter were in decline, as was the morale of its elites. An improvement of the economic situation around the middle of the 18th century created a favourable basis for reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment. These were undertaken with a greater energy during the reign of Stanislaus Augustus (1764–95), the last King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. With the major educational reform of 1773, the universities in Cracow and Vilna became the main seats of higher education in the Crown and Lithuania respectively. This helped to raise the level of the University of Vilna in particular. The widely modernized system of education produced hundreds of scholars and thousands of teachers – a kind of Phoenix egg – who helped Polish science and culture to survive for four generations without their own state. Even during this twilight age, Polish culture continued to attract outsiders. It was at this time that *e.g.*, the Prussian family von Lölhöffel became the Polish Lelewels (see the contribution by M. Mielczarek). Serious plans were made to create a *Museum Polonicum* or a Museum of Fine Arts.⁷ Strangely enough, the king did not take part in these plans, for while admittedly a connoisseur and collector of art, and moreover, very liberal with his finances for public projects, like his predecessors he considered his collections his private property which upon his death passed to his heirs (see the contributions by P. Jaworski and A. Bursche). In his collecting passion the king was accompanied by magnates and common nobles,⁸ but their private collections were transformed into public ones only in the 19th century.

⁵ Mrozowski 2003b, p. 113.

⁶ Mrozowski 2003a.

⁷ Pomian 2016, p. 20.

⁸ Mielczarek 1997; Sztachelska-Kokoczek 2006, pp. 211–13.

2. The “Two Nations” without the Republic

Before the first Polish museum was established, Prussia, Russia and Austria erased the Republic from the map of Europe in three stages, referred to as partitions, the last of them in 1795 (Map 1). Two years later the partitioning powers pledged to remove the name of Poland from all official documents. This unheard-of act was to be justified in the eyes of the public opinion by a propaganda campaign which portrayed Poland as a lawless and backward country, and the partitioning powers as bearers of civilization. The echoes of this propaganda survive to this day in stereotypes.



Map 2. Poland in the 19th century. Key: (1) the “Congress” Kingdom of Poland 1815 (occupied by Russia from 1831); (2) the Free City of Cracow under mutual control of partitioning powers (annexed by Austria in 1846); (3) borders of the Republic by 1768; (4) borders between partitioning powers 1815–1914; (5) state borders in 2022.

Drawing by Nicole Lenkow

Despite this, in 1807 Napoleon I revived the Polish State on the territory recaptured from Prussia, with a provisional name of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the Vienna Congress of 1815 proclaimed on a small fragment of the territory of the former Republic, the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland), a Russian protectorate joined by a personal union with the Russian Empire

(Map 2). In the Austrian partition the University of Lwów (Lemberg) was Germanized, but in 1800, in Warsaw then occupied by Prussians, the Warsaw Society of Letters was established, the first Polish academic corporation. In Cracow, which was granted the status of a free and neutral city, in 1815, the corporate Cracow Learned Society was founded, closely associated with the local university. Thanks to the initially liberal attitude of Emperor Alexander I (1801–25) Polish continued as the language of instruction in the educational system of the Russian partition, and in 1816, the University of Warsaw was established in the autonomous, so-called Congress Poland. The University of Vilna rose to a special level of excellence, both in natural sciences and humanities. It was the largest university within Russia, retaining all the while its Polish character. Vilna became the capital of culture of this part of the Republic which had been incorporated directly into Russia. Thanks to the human resources of Vilna, Tadeusz Czacki established in 1805 in Krzemieniec in Volhynia a Gymnasium, since 1819 a Lyceum, a modern elite school which soon rose to the rank of a Polish Eton (see the contribution by A. Bursche in this volume).

With the scholarly and education movement the first public museums appeared, funded by private individuals: Princess Izabela Czartoryska in Puławy (1801) and Stanisław Kostka and Aleksandra Potocki in Wilanów (1805).⁹ Founded in Lwów in 1817, the Ossoliński's National Institute – Ossolineum (primarily its library) and the Princes Lubomirski Museum merged with it in 1823 (see the contribution by A. Degler in this volume) were allowed by Austrian administrators to open to the public only after a long-drawn-out wait. All three museums are still in existence today, although two of them no longer at their original location.

Already in 1820, the Russian emperor-autocrat changed his position towards Poles and started rescinding the earlier concessions. After the failure of the November Uprising (1830–31) the Kingdom of Poland was occupied by Russian armies and gradually incorporated into Russia. The universities in Warsaw and in Vilna were closed down, as were the Krzemieniec Lyceum and the Warsaw Society of Letters, their assets and collections handed over to Russian institutions deep within the Empire. The Czartoryski Museum was brought to safety in France. The Jagiellonian University was now the only Polish school but it too would be Germanized after 1846 when Cracow was incorporated into Austria.

And yet, the territory based on the pre-Partition frontiers of the Republic, referred to point-blank as Poland, lived on in the collective memory. Poles from the Russian partition were educated primarily at the Universities of Dorpat (today, Tartu in Estonia) or Kyïv (then: Kiev), those from the Prussian partition at universities in Wrocław (then: Breslau) and Halle. The

⁹ S.K. Potocki (1755–1821) is regarded as one of the first Polish archaeologists and art historians. Jaskanis *et al.* 2006.

governments of the partitioning powers pursued with a varying intensity a policy aimed on divesting the Poles of their language, culture and national identity, through cultural, educational and economic discrimination (in Austria these practices were discontinued after 1867) and by giving precedence to other ethnic groups. Wishing to keep their status Polish aristocracy engaged with royal courts of partitioning powers, but only rarely succumbed to an acculturation. One example of a “national conversion” is found in the biography of Count Emeryk Czapski, a scion of a Prussian landowner family (see the contribution by J. Bodzek & M. Woźniak). Just the reverse, many immigrants who accompanied the administration of the partitioning powers, soon became assimilated to the Polish culture, like the Warsaw Beyer Family (see the contribution by K. Balbuza). In the Prussian partition, withheld the permission by the authorities to establish a university, the Polish elites in 1857 founded the Society of Friends of Learning of Poznań inspiring research and museum activity (see the contribution by W. Garbaczewski). A short-lived liberalization in the Russian partition (after the defeat in the Crimean War) was taken advantage of to establish in Warsaw a Museum of Fine Arts, and a new Polish University known as *Szkoła Główna* – the Main School (1862), which however already in 1870 was replaced by a Russian university. A private Museum of Antiquities founded in 1855 in Vilna by Count Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (cousin of Michał Tyszkiewicz, see the contribution by M. Kazimierczak) was abolished by the Russian authorities after only a decade, appropriating most of its collections. The last to implement the idea of an independent, private foundation of a national museum was Konstanty Świdziński (1793-1855), who spent a fortune on a collection of paintings, coins and books. In his will he bequeathed them to a future public museum in Warsaw. In 1860 the collections entered the Krasiński Entail Library in that city,¹⁰ where it nevertheless did not fulfil the expected role. Polish museums were continuously threatened by sequestration by the authorities, consequently some magnificent Polish aristocratic collections moved to the west to add to the resources of western European and American museums (see the contribution by M. Kazimierczak).

In the wake of a liberalization of Austria after 1867 the universities in Lwów and Cracow were re-Polonized, as was the system of lower-level education, making possible also the operation of Polish museums and scholarly institutions, not only private but also municipal and ecclesiastic. In 1872 the Cracow Learned Society developed into the Academy of Learning. In 1876, the Princes Czartoryski Museum and Library was brought back to Cracow from Paris, while in 1879 the City Council of Cracow opened the National Museum (see the contribution by J. Bodzek & M. Woźniak in this volume). In 1888 the first diocese museum was created (in Tarnów). The largest number of museums – private and municipal – were founded in Lwów (e.g.,

¹⁰ Ajewski 2002.

the Ukrainian National Museum in 1902, and a second Polish National Museum in 1908). To a certain extent this was the effect of the Polish-Ukrainian competition as to whose culture would prevail in the city. A similar rivalry (although on a lesser scale) was the Polish-German competition over the creation of museums and libraries in Poznań (see the contribution by W. Garbaczewski) and in Toruń. Not so in Warsaw and Vilna, which, being once again the object of Russian terror after 1863, could not keep up with these centres of culture. The Warsaw Museum of Fine Arts passed under the administration of municipal authorities only during the German occupation in 1916, renamed to serve as a National Museum. In 1907, availing itself of another political crisis in Russia, the Polish community succeeded in opening a new museum in Vilna. The early years of the 20th century brought the foundation of diocese museums in the Russian partition (e.g., in Płock and Sandomierz). Nevertheless, the most unusual museum by far was the *Musée national polonais*, created in 1870 by Count Władysław Broel-Plater in the castle at Rapperswil in Switzerland. Its founder expressed his wish to have the museum offered to the government of the future independent Poland.

At the same time, a new national identity emerged during the final decades of the 19th century founded on ethnicity altered the meaning of the term "Poland". When in 1918–20 the Polish and Lithuanian states were being restored, the conflict over Wilno-Vilnius – at once a major centre of Polish culture and the historic capital of Lithuania – became the foundation of an insuperable animosity between them.¹¹ A similar conflict with Ukraine was over who should hold Lwów-L'viv, with Czechoslovakia – who should hold Cieszyn-Těšín, and the controversy with the humiliated German nationalism concerned Gdańsk-Danzig (Map 3). The concept of *natione Polonus, gente Lithuanus, Ruthenus* or *Pruthenus* turned out to be a term unknown to the languages of the 20th century. The Republic of Poland, restored from scratch with tremendous effort since 1918, rebuilt and expanded the network of universities (Cracow, Lwów, Warsaw, Vilna, Lublin, Poznań), creating a network of museums provided with new, monumental buildings, and organized a system of national heritage protection. The defeated Russia agreed under the terms of the Treaty of Riga (1921) to return museum, library and archival collections (also private ones) seized at the time of partitions – but restored only a small fragment.

A brief interlude of independence enjoyed by Ukraine (1918–20) and Belarus (1918–19) ended with the invasion of totalitarian Russia, which twenty years later, in alliance with a similarly totalitarian Germany, dealt a similar blow to Poland in 1939 (Map 3).

¹¹ Kiersnowski 1998.



Map 3. Poland in the 20th century. Key: (1) Poland between 1922–1938 (the so-called Second Republic); (2) the area of the First Republic by 1768; (3) borders of the partitioning powers 1846–1914; (4) the so-called Hitler–Stalin line – Russian–German border 1939–1941 (not recognized internationally); (5) state borders in 2022.

Drawing by Nicole Lenkow

Earlier still, in 1937 Russia set about exterminating what remained of the Polish population on the former territory of the Republic. At least 200,000 were killed or deported to perish in conditions hostile to human life while all traces of Polish culture were eradicated.¹² Similar practices were undertaken by the Russians in 1939 in the occupied eastern half of Poland's territory, at a time of similar persecutions perpetrated in its western half by the Germans. With no closer criteria at hand, deportations and the destruction of the documentation, the full number of victims cannot be ascertained; nevertheless, it is estimated that the population of Poland dropped from 34,849,000 in 1938 to 23,930,000 in 1946. The two occupying powers in the first place did their best to exterminate the cultural and industrial elites. Human lives were lost and so were human possessions, seized or destroyed, and the same happened to the property of public institutions,

¹² Iwanow 2015; Sommer 2014.

museums and archives included. In Warsaw alone the Germans deliberately burned down the Treasury Archive (with *e.g.*, documentation of the Polish mints), the Zamoyski Entail Library, Krasiński Entail Library with the Świdziński Collection, special collections of the National Library and the Warsaw University Library. Russians methodically destroyed museum objects related to Poland. The aim was to destroy Poland's heritage and all memory of its history. One example of these efforts was Poryck, a small town in Volhynia, where Tadeusz Czacki's collections had been housed (see the contribution by A. Bursche in this volume). During World War I the palace buildings and the building housing Czacki's library were destroyed, as was his archive and a china collection. During World War II the Germans killed the Jewish inhabitants of Poryck, after which Ukrainians slaughtered the Poles, burning down their churches and houses;¹³ finally the Russians incorporated the town into Soviet Ukraine and changed its name to Pavlivka, to erase the last trace of an important centre of Polish culture.

After World War II Russia seized 48% of Poland's territory, complete with all the immovable property and most of the movable property, forcibly evicting most of its Polish inhabitants. This area was fully off limits: until the latter half of the 1980s private visits by Poles living in Poland to the seized region were practically outlawed, and the Russia-controlled Polish government used its apparatus of repression to obstruct the study of the Polish heritage in the east and publications dedicated to this subject. Polish monuments in the east were either destroyed deliberately – in the first place, churches and palaces – or fell into ruin through decades of neglect. To compensate, Russia surrendered to Poland German territories captured in the west and north, similarly thoroughly despoiled and ruined. The National Removal to these western regions, enforced in 1945 and undertaken in conditions of post-war destitution, as more of an emotional rather than a material challenge: the state propaganda wielded a slogan of “a return to Piast lands” but traces of high medieval heritage there were much less in evidence than traces of the German presence which, encountered almost at every turn, could only repel the ashen-faced people who had survived six years of daily manslaughter and terror perpetrated by Germans. Two generations had elapse before the Polish newcomers forged an emotional link with their new environment. The success of this integration is manifested today by a reconstructed network of museums and an impressive number of spontaneous, amateur regional studies pursued in Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia by their inhabitants – with simultaneous efforts made to make up for the consequences of five decades of the governmental ban on the studies in the Polish heritage in the East.

¹³ Piotrowski 2000, pp. 126, 134–136, 188.

3. Numismatic collections and studies



Fig. 1. Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł “Waif” (Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila “Našlaitėlis”; Микалай Крыштан Радзівіл “Сіромка”; 1549–1616), a statesman, philanthropist, traveller, writer and antiques collector. Anonymous portrait, 1590–1604, oil on copper, the collection of the Royal Castle, Warsaw (public domain)

The role of numismatics in Polish culture has been the same as in other European countries. The Bishop of Chełmno, Stephen of Nibork (1412–1495), had his collection of coins,¹⁴ as did King John Albert of Poland (1459–1501); in the first half of the 16th century there were enough collectors in Cracow and Wrocław, of ancient coins mostly, to speak of a collecting community (see the contribution by J. Bodzek). Studies in ancient numismatics were also in progress, and donations made by some private collectors laid the foundations of public coin collections in Wrocław (in its municipal library) and Cracow (in the University library). Coins were collected by the Gymnasium at Toruń, from the 17th century onwards also by the municipal library in Gdańsk, while magnates set up their private cabinets of curiosities, as *e.g.*, Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł “Waif” (1549–1616; Fig. 1).¹⁵ In the 18th century collections were formed by the Czapski, Lubomirski, Krasicki families, and by Prince Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł (1744–1831);¹⁶ the scholarly collection of the Gymnasium at Elbląg dates to the same period. The date of the origin of the University of Vilna collections, in existence in 1794, remains unknown.¹⁷ The numismatic collection, regarded as the largest in

¹⁴ Ciołek 2005.

¹⁵ Mrozowski 2003a, p. 152.

¹⁶ Jaworski 2019.

¹⁷ Ryszard 1893, p. 9.

the latter half of the 18th century, belonged to King Stanislaus Augustus (see the contribution by P. Jaworski). Some of its holdings were purchased to endow the Krzemieniec Gymnasium where, expanded further by new additions, it was a vital resource for the founder of this school, Tadeusz Czacki, the author of the first critical overview of the history of Polish coinage. Numismatic studies were also promoted by the Warsaw Society of Letters (which had a collection of its own), of which institution Czacki was an influential member¹⁸ (see the contribution by A. Bursche).



Fig. 2. Krzemieniec Lyceum and post-Jesuite and post-Basilian churches. Postcard, 1922–39 (<http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-cKA2czm3XFw/Ucp8mF79Xkl/AAAAAADXI/WKasiUngFs4/s1600/krzemieniec+001.jpg>, with kind permission of Ms Maria Sikora)

Military campaigns of the early 19th century had led – especially where the Russian armies were involved – to the looting and appropriation of collections, private (*e.g.*, in 1812 at Nieśwież of the great Radziwiłł collection amassed since the 16th century) and public (in the first place, in Vilna, Warsaw and Krzemieniec, in 1831–2). Even the numismatic printing plates of the Society of Letters were seized. Differently in the Austrian partition where while the authorities set about Germanizing the University in Lwów in 1785, they did provide the school with a respectable numismatic collection of Pio Nicolò de Garelli of Bologna (1675–1739) and duplicates from the Imperial Münzkabinett in Vienna. These resources were subsequently used *e.g.*, during numismatic lectures read by Gottfried Uhlich (1743–94) and his successors.¹⁹ The numismatic collection of the Warsaw University was created

¹⁸ Kolendo 1998.

¹⁹ Ryszard 1893, pp. 9–10.

three times. The first (with contributions even from Emperor Nicholas I) grew to a respectable size and rank, and was used as a research and teaching resource, and fell prey to the Russians in 1832. The second collection, also sizable, in the second half of the 19th century was studied by a large group of scholars of Warsaw, but disappeared without a trace when the Russian university was evacuated from Warsaw in 1915. The third collection was lost during World War II.²⁰ Differently, the numismatic collection of the Cracow (Jagiellonian) University continued to exist, serving generations of scholars, as *e.g.*, Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie (1768–1835), Tymoteusz Lipiński (1797–1856) and Ignacy Polkowski (1833–88). It had expanded in the mid-19th century thanks to coin finds received from all three partitions²¹ – later, its role was taken over by the two Cracow museums: Archaeological and National. At the same time, fundamental contributions to the Polish numismatics from Kaźmirz Władysław Stężyński Bandtkie (*Numismatyka krajowa*, 1839–40), Ignacy Zagórski (*Monety dawnej Polski [...] z trzech ostatnich wieków*, 1845), Kaźmirz Stronczyński (see the contribution by P. Cha-brzyk), and Franciszek Piekosiński (*O monecie i stopie menniczej w Polsce w XIV i XV wieku*, 1878) were based on private collections, made available to the researchers by countesses Starzeńska and Kicka (see the contribution by K. Filipow), counts Zamoyski, Potocki, Skórczewski, Krasiński, Morsztyn, Działyński, Prince Wilhelm Radziwiłł (in 1843–70 Chairman of the Numismatic Society in Berlin), Gwalbert Pawlikowski – and collectors from the bourgeois middle class, most notably Karol Beyer (see the contribution by K. Balbuza), Antoni Ryszard and Henryk Bukowski, some of them active also as antiquity dealers. Only the bequest of Count Emeryk Czapski and the opening of his collection to the public in Cracow in the early 20th century – and also a series of complementary offerings made by Polish collectors – created a major resource base for studies in Polish numismatics undertaken in the 20th century. Furthermore, new public collections were created starting from the early years of the 20th century – of these the most notable was the collection of John III Sobieski National Museum of Lwów.

The heaviest losses suffered by Polish numismatics in consequence of World War I (1914–18) and the Russian assault in 1920 was the plundering of private collections. Apart from the collection of the Warsaw University, the numismatic collection of the Podole Museum in Tarnopol was also seized by Russians. These war losses were not included in the reparations Russia agreed to make under the Treaty of Riga. Neither did they compensate losses suffered during the partitions, estimated at 70–75,000 numismatic objects. What was returned to Poland were “more than 20 thousand” numismatic items, evaluated as “mostly an inferior equivalent”.²²

²⁰ Kolendo 2003.

²¹ Kiszka 1988.

²² „Protest” 1924, s. 71–4; „Sprawozdanie” 1927, p. 61; Kalugin & Myzgin 2019.

The period between the two World Wars brought a major increment of the potential of the Polish numismatics: new public collections (the most notable new collection was the one of the Museum in Grodno and the coins and medals cabinet of the Warsaw Mint), expanded through generous donations (see the contributions by M. Widawski and A. Romanowski), a large number of numismatic societies and an improved standard of the main numismatics periodical, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne* (published since 1889 in Cracow). On the other hand, there was an evident decline in the importance of post-classical numismatics in university education. At the same time, studies in economic history, particularly by Adam Szelański (1873-1961), Roman Grodecki (1889-1964) and Roman Rybarski (1887-1942) helped to bring together numismatics and the history of money, although these new findings were put to good use only by the younger generation of researchers.

The World War II losses extended to numismatics, both its practitioners and material resources. The only public numismatic collection of which at least a smaller portion was salvaged from the territory seized by Russia was the Ossolineum of Lwów. All larger collections had been plundered of at least some of their more outstanding pieces, others were seized completely, still others destroyed (*e.g.*, the Warsaw collections stored in the Zamoyski and Krasieński libraries). What survived were disordered collections of unprovenanced coins, and several decades were needed to restore order. Almost all of the numismatic collections from the post-German and Gdańsk territories incorporated in 1945 into Poland (including the fundamental collections of Wrocław (Breslau), Szczecin (Stettin), Gdańsk (Danzig) and Malbork (Marienburg) had been looted or were destroyed. Only in 2000 did we find out that the Marienburg-Malbork collection is still in existence, shipped to the Pushkin Museum in Moscow where it remains today.²³ The only large public collection salvaged from this carnage was the impressive collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in what is now Zgorzelec, now in the National Museum of Warsaw. An excellent Prussian collection now lost without a trace had belonged to the Counts von Lehndorff of Sztynort; a lucky survivor – the collection of the Counts Schaffgotsch of Cieplice in Silesia – is also held by the National Museum of Warsaw. Since 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany has been returning to Poland some objects identified in German collections. The losses to Polish numismatics resulting from lives lost have yet to be recorded – Polish numismatists were transported to the Kolyma, and to Auschwitz, still others – and their collections – were never heard of again.

Several years after the war, indigence, chaos and Marxist tyranny prevented Poles from a wide-scale research and museum work. Nevertheless, for the next 77 years we enjoyed peacetime, and for the last 33 – liberty. If

²³ For a partial list of losses on the territory of present-day Poland see PIEŃKOWSKI 2000; on losses suffered by numismatics of a different character, see STRZAŁKOWSKI 2019.

something hampered the collecting and study of coins in the post-Sarmatian lands, it was ill-considered legislation (see the contribution by M. Bogucki & K. Myzgin). We established academic connections with our neighbours, and hosting the present International Numismatic Congress was intended, *inter alia*, to lay the foundations for the future integration of researchers from Central and Eastern Europe. Despite the terrible events of today – and I am writing this in March 2022 – we do not abandon this goal.

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THE LAW AND PRACTICE REGARDING COIN FINDS: POLAND AND UKRAINE

Poland and Ukraine – a shared heritage

For several centuries Poland and Ukraine have shared a common history, even after their loss of independence in the late 18th century to Russia and Austria. Between 1918 and 1939 most of present-day western Ukraine lay in Poland with small fragments situated in Romania and Czechoslovakia. Obviously, the protection of the cultural heritage was subject to the legislation of each of these states. In the history of the Polish and Ukrainian legal systems there never were any separate provisions regulating the situation of coin finds as such. Coin finds were treated by the law as other antiquities, although this did not always manifest itself in practice.

The first legal provisions related to antiquities appeared in the Statutes of Lithuania (1529, 1566, 1588) and applied to most of the territory of present-day Ukraine. Similarly as in the rest of Europe of that age this legislation drew directly on Roman law, where a hoard was property of the finder, or to the finder and the owner of the land.¹ In the late 18th and 19th centuries the legal situation of such finds, both in Poland and Ukraine, was regulated by diverse legal systems – from the decrees of Peter I² and Catherine II³ through to the Prussian *Landrecht* and the Napoleonic Code.⁴ Until 1917 in Ukraine, and until 1918 in the former Russian partition of Poland the owner of the land where the discovery had been made had sole right to hoards and other treasure trove. Established in 1859, the Imperial Archaeological Commission introduced on the territory of Poland and Ukraine then under Russian control, a monetary reward to encourage finders to submit the antiquities to the Commission. This remuneration not only corresponded to the actual value of the material but also to the archaeological value and the level of rarity of the ancient object. The most significant finds were to be stored in the Hermitage, the rest were offered to other museums, or returned to their owner.⁵ When it was introduced, the Commission definitely caused an intensified influx of hoards to state institutions (for instance, in 1885 alone fifty hoards were submitted to the Commission), on

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¹ Bardach 1974, p. 760.

² *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, no. 4376, pt. 3.

³ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, no. 15447, pt. 1; Ukaz 28.6.1782; Ukaz 31.4.1785.

⁴ *Kodex* 1810, p. 162 (Book II, Section III.598).

⁵ Nosov & Musin (eds.) 2009, p. 39.

the other hand, only valuable and rare specimens from broken up hoards became available for the scholarly study. The remaining coins would be returned to their owners, or sent to the mint for recasting. The Commission was officially dissolved in 1919. From the point of view of Poland and Ukraine its activity had been harmful since the most significant archaeological objects would pass to St Petersburg; on the other hand, the records left by the Commission are invaluable⁶. In a similar manner, a significant proportion of antiquities found in the region of Poland which until 1918 remained within the borders of Prussia passed to the collections in Berlin.

Poland

The first Polish piece of legislation on archaeological objects and coins is the decree issued on 31 October 1918 by the Regency Council concerning the protection monuments of art and culture. These were said to include “coins, medals, seals, coin dies”. Under the heading “Excavations and finds” the decree stated that coins and hoards were monuments, and that their discovery should be reported to the appropriate monuments conservation office. The government reserved to itself the right to expropriate or to purchase a find.⁷ The Ordinance of the President of the Republic of 6 March 1928 on monuments protection established that “coins, medals, seals, coin dies” could be recognized as monuments by the decision of monuments conservation authorities. Such monuments could (but need not) become the property of the state through expropriation.⁸

The years of the Second World War and of the German and Soviet occupation were a period of organized plunder and destruction of all cultural heritage goods in Poland housed in state museums, private collections and found during archaeological excavations. Numismatics suffered particularly heavy losses in this respect.⁹

No separate law was enacted immediately after the end of the Second World War on the protection of archaeological objects and coin finds. Only the Decree of 1 March 1946 made it mandatory to record archaeological objects in private hands and illegal to take them out of the country without an official permit.¹⁰ This was a step in the direction of the enactment of state ownership of heritage objects. A comprehensive law on protection of cultural goods was enacted only on 15 February 1962¹¹, and with various changes remained in force until 2003. This legislation made it illegal for individuals

⁶ Potin 1967, pp. 1–87; 1971, pp. 197–256.

⁷ In order to save space, we only provide the addresses of the cited Polish legal acts on the Internet (*Internetowy system aktów prawnych*, <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/ByYear.xsp>, accessed on 11.2.2022): <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19180160036>.

⁸ <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19280290265>.

⁹ Pieńkowski 2000.

¹⁰ <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19460140099>.

¹¹ <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19620100048>.

to search for archaeological objects, and recognized all archaeological finds (coins included) as the property of the state. Since this law could not be executed without an extensive involvement of law enforcement authorities, in practice if a coin find did not represent any exceptional value, or was not spectacular in some way, the authorities tended to take little interest if it remained in private hands. The main method of acquisition of finds by museums, other than from donations, was to purchase them from their finders. Naturally, in the case of the famous Środa Śląska 1988 hoard of nearly 4,000 coins and gold royal insignia,¹² considerable law enforcement forces (militia) were engaged and the wayward finders punished. On the other hand, in some documented cases coins recovered by the militia did not pass to any public collection, misappropriated by the militia and powerful bureaucrats – many of whom were also collectors.¹³ Publications dating from this period, *e.g.*, the main scholarly journal *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* feature numerous reports about coin finds from hoards and single finds that are signed with their owners' first and last names.

Dramatic changes came in the 1990s with the introduction and steady spread of metal detectors in Poland. Metal detectorists started sweeping the fields and woodlands in search of all manner of ancient and historic objects. This led to the discovery, next to military and archaeological objects, of a great number of coin hoards and their individual finds. The archaeological community and heritage protection officers chose the simplest and – at the same time – the least effective response to this problem and pressured the state authorities to enforce the 1962 Law. This meant penalization, but without the systemic support of the existing heritage protection services. After nearly three decades of implementation of this only apparently salutary approach, the sad conclusion is that it only promoted the emergence of a huge black market in heritage objects, one which is open only to treasure hunters, dealers and collectors. A staggering number of coin hoards, individual coin finds but also all manner of significant archaeological objects have been irretrievably lost to science, as most of them were taken out of Poland. Faced with this situation, the research community became divided – some researchers and museum research staff (mostly numismatists, but a few archaeologists as well) chose to try and recover at least the information about finds, and called for a liberalization of the existing law, to enable the recording of such information. The second group of researchers (mostly archaeologists and heritage protection officers) pushed successfully for the tightening of the law which was impossible to apply thus far. On occasion even professional archaeologists might be prohibited by heritage protection officers from using metal detectors on site, with the result that a great many coins were not recovered during regular archaeological fieldwork.

¹² Witecki 2018.

¹³ Paszkiewicz 1993.

The new law on heritage protection and conservation was enacted on 23 July 2003.¹⁴ It left in place the general doctrine taking away the ownership rights to archaeological objects from both the finders and landowners. At the same time this law no longer included a definition of heritage and archaeological objects, which left interpretation to the discretion of relevant officers. The police not only took to keeping a close watch on the metal detecting community but also to investigating almost every law-abiding finder reporting a discovery to appropriate services and museums, and to demand that random collectors prove their ownership rights to antiquities in their possession. Several high-profile cases of this kind fuelled the reluctance of treasure hunters and collectors to cooperate with researchers. Starting from 2016 the police and monuments protection services have been participating in the international Operation Pandora and broadcasting each year about the number of individuals apprehended and heritage objects recovered. However, the latter tend to be early modern coins of low denominations and of limited scientific, artistic and material value. Working hand in hand with the police, heritage protection services have been offsetting this lack of success by conducting searches of researchers who document the disappearing heritage.¹⁵ The 2003 Law took away from the museums the right to accept and record finds. As a result, the 100-year long educational campaign teaching the general public to report all facts related to heritage objects to the nearest museum has gone to waste, and chance finders are even less ready to cooperate with officials who make use of the police. The flow of heritage objects to museums was stopped as well.

The current situation is therefore difficult to solve—the Polish state is mostly engaging in superficial actions unable to prevent the plundering of the archaeological heritage, and researchers are deprived of the freedom to document the disappearing remnants of information. In recent years the metal detecting community has come together, set up an official union which has been negotiating with the government in order to relax the rules and establish a compromise that satisfies metal detectorists, monuments conservators and researchers. However, given the history of the relationship so far, the chances of a compromise are slim.

Ukraine

Pursuant to the “Instruction on treasures” adopted on 14 February 1928 by the People’s Commissariat (*i.e.*, ministry) of Education, Internal Affairs and Finance of the Ukrainian SSR at a time when Ukraine was already occupied by Bolsheviks, all treasure trove became property of the state, and a finder of a treasure was required—under criminal sanction—to turn it over with-

¹⁴ <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20031621568>.

¹⁵ The case *e.g.*, of the hoard of Republican denarii found near Głubczyce; Dymowski 2016.

out delay to the local authorities or to a militia station.¹⁶ This instruction remained in force until 1 January 1964, the time when the Civil Code of the Ukrainian SSR came into effect. According to its provisions a person who discovered a treasure and handed it over to the fiscal authority was to receive a reward of up to 25 percent of the submitted objects, unless excavations and searches are the responsibility of the person submitting the discovered treasure.¹⁷ In 1984 the Finance Ministry of the USSR issued a general instruction which included among its provisions a procedure for transferring the treasure to the State Treasury and for the payment of the remuneration.¹⁸ Naturally, in practice it was rare for a treasure to be submitted, the distrust of the authorities was to blame. There were many rumours about treasures allegedly handed over to the militia which never entered a museum. If a treasure or a coin had not been submitted to the authorities immediately after discovery, it was unlikely to be offered to a museum for fear of criminal investigation. For the same reason, information about the provenance of coins submitted to museums, gold coins in particular, would often be fictitious: for instance, a coin would be described as a family heirloom inherited from grandparents.¹⁹

Another relevant piece of legislation in Ukraine of the Soviet era other than the Civil Code was the Law “on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments” (13 July 1978).²⁰ It contained definitions of “antiquities” and provided for some form of private ownership of heritage objects, but with the reservation that “ancient objects” or antiquities (archaeological finds) are subject to state registration, needed for their “full identification and assistance in their preservation”.

Although Ukraine regained its independence in 1991, the regulations of the Soviet era remained in force until 1 January 2004. In the period between 1992 and 1993, the government issued a series of documents explaining the process of submission of a treasure to the state and the payment of the remuneration, not much different from the Soviet model. At present the procedure of acquisition of a treasure is regulated by the Civil Code of Ukraine which entered into force on 1 January 2004. The Code defines a treasure thus: “money, currency values, other valuables buried in the ground or otherwise hidden, the owner of which is unknown or has lost the right of ownership by law”. A person who found such a treasure acquires ownership rights to it, unless the treasure was discovered on a property belonging to some other person. On the other hand, according to the same

¹⁶ Rudyka 2011, p. 496.

¹⁷ In order to save space, we only provide, when possible, the addresses of the cited Ukrainian legal acts on the Internet (*Zakonodavstvo Ukraïny*, <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/>; accessed on 11.2.2022): <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1540-06/conv#Text>, art. 140, part 2.

¹⁸ *Instruktsiia* № 185, 19.12.1984.

¹⁹ Revoniuk 2004, p. 14.

²⁰ <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3600-09#Text>.

law, a treasure of cultural value becomes the property of the state. The remuneration to which the finder of a treasure was entitled was lowered to at the most 20% of its value at the time of discovery, provided that the treasure had been reported immediately to the militia (police) or the local authorities and handed over. The remuneration might be divided in equal parts between the finder and the owner of the land where the treasure was found. The provisions of this article of the Civil Code do not apply to persons who discovered the treasure during excavations carried out as part of their professional or contractual duties.²¹ Illegal appropriation of someone else's property, including one having a historical value, or of a treasure is punishable by a fine of 50 times the amount of the minimum monthly income before tax, correctional labour of up to two years, or six months of detention.²²

This piece of legislation was criticised by Ukrainian lawyers and archaeologists,²³ primarily for the lack of precision of terms used in it, and the discretionality which may arise as a result. This applies in particular to the method of determining the amount of the remuneration and the reference to the time the treasure was discovered — “immediately after”. This does not encourage the voluntary submission of finds to state institutions (all the museums belong to the state). For example, the last time the D. Yavornytsky Historical Museum in Dnipro (fmr. Dnipropetrovsk) received a voluntarily offered treasure was in 1948.²⁴ According to the current Civil Code a treasure becomes property of the state only if it represents some cultural value, otherwise it becomes the property of the finder. At the same time, the Code does not provide an explicit definition of “cultural value”; consequently, the finder of a treasure is under no obligation to report its discovery regardless of whether the treasure represents a cultural value or not.²⁵ As long as the economic situation in Ukraine remains unstable, it is only natural that finders prefer to sell the treasure rather than surrender it to the state for an insubstantial reward. The upshot of all this is that the “official” route (*i.e.*, submission of archaeological finds to museums complete with information about their provenance) is used very rarely.

Cultural heritage protection in Ukraine is regulated today by two other laws: “On the Protection of Cultural Heritage”²⁶ and “On the Protection of Archaeological Heritage”.²⁷ They provide the following definition of what is “a monument of a cultural or an archaeological heritage” – an object listed in the State Register of Immovable Landmarks of Ukraine. This defi-

²¹ <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/435-15/conv#Text>, art. 343.

²² <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2341-14#Text>, art. 193.

²³ Akulenko 2003; Revoniuk 2004, p. 16; Rudyka 2011, p. 502; Levada 2018.

²⁴ Revonyuk 2004, p. 16.

²⁵ Levada 2018.

²⁶ <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1805-14/conv#Text>.

²⁷ <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1626-15/conv#Text>.

nition creates a legal loophole because, in contrast with the Soviet legislation, this law does not use the general terms “antiquities”, there is also the term “heritage monument”, understood as an object listed in the Register. However, from the legal and practical point of view it is impossible to prove the relationship between a specific item found in a private collection, a coin for instance, and a specific archaeological site entered in the Register. Because of this most collectors in Ukraine mostly declare that their collection contains no archaeological objects.²⁸ This state of affairs had an extremely negative effect on the current level of coin finds recording in Ukraine.

The use of metal detectors by amateurs to search for ancient artefacts goes back in Ukraine to the early 1990s but has spread the most over the last decade. To be sure, in 2010 the Ukrainian legislation did make it illegal using metal detectors without a special permit;²⁹ only the possession itself of this device is not illegal. Taken together with the flaws in the legislation on the cultural heritage indicated earlier, this has led to a large-scale unrestrained metal detector use in Ukraine. This in turn generated a great market in antiquities, and led to the creation of a prodigious number of private collections. The fact that none of these collections has been registered by the state significantly complicates tracing the circulation of antiques in the country and the registration of the monetary finds which enter these collections.

Created in 2005 the metal detector user site and internet auction Violity is currently the largest internet website for the exchange of information about finds of antiquities, their purchase and sale.³⁰ The internet auction does not require sellers to confirm the legal origin of coins. On the contrary – selling or buying an item on Violity is sufficient evidence that a given item is legal. Occasionally, to confirm authenticity of an item, it comes under discussion on the forum. Hundreds of coins are published daily. In 2014, as part of an experiment, K. Myzgin, M. Ovcharenko, D. Filatov and M. Filatova downloaded, in just one year, from the general section “Numismatics” and from the section “Coins of Ancient states” on Violity nearly 36,000 ancient coins (only from single finds, not hoards). Archaeological fieldwork carried out that same year in Ukraine (including Crimea) yielded only 84 ancient coin finds.

It goes without saying that most of the coin finds published and subsequently auctioned off on Violity derive from archaeological sites. Since this information is not given on the website, Violity cannot be said to violate the Ukrainian legislation.

²⁸ Levada 2018.

²⁹ *Закон України “Про охорону археологічної спадщини” (Закон України “Про охорону археологічної спадщини”)*, as note 27, art. 10 (edition 9.9.2010).

³⁰ <https://violity.com>; <https://forum.violity.com>.

As a direct consequence of the existence in Ukraine of a huge market in antiquities and the imperfections of the Ukrainian legislation they are smuggled out of the country. This applies in the first place to coins. One example are gold and gold-plated barbarian imitations of Roman coins. For instance, between 2019 and 2021 the Leu Numismatik auction house sold at three of its auctions 171 gold or gold-plated imitations.³¹ Today, thanks to the research of Ukrainian numismatists,³² and to the outcomes of the project IMAGMA³³ it is known that at least 90% of these imitations were previously published and sold on the Ukrainian Violity forum, which means that in all likelihood they are Ukrainian finds smuggled across the border.

The community of Ukrainian treasure hunters is mixed. Some of its members are happy to share information about their finds, and sometimes even to hand them over to the state. The last such case has been a hoard of thirty-two silver coins of Kievan Rus found near Horodnytsa, a village in the Zhytomyr oblast.³⁴ However, these are exceptional cases.

So far, there is little scope for improving the Ukrainian legislation on the protection of its cultural heritage. One obstacle is the uncompromising attitude of the Archaeology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine to amateur finds, in line with the recommendation of the “Code of Ethics of a Professional Archaeologist”³⁵ to avoid cooperating with collectors or metal detectorists. Thus, such finds, even if confirmed, are not treated by archaeologists as a source, and sometimes their publication may be forbidden. Meanwhile, the registration of amateur finds is the only way to get bulk information about new coin finds.

Conclusions

The main legal acts in Ukraine and Poland have had quite similar repercussions, and a similar rhythm and evolutionary direction, as they were largely the result of the imposition after the Second World War of the Soviet model, with its view that officials and the police are better equipped to manage heritage objects (archaeological and coin finds included) than the general public. And while the tenor of the legislation remained similar, substantial changes in the practice of finds recording were introduced after the fall of communism. In Poland, the activity of more efficient law enforcement authorities and heritage protection officials, refusing to accept technological

³¹ <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=sale&sid=3158&cid=94206>;
<https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=sale&sid=4187&cid=127728>;
<https://www.bidr.com/auctions/leu/browse?a=2018&c=43108>

³² *Katalog varvaskikh podrazhaniĭ rimskim monetam*, <http://barbarous-imitations.narod.ru/>.

³³ *IMAGMA: Imagines Maiestatis. Barbarian Coins, Elite Identities and the Birth of Europe*, <https://imagma.eu/>

³⁴ <https://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-culture/3089491-na-beregu-reki-sluc-nasli-klad-s-serebranyimi-monetami-vremen-kievskoj-rusi.html>

³⁵ *Kodeks etyky profesiĭnoho arkeoloha*. This document has only the nature of a recommendation.

and social change, with time effectively brought the flow of reporting on finds almost to a standstill and the vast majority of these items enter illegal traffic, while attempts to use information about them put researchers in serious trouble. In Ukraine, as a result of trade in ancient and historical coins not being regulated by the State, these finds sometimes end up on the black market, but most of the time they can be registered and reclaimed for research.

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FAMOUS NUMISMATISTS

Jarosław BODZEK*

STANISŁAW GRZEPSKI (GRZEBSKI, GREPSIUS) (1524-1570) AND HIS INTEREST IN ANCIENT NUMISMATICS

The history of interest in ancient numismatics in Poland goes back to the Renaissance age and the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Some of its professors were apparently the first Polish coin collectors and scholars familiar with ancient coins; one of them was definitely Maciej of Miechów (1457-1523), the author of *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* (1517). Another outstanding scholar was Stanisław Grzebski, or Grzebski (1524-1570; Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. A medal commemorating Stanisław Grzebski (the arms of Mława on rev.) by Stanisława Wątróbska-Frindt, Polish Numismatic and Archaeological Society, Mława Branch, State Mint Warsaw, 1981. Silvered bronze. National Museum in Krakow, no. MNK VII-MdP 5404; from the collection of Ryszard Kiersnowski; donated by Teresa Kiersnowska, Małgorzata Brykczyńska and Hubert Kiersnowski.

Born at Grzebsk (Grzebsk) in northern Mazovia to a noble family of straitened means, he would be troubled by a lack of funds and financial difficulties all his life. In the winter term of 1537-1538, Grzebski began his studies at the Krakow Academy (now, Jagiellonian University), and continued his education there until 1549, when during student riots he left the Academy and Krakow, like many of his fellow scholars. At first, he made his way abroad, to Wrocław in Silesia, and next returned to his native Grzebsk where he made a living as a private tutor. In 1551 he again ventured abroad,

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to Königsberg, a major university centre, but there is no evidence of his official association with the university there. In 1553 he took up the post of rector of a school run by Moravian Brethren at Koźminek in Greater Poland, where he stayed until 1556.

Grzepski's itinerant life was largely the effect of the unsettled situation in Poland and of the Krakow Academy at a time when Protestant and Counter-Reformation ideas and respective world-views were in collision. Sympathetic at first to the Protestant movements, Stanisław Grzepski ultimately decided to return to Krakow and passed the bachelor's degree exam there in 1557, after which he once again went back to Grzebsk.

Finally, having returned to the Krakow Academy in 1562, he passed his master's exam and obtained a degree in liberal arts. Starting from the summer term of that year, Stanisław Grzepski began giving lectures, at first, for free. In 1564, when classes were suspended due to an epidemic, he went to Warmia where he obtained the patronage of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius. Next, after a brief stay in his native parts in 1565, he returned to Krakow and that same year became a member of Collegium Minus and was appointed in 1567 to the Collegium Maius as a Regius Professor. He would lecture at the Academy until his death in 1570.

With an extensive and thorough education in the humanities, Grzepski was in the main a philologist – fluent in Latin, Greek and Hebrew – but was competent in philosophy, mathematics and geometry, a historian and a numismatist, as well as an enthusiast of Antiquity. He would acquire his knowledge and skills through direct contacts with leading intellectuals of that epoch, and also through self-study, primarily reading. He was fortunate to come into contact with leading scholars of his age then active in Poland and its neighbours, although not all these connections are fully confirmed by the sources. Among them were Piotr Roizjusz (born Pedro Ruiz de Moros), Szymon Marycjusz, Jan of Trzciana, Andrzej Winkler, Wawrzyniec Discordia, Marcin Glossa, Pietro Illicino and Franciszek Stankar.

Grzepski drew his knowledge from books, for the most part from his own library which he continued to expand all his life. Through reading he presumably became proficient in Greek and Hebrew. Grzepski bequeathed a part of his library to the Krakow University, another portion to the Jesuit college in Brunsberga (today: Braniewo), and the remainder to Gabriel of Szadek who later offered it the Jesuit college in Poznań.

The evolution of Grzepski's views and thinking was influenced the most by the great French humanist Guillaume Budé. While they never met in person, Grzepski had Budé's works in his library: *Commentarii linguae graecae* (the 1530 edition) and *De asse et partibus eius* (1514). Grzepski's philosophical views, morals, ethics and the pursuit of knowledge and excellence in this regard, an ascetic life style not wholly imposed by his straitened means, made him stand out and won him the respect of friends, students and

acquaintances. One of these was Jan Kochanowski, the most outstanding poet of the Polish Renaissance, and Stanisław Miłoszewski, later secretary to the king. Having sided with the Reformation movement in his youth Grzepski in the end chose to keep to the Catholic Church. It seems that each time he had been discouraged by the religious dogmatism and partisanship which went counter to his own views and attitude. In his lectures Grzepski focused on explaining works of ancient Greek literature, many of them introduced for the first time at the Krakow Academy. Among them were the writings of Hesiod, Herodotus, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Lucian and Plutarch.

The written legacy of Grzepski is relatively modest and dates from the final decade of his life. It comprises three works. The earliest of these is a translation of two poems of Gregory of Nazianzus published in 1565: *Duo poemata Gregorii Nazianzeni* (Krakow); dedicated to Cardinal Hosius, his patron, this work demonstrated Grzepski's skill as a philologist and his views on ethics. His second work concerned geometry (*Geometria, to jest miernicka nauka, po polsku krótko napisana z greckich i łacińskich ksiąg*) and was published in Krakow in 1566. This was the first Polish technical work to combine a discussion of theory and practice. Grzepski's interest in metrology is reflected also by his last and most extensive work, *De multiplici siclo et talento hebraico. Item de mensuris, tam aridorum quam liquidorum*, published in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin in 1568 (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, Grzepski had completed a large portion of this book before he wrote his "Geometry" when living in Mława in 1564–1565, having been inspired to address this subject by Guillaume Budé's *De asse* (1514).

Somewhat inconsistently with the title of his work Grzepski did not limit his discussion to the metrology of Hebrew units of measurement. He examined his subject against a broad comparative background, starting with Rome, through Greece, Near East, Egypt and concluding with references to the Polish metrology. Another subject addressed at more length in the same work were monetary systems, which makes *De multiplici siclo ...* possibly the first Polish scholarly work on numismatics. Grzepski himself considered his study as a supplement and extension of Budé's contribution. Not unexpectedly, he dedicated a chapter to the work of this French humanist. While in his analysis of metrological systems Grzepski primarily based on ancient sources, he nevertheless referred to modern authors, voicing occasionally views opposite to theirs. He supplemented his philological analysis of texts with what he knew of history and the material of interest (coins).

Certainly, in his study of ancient numismatics Grzepski did not limit himself to theory. He had a small collection of ancient coins, and this he presumably used in his studies, possibly also as a teaching aid. Grzepski would donate some part of his collection to the University library. Unfortunately, no detailed list or a catalogue of this donation survives. The only brief reference at hand is to a gold coin of Philip of Macedon, and to a few Roman

Imperial silver coins. Their exact number and names of issuers are unknown. Grzepski himself mentions Roman denarii in his possession (*De multiplici siclo ...*, p. 19). However, these references are too unforthcoming to identify the number of the Roman coins in Grzepski's collection and their types. To this day, they have not been identified in the collection of the Jagiellonian University Museum, the successor to the tradition of the collections of the Jagiellonian Library.

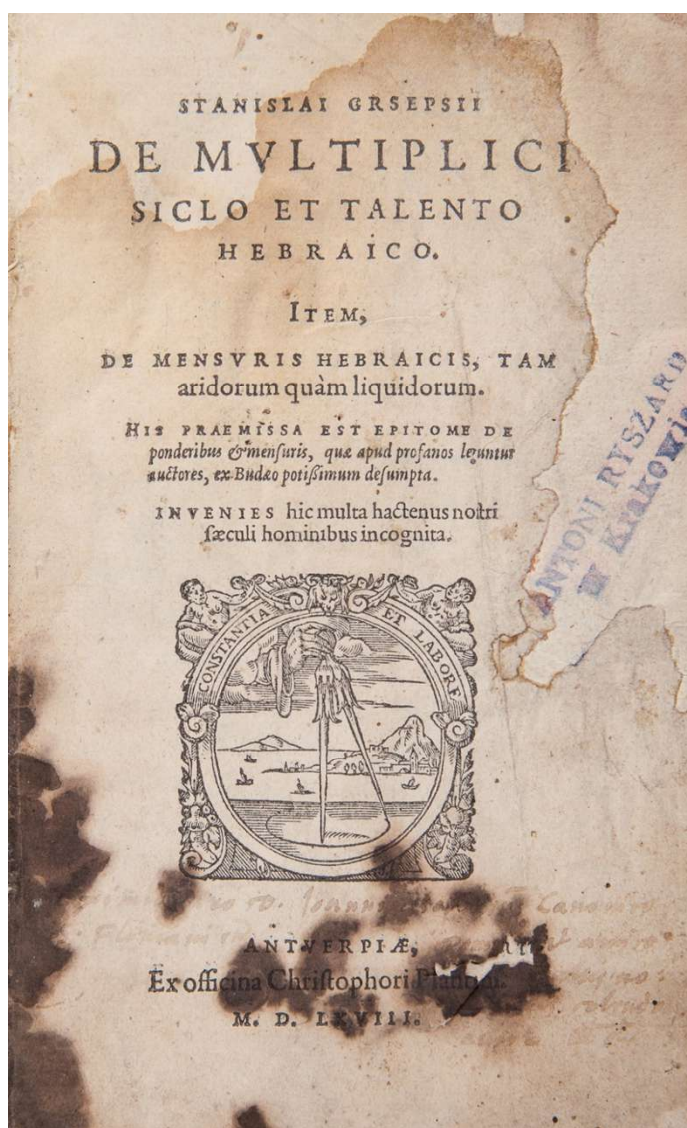


Fig. 2. Stanisław GRZEPSKI, *De multiplici siclo et talento hebraico. Item, de mensuris hebraicis, tam aridorum quam liquidorum* (Antverpiæ, 1568); title page; National Museum in Krakow, MNK VIII-XVI.1630.

Grzepski's interest extended to coins housed in other collections. In his *De multiplici siclo ...* (pp. 42 and 94) he mentioned a gold coin in the collection of the Castellan Jan Krzysztof Tarnowski with a weight corresponding to 10 aurei and the legend ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑ-ΧΟΥ. Other collectors of ancient coins were associated with the court of Castellan Tarnowski, e.g., the physician Stanisław Różanka. Presumably, Grzepski was in contact with at least some of these fellow numismatists. In his *De multiplici siclo ...* he also referred to genuine and counterfeit gold and silver coins of Macedon. And, like other collectors of his day, Grzepski was aware of the discoveries of Roman coins on Polish soil.

Grzepski's intellect and achievements soon gained recognition in the Polish scholarship. The first biographies penned by scholars Szymon Starowolski and Jan Brożek date to the first half of the 17th century. Another wave of interest in the person of Grepsius occurred during the Enlightenment, followed by the next one in the 20th century. However, only in the latest half century, thanks to Stefan Skowronek [2007], Andrzej Abramowicz [1981] and Czesław Horski [1974], the numismatic interests of Grzepski have been examined more in-depth.

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Aleksander BURSCHE*

TADEUSZ CZACKI (1765-1813)

Tadeusz Czacki (Fig. 1) was born and died in Volhynia, the region where he also had lived much of his active life. Until the late 18th century, Volhynia used to be a south-central province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, incorporated as a result of partitions into the Russian Empire, and lies at present in north-western Ukraine.

Czacki was an outstanding historian, bibliophile, economist, lawyer, political activist and pedagogue. His wide-ranging interests which included history, law, economy, pedagogy and collecting led him to develop yet another passion – numismatics.

As a young man Czacki was an active participant in the political and economic life of the late reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, the last king of Poland (1764-95). His professional life centred on institutions concerned with state finances – the Precious Metal Commission (*Komisja Kruszcowa*), and later, the Commission of the Treasury of the Crown (*Komisja Skarbu Koronnego*). Czacki's interest in currency, coinage and numismatics presumably dates back to this particular period.

In July 1792, Czacki resigned from the Treasury Commission and engaged in large-scale bibliophile and collecting activity.¹ Intending to dedicate himself to historiography he collected national memorabilia, historical sources and materials. He started to amass his impressive collection of books and manuscripts using different methods when still living in Warsaw, but also during his many inspections and visits paid to monastic and private family libraries.² One of such visits in late 1792 was to the Benedictine Abbey on the *Święty Krzyż* (Holy Cross) Mountain renowned for its library. It was there where the *Kazania Świętokrzyskie* ("The Holy Cross Sermons") survived – a manuscript written in Polish thought to date to the first half of the 14th century. In this library Czacki came across a reference to the discovery in 1779, in the ruins of the old church there, of medieval coins (a few of which he acquired for his numismatic collection), and another, of several dozen gold and a few hundred silver coins, allegedly of Julius Caesar and Augustus.³ It is a reasonable guess that these

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¹ Danowska 2006, pp. 41-141.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 150-61.

³ Osiński 1851, pp. 29 & 133-4; Kolendo 1998b; Danowska 1999, pp. 47-8; Danowska 2006, pp. 154-5.

references are what sparked Czacki's interest in coin finds that he would continue to develop in the years to come. He used the second of these records some years later when he wrote his textbook on the subject of coinage in Poland and Lithuania,⁴ one of the first numismatic studies in Polish intended for the pupils of the school at Krzemieniec.



Fig. 1. Silver medal with a bust of Tadeusz Czacki, dated 1809, by Carl Meissner and Fëdor Pëtrovich Tolstoï. Auction house Warszawskie Centrum Numizmatyczne, Sale no. 41, 14 November 2009, lot 983, scale 80%
source: https://wcn.pl/archive/41_0983?q=czacki (accessed 20.9.2021).

In 1795 Czacki brought his collections to his family estate at Poryck in Volhynia (now Pavlivka in Ukraine) housing them in a separate dedicated building. His library alone numbered c. 4,000 manuscripts, 12,000 volumes of works by Polish authors, 34,000 foreign, c. 20,000 pamphlets, almost 500 maps and engravings. There was also a collection of 1,653 coins and medals, 84 works of art and curiosities, and a wealth of other memorabilia.⁵

When the Polish state ceased to exist, abolished by Russia, Austria and Prussia, Czacki helped to establish the Warsaw Society of Letters (*Towarzystwo Warszawskie Przyjaciół Nauk*) and was an active member of this organisation founded in 1800 and operating under different names until its disestablishment by the Russian authorities in 1832.⁶ For its entire duration the Society promoted learning and sciences and helped to keep Polish culture alive. It had its own numismatic collection, amassed mostly from donations, which included many coins from finds made on the territory of the defunct Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

⁴ *O rzeczy mennicznej w Polsce i Litwie, Czacki 1835*, p. 19; Kolendo 1998b.

⁵ Kolendo 1998c, p. 146; Danowska 1999, p. 50; Danowska 2006, pp. 184–91.

⁶ Danowska 2006, pp. 201–11.

The *Roczniki* (Annals) published by the Society, numerous publications contributed by its eminent members (e.g., J.Ch. Albertrandi and J. Lelewel), and surviving archival sources, all prove that since its early days the Society attached a great importance to numismatics, the recording of coin finds in particular.⁷

Czacki's monumental study in two volumes, possibly his best known contribution: "On Lithuanian and Polish laws", republished twice and translated into Russian, contains an extensive chapter on Polish and Lithuanian coinage.⁸ Having the nature of a separate comprehensive monograph of Polish numismatics, the chapter gives a review of the main denominations, and includes a fascinating reference to Roman silver coins discovered on Polish soil, most of which were melted down by goldsmiths, and known to the common people as "St. John's heads".⁹ Czacki provided more details in a supplement to this chapter: *Wykład monet polskich i litewskich* ("Polish and Lithuanian coins explained") and thirteen plates of illustrations, with 215 copperplate images of the obverse and reverse of coins dated from Antiquity to 1794, the work of Aleksander Orłowski, a respected artist of that period. There is also a table showing the converted values of coins, 1300–1786.¹⁰ In volume II, Czacki included a section on finds of Kufic coins from Lithuania ("A plate illustrating Kufic coins unearthed in Lithuania herein explained, regarded by the common folk as tokens of a pact with the Devil"), complete with prints of the obverse and reverse of nine coins, the work of Jan Ligber.¹¹ The whole publication confirms Czacki's erudition and his command of the subject.¹²

Even so, Czacki is best known as a pedagogue, the organiser and co-founder, in 1805, of the Volhynian Gymnasium at Krzemieniec (now Kremenets in Ukraine; Fig. 2), described on occasion as "Volhynian Athens". Czacki's dream, which partly came true, was for the school to serve as a major, well-appointed and respected centre of research on a university level. Czacki planned to supplement the already ambitious curriculum with lectures on archaeology, antiquities and numismatics. With this in mind, after some lengthy negotiations in 1805, he purchased the great library of King Stanislaus Augustus (15,580 items), the royal collection of coins and medals, complete with a separate numismatic library (221 volumes). The most valuable part of the royal collection were 8,000 ancient coins, including a large group of gold specimens, many of them definitely deriving from Polish finds.

⁷ Kolendo 1998a; Kolendo 1998c, p. 144.

⁸ Czacki 1800–1801, vol. I, pp. 111–78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112, note 530.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. i–xxvii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, I–VI + pl. XIV between pp. 140 and 141, *Wykład tablicy monet kuficznych znajdujących w Litwie, od gminu zakładem przymierza z czartem nazwanych*.

¹² Wrzosek 1913; Danowska 1999, p. 48; Danowska 2006, pp. 214–19.

The Krzemieniec collection continued to expand thanks to donations from private benefactors, including T. Czacki himself, whereas Sebastian Badeni offered twenty gold medals with portraits of Polish kings, minted in the late reign of Stanislaus Augustus, rescued from recasting in 1794. The list of donators includes names of leading Polish intellectuals and members of the aristocracy. In late 1810 the Krzemieniec collection reportedly numbered more than 16,000 coins, about half of them ancient issues. Also included in the same collection were 335 impressions made from Greek, Roman and modern engraved gems, and a group of valuable seals offered by Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki.¹³

The numismatic collection in Krzemieniec surpassed all other early 19th-century collections in Poland when it comes to the number of coins. It served as an object of study for scholars respected for their contribution to numismatics as *e.g.*, Joachim Lelewel and Tadeusz Czacki himself. The library at Krzemieniec was similarly well provided with literature on numismatic subjects. Next to the collection of books and manuscripts of Stanislaus Augustus, T. Czacki had brought to Krzemieniec quite a few other numismatic works. The cabinet of coins and medals was made available by the school not only to its teachers and pupils, but – on Sunday afternoons – also to visitors. As was traditional during that age, the walls of the Cabinet were decorated with archaeological artefacts, as well as with Greek and Latin inscriptions, some of them deriving from the region of Ruse (Roman *Sexaginta Prista*), now in Bulgaria, and Olbia, now in Ukraine.¹⁴

After 1828 the fortunes of the Krzemieniec collection, including the royal collection, took a turn for the worse: it was transferred to the University in Vilna, and next, after the failure of the November Uprising, was handed over by the Russian authorities to Saint Vladimir University established in Kyïv in 1834, and subsequently placed in the Kyïv Monastery of the Caves. For reasons unknown the collections were not returned to Poland under the Treaty of Riga concluded after the Polish–Bolshevik war of 1920, unlike many treasures of the Polish national cultural heritage confiscated at the time of the Partitions of Poland which survived on the territory of Soviet Russia.¹⁵ Today much of the Krzemieniec collections, including manuscripts and books, is in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in Kyïv.

Wishing to instil in the pupils of the Krzemieniec school an interest in numismatics, in 1810 Czacki wrote a textbook on the coinage of Poland and Lithuania (*O rzeczy menniczej w Polsce i Litwie*). Originally intended for publication by J. Zawadzki in Vilna, in the Russian partition, this textbook ultimately came out in 1835 in the Free City of Cracow, more than twenty

¹³ Wrzosek 1913; Kolendo 1998c; Danowska 1999, pp. 48–50; Danowska 2006, pp. 262–325.

¹⁴ Kolendo 1998c, pp. 147 & 149.

¹⁵ Danowska 1999, p. 53.

years after Czacki's death, and in 1845 in Poznań, in the Prussian partition.¹⁶ In his treatise Czacki explained the object of numismatics, the uses of this academic discipline and its connection to economy, describing its evolution and introducing the figures of known collectors and scholars (with a list of numismatists active in late 18th and early 19th century); he quoted numerous sources and extended his discussion of metal coins also to leather and paper money. More than once Czacki refers to the coins and medals housed in the Krzemieniec collection. His treatise was a groundbreaking, ambitious attempt to present the history of coinage in Poland in the context of Europe. In his work Czacki listed finds of ancient and medieval coins recovered on the territory of the defunct Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, both hoards and single finds. He recorded not only the region and circumstances of their discovery, and their date of issue but also the source of information about these finds and their subsequent fate. In this Czacki may be recognized as a forerunner of Polish studies in coin finds.¹⁷ Information about coin finds contained in Czacki's study has since been used in relevant catalogues, with questions raised by some discoveries analysed in detail. A case in point is the hoard of Roman coins from the Holy Cross Mountain attributed to Julius Caesar and Augustus, another case are finds of Celtic coins from the region of the town of Zator in southern Poland.¹⁸

Tadeusz Czacki died on 8 February 1813 at Dubno (now Dubno, Ukraine) of typhoid fever, spread to the area by Napoleon's armies retreating from Moscow.¹⁹ His library and collections, once housed in Poryck, were purchased by Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in 1818 and then passed to the Czartoryski Museum in Puławy.²⁰

¹⁶ Czacki 1835; Czacki 1845.

¹⁷ Czacki 1835, vol. 1, pp. 15-18; Czacki 1845, pp. 374-8; cf. Wrzosek 1913; Kolendo 1998c, pp. 146-7; Danowska 1999, p. 49; Danowska 2006, pp. 301-2.

¹⁸ Kolendo 1999-2000.

¹⁹ Danowska 2006, pp. 327-9.

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Mariusz MIELCZAREK*

JOACHIM LELEWEL (1786–1861)

Joachim Lelewel – great Polish patriot, notable historian, respected numismatist – was a scholar of broad interests. Next to ancient history¹ his studies extended to the medieval and early modern age. Other interests included bibliography and cartography, historical geography, numismatics and the history of coinage and its circulation, from the ancient through to the modern age.² In his studies – and this was new for his times – Lelewel had a preference for an in-depth and impartial criticism of historical sources, and took interest in social issues. Not limiting himself to the written sources he drew on the results of archaeological work³ and published coin finds. This occasionally brought him into conflict with other scholars who tended to focus on mere descriptions of events. According to his contemporaries Joachim Lelewel aspired to an in-depth and modern approach to history.⁴ While Poland's past was his main concern he took interest also in the history of India, Scandinavian countries and Spain.



Fig. 1. A portrait medal of Joachim Lelewel commissioned by the Polish Archaeological and Numismatic Society, Łódź Branch, State Mint Warsaw. Design: Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz. Bronze. Collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of Łódź (scale 75%).

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¹ Zawadzki 1952.

² From a very rich literature, see e.g.: Haisig 1961.

³ Abramowicz 1991, pp. 13–6 & 19–30.

⁴ Abramowicz 1968, p. 214; Więckowska 1980, p. 16.

Joachim Lelewel (Fig. 1) pursued his scholarly activities during a singular period in the history of Poland – after the loss of its independence and during a struggle by Poles to regain it. At first Lelewel was active mainly in Warsaw, then in the autonomous Kingdom of Poland, and in Vilna, incorporated into Russia – he had studied in Vilna (starting from 1804), and began his research and teaching in that city. Between 1815 and 1819 he gave lectures on general history at what was still the Polish University of Vilna, and in 1819–1821 he resided in Warsaw where he was associated with the Warsaw University Library (lecturing in history and giving a course in bibliography at the Department of Sciences and Fine Arts). In 1821 he returned to Vilna where he obtained the degree of full professor and, a year later, he took up the Chair of History of the university there. In 1824 he was removed from this post by the authorities for promoting patriotic views. After the defeat of the November Uprising in 1831 (at which time he was a member of the National Government) he emigrated to France. Forced by the French authorities to leave, he took up residence in Brussels, Belgium.⁵

Joachim Lelewel's interest in coins and in the history of coinage started in his family home. His father, Karol Maurycy Lelewel (1748–1830), in 1778–1794 treasurer general of the National Education Commission (institution central for the Polish education), had built up a coin collection, which he subsequently offered to the Warsaw University Library. He is credited with passing his interest in numismatics on to his sons. Joachim's younger brother, Prot (1790–1884) recalled the lessons learned from his father's collection and his guidance. He went on to write a well-informed report about archaeological discoveries made near the family estate at Wola Cygowska.⁶

One of the professors of the Vilna University was Ernest Groddeck (1762–1825), a graduate of the University of Göttingen. His lectures on the Greek language and literature included references to archaeology and numismatics of ancient Greece and Rome.⁷ Their impact on young Joachim Lelewel is evident, and for many years to come he would remain in correspondence with E. Groddeck, sharing his professor's view that numismatics is a branch of philology, in a broad sense of this term.

J. Lelewel put his knowledge of numismatics to good use in the Krzemieniec Gymnasium (later, Volhynian Lyceum), established by Tadeusz Czacki (1765–1813; see A. Bursche, in this volume), where he worked from March 1809 until December 1810.⁸ The Lyceum had among its resources some of the holdings from the coin collection of King Stanislaus Augustus (1732–1798), who had reigned in 1764–1795. During his stay in Krzemieniec,

⁵ See Wysokińska & Pirard 1987.

⁶ Lelewel 1966, p. 42; Kolendo 1986, pp. 41–7.

⁷ Oko 1936, pp. 402–4; Abramowicz 1992, pp. 6–8.

⁸ Kolendo 1998b, p. 145.

J. Lelewel devoted himself to some duties associated with numismatic materials; he took part in unpacking and organising the royal collection. For many years to come he would be in correspondence with F. Skarbek-Rudzki, the curator of the numismatic collection in Krzemieniec.⁹

In 1822 Joachim Lelewel returned to Vilna. As a lecturer at its University he continued to pursue his interest in numismatics. This discipline became a fixed element of his university lectures. These enjoyed a great popularity at time, drawing an audience of nearly 400 students. In Vilna, J. Lelewel studied engraving with J. Saunders, another lecturer of the University of Vilna. He put the skills acquired at the time to good use when preparing illustrations to his later works on numismatics.

A likely turning point in the numismatic interests of Joachim Lelewel¹⁰ came with the discovery in 1824 of a hoard of early medieval coins at Trzebuń (in Stara Biała commune, Płock district, Mazowieckie voivodship).¹¹ This treasure included Arabic, Sasanian, German, Czech, Moravian, English and Scandinavian coins. The study of these coins led J. Lelewel to develop an interest in Sasanian and Islamic coins. This is suggested by remarks found in his correspondence (three letters addressed to F. Skarbek-Rudzki, his acquaintance from Krzemieniec) on the subject of the hoard from Orsza (today's Vorsha, Belarus) discovered in 1822.¹² Upon his return to Warsaw in 1824 Lelewel engaged in ordering the numismatic collection of the Warsaw Society of Letters.¹³

Living in exile, Joachim Lelewel continued developing his numismatics studies (Fig. 2). Their results became especially noticeable after his departure from France, which he did ostentatiously on foot. On his way to Belgium, he met with local bibliophiles and coin collectors, and inspected some numismatic collections.¹⁴ In August 1833 at Abbeville, he paid a visit to Jacques Boucher de Perthes (1788–1868), recognized as the founder of the French prehistoric archaeology. The two outstanding researchers were brought closer by their interest in numismatics, as suggested by the contents of their correspondence.¹⁵ At Abbeville, J. Lelewel examined the family collection of coins amassed by Jacques and his father. He made drawings of some pieces which had attracted his interest. Some coins were offered to him and he received them with the intention of passing them on to the

⁹ Kolendo 1998b, pp. 143 and 146.

¹⁰ See Abramowicz 1992, p. 9.

¹¹ Lelewel 1826; Gorlińska *et al.* 2015, pp. 445–55, no. 181.

¹² Lelewel 1835, part 3, p. 83; Kolendo 1973.

¹³ Grabski 1961; Kolendo & Męciewska 1987; Kolendo 1998a.

¹⁴ Lelewel 1835, pp. ii–iv & xii.

¹⁵ Abramowicz 1974, pp. 108–113; Abramowicz 1993, pp. 5–8; Abramowicz 1997.

museum in Warsaw.¹⁶ In the political situation of the time sending a donation directly to Warsaw was not possible; ultimately, J. Lelewel submitted these coins to the Ghent University.¹⁷ In his *Numismatique du Moyen-Age* he thanked J. Boucher de Perthes for his hospitality.¹⁸



Fig. 2. Joachim Józef Benedykt Lelewel, engraving by J[ózef] Ł[oskoczyński] (1857-1928).
Tygodnik Ilustrowany. 1886, no. 178, p. 337.

¹⁶ Abramowicz 1974, p. 108 – a letter from J. Boucher de Perthes to M..., dated 1833.

¹⁷ Abramowicz 1974, p. 17.

¹⁸ Lelewel 1835, pp iii & xii.

Another significant encounter at Abbeville was with the librarian and bibliographer F.-C. Louandre.¹⁹ In 1835 Joachim Lelewel published his work *Numismatique du Moyen-Age considérée sous le rapport du type; accompagnée d'un atlas composé de tables chronologiques, de cartes géographiques et de figures de monnaies gravées sur cuivre* in Belgium (Paris and Bruxelles). The reception of this book is confirmed eloquently by the list of its subscribers. Another notable contribution by J. Lelewel was an article on Polish coinage featured in *La Pologne illustrée* by L. Chodźko, published in Paris in 1843, republished, in Polish, in pamphlet form (*O monecie polskiej...*) in Poznań in 1862. Presenting the history of Polish coinage from its beginnings until the 18th century Lelewel drew on materials from Poland. This publication demonstrates the research method presented in Lelewel's *Numismatique du Moyen-Age*. One characteristic footnote in this work contains a reference to Tadeusz Wolański (1785-1865), a known collector of antiquities active in Greater Poland²⁰ and his collection of Polish coins which included specimens described by J. Lelewel as "made by some wit to fool the gullible". A contribution which may be said to encapsulate Joachim Lelewel's studies of the Polish coinage is his work *Pieniądze Piastów*.²¹

In concerning himself with the Middle Ages J. Lelewel did not turn his back on earlier coinage, publishing *Etudes numismatiques et archéologiques*, premier volume, *Type gaulois, ou celtique*, Bruxelles 1841. Lelewel is rightly counted among the pioneers of Celtic numismatics.²²

He died in Paris and was buried in Montmartre Cemetery. In 1929 his remains were taken to Vilna and buried in Rossa (Rasa) cemetery.

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¹⁹ Abramowicz 1974, p. 17; Abramowicz 1993, p. 7.

²⁰ Abramowicz 1970, pp. 64-72; Suchodolski 1997.

²¹ Lelewel 1851, pp. 331-92.

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Piotr CHABRZYK*

KAZIMIERZ STRONCZYŃSKI (1809-1896)

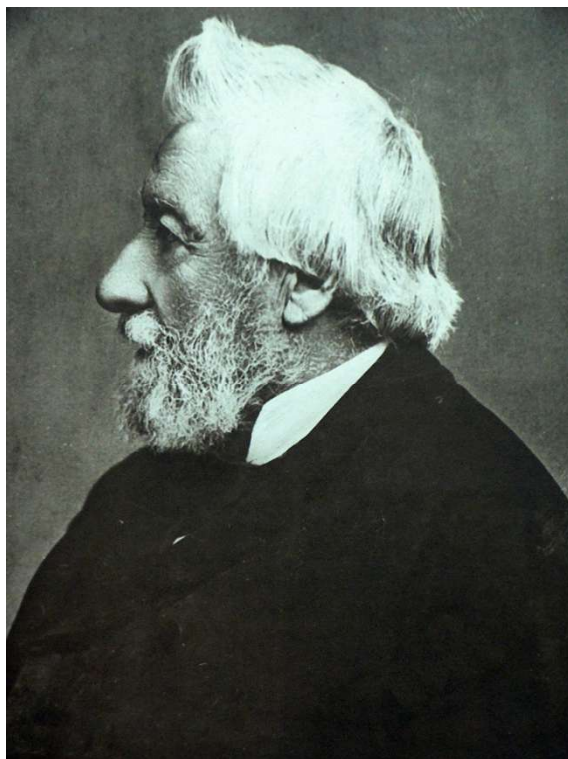


Fig. 1. Kazimierz Stronczyński. A photograph from the collections of the Museum in Piotrków Trybunalski

Kazimierz Jakub Stronczyński (Fig. 1) was born in Piotrków (now, Piotrków Trybunalski), on 26 July 1809.¹ His father, Wincenty Stronczyński (1778–1869), was a soldier in the Napoleonic armies, a commissary of General Louis Friant. He also worked at the Bank of Poland² and as a tutor of sons of Feliks Łubieński, Minister of Justice in the Duchy of Warsaw.³ In a later period, starting from 1842, Wincenty Stronczyński served as a justice of the peace of the District of Piotrków. Kazimierz received his early schooling at

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¹ Czyżewski 2019, pp. 179–87.

² *Sądownictwo w Królestwie Polskiem, magistratury sądowe, ich skład i etat pracy, dla użytku urzędowego w roku 1853, 1854*, p. 73.

³ Kuczyński 2006, p. 366.

Pajęczno, and subsequently, between 1817 and 1823, in Piotrków in a lower secondary school of the Piarist Order, with a year's break when he attended a school in Wieluń.⁴ The first reference to the young scholar appears in a supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of 8 August 1818, where the Stronczyński brothers, Kazimierz and Felix, of the first form, receive an honorary mention for progress in studies.⁵ Stronczyński completed his secondary education in 1825 when he passed his matriculation exam at a Piarist school in Warsaw. That same year he enrolled in the University of Warsaw Faculty of Philosophy, department of natural sciences.⁶ He completed his university studies in 1828 and took up employment in the Voivodeship School of Practical Pedagogy in Warsaw as a teacher of nature sciences and chemistry in a Sunday Crafts School. As a proponent of the Polish Positivism he was not in favour of the armed struggle against the Russian Partitioning power and did not join in the November Uprising. On March 1831 he found employment at the Bank of Poland.

The first proof of Stronczyński's interest in numismatics is a manuscript dated 1831 on the results of a search made of the Public Records of the Kingdom of Poland where he identified all manner of documents concerned with the Polish coinage.⁷ While making his way up the ranks at the Bank of Poland he did not neglect zoology. In 1835 he published *Rozrywki entomologiczne dla młodzieży* ("Entomology to entertain the youth").⁸ In 1836 he started working at the Heralds Office of the Kingdom of Poland attached to the Second Council of State. The purpose of this office was to confirm noble status through a thorough analysis of documentary evidence to establish a noble pedigree. The work on these documents led Stronczyński to develop interest in another area — palaeography. Its effect was the publication in 1839 of a book containing the drawings of documents and seals from 1228–1536.⁹ In the following years Stronczyński would publish a work on mammals and a re-edition of a Polish manual on bird hunting from 1584. In a later period, the main focus of his activity was on art history and numismatics. Most likely, these interests had been influenced by Felix Bentkowski, the father of Klementyna, whom Kazimierz Stronczyński married in 1834. Professor Bentkowski established the Coin Cabinet of the Royal University of Warsaw, and was an author of a catalogue of medals found in university collections.¹⁰ An apparent breakthrough for Stronczyński came in 1844, when he was put at the head of a Delegation entrusted with making a comprehensive inventory of monuments found on the territory of the (Congress) Kingdom of Poland. In the course of nine years the Delegation

⁴ Stronczyński 1884, pp. 208–241.

⁵ *Dodatek do Gazety Warszawskiej*, no. 63, 8 August 1818, p. 1678.

⁶ Bieliński 1912, p. 278.

⁷ Stronczyński, MS.

⁸ Stronczyński 1835.

⁹ Stronczyński 1839.

¹⁰ Bentkowski 1830.

completed descriptions and illustrations of monuments found in 386 localities.¹¹ Despite his many activities, Kazimierz Stronczyński did not give up his numismatic interests and in 1847 he published his first and most influential work on numismatics: *Coinage of the Piasts from the earliest age until 1300 explained through the analysis of contemporary sources and excavated evidence with a comparison of coin types* (Fig. 2).¹²

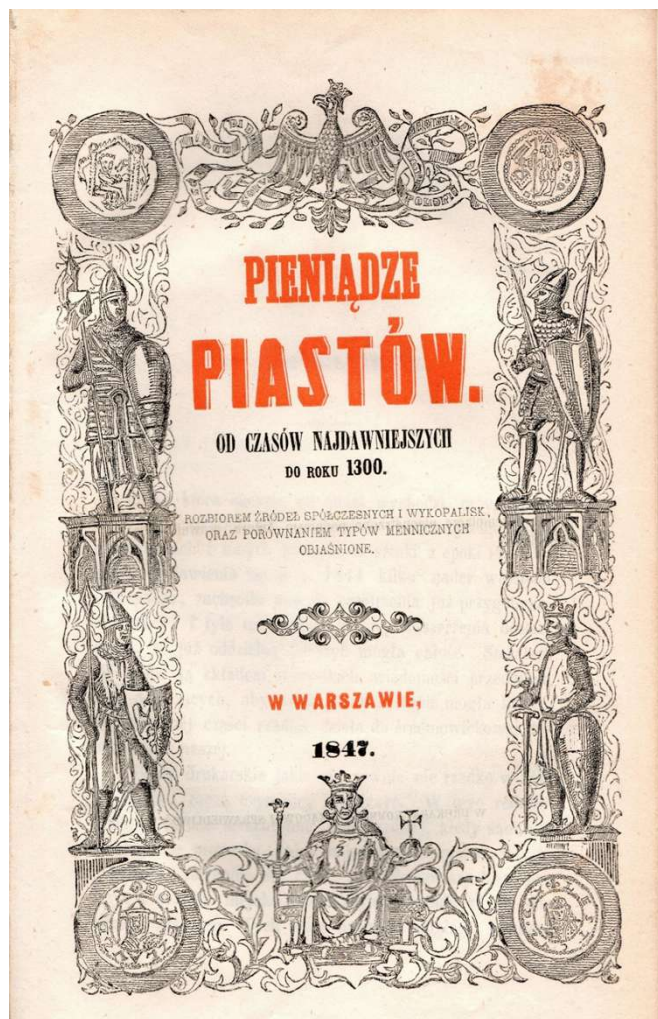


Fig. 2. Title page of Stronczyński's work published in 1847: *Coinage of the Piasts from the earliest age until 1300*. Library of the Numismatics Department of the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum of Łódź.

¹¹ His work in several volumes: *Kazimierza Stronczyńskiego opisy i widoki zabytków w Królestwie Polskim (1844-1855)* was published in 2009-2014 by the National Centre for Research and Documentation of Monuments and the National Institute of Cultural Heritage.

¹² Stronczyński 1847.

The extent to which Polish numismatics had been in need of a similar work is suggested by a passage in the writings of Joachim Lelewel, also a distinguished historian and coin expert: (...) *However, when it comes to the Piast [coinage] they have been overtaken by Kazimirz Stronczyński. Driven by an impassioned urge, armed with a sharp and penetrating eye, he was the first to recognize the freshly discovered resources in a certain order. Thanks to his persevering alacrity we have been informed about the recovery of multiple hoards lost underground, about the many pennies and bracteates; he examined their types, juxtaposed together, differentiated between them, indicated their source, pointed out the faults and misguidances of others, attributed some small stray coins to Poland, making a review and putting in order the entirety of its medieval numismatics (...)*¹³ and: (...) *All of a sudden, for a few years now, the stock of unearthed pennies and bracteates has opened up laborious means for a diligent analysis. The first travails in this regard, have been undertaken with an exemplary precision by Kazimirz Stronczyński, in his work “Coinage of the Piasts”. For his dispatch he has earned an ivy crown! Only for a few days now have I held this inestimable work in my hands. Overjoyed to see it, I am amazed by the singular proficiency in analysing and ordering the types.*¹⁴

Stronczyński divided his work into several parts. In the introduction he presented the state of research in Polish coinage, and referred to the subject literature published to date. The first part addresses the primary written sources known to Stronczyński, containing the earliest references to the origins of Polish coinage. Based on them he tried to establish the date of the first use of the minting rights in Piast Poland and those who held them. In the next part of *Coinage of the Piasts*, Stronczyński addressed a task of key importance from the point of view of numismatic studies: the analysis of hoards and their contents. At the same time, he drew attention to research problems associated with the analysis of incomplete hoards and hoards forged by dishonest dealers by adding spurious specimens. He analysed a total of thirty-two hoards available to him, ordering the numismatic material by names of rulers read on the coins, and attributing them to individual rulers. Groups of pennies ordered in this manner were compared to coins from Czech mints, which led him to conclude that Polish engravers looked for ready patterns to the coins of their southern neighbour. This method made it much easier for Stronczyński to order his material chronologically. The accuracy of his observations to this day commands respect and admiration. The vast majority of coins were attributed by Kazimierz Stronczyński to the correct ruler, while his method of analysis of collective finds is applicable also to in present day research.

While pursuing his research, Stronczyński did not neglect his official duties, and in 1862 took the position of director of the administrative office of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education; two years later

¹³ Lelewel 1851, p. 334.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

he was appointed a member of the Warsaw Departments of the Russian Governing Senate¹⁵ (the Supreme Court for the Kingdom of Poland). When the Third Council of State was abolished, he retired in 1867 in the rank of senator.¹⁶ After returning to his native parts he dedicated himself fully to numismatics, heraldry and collecting. He published minor contributions in scholarly journals, e.g., *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*, *Biblioteka Warszawska*, *Przegląd Bibliograficzno-Archeologiczny*, and in the Piotrków local periodical *Tydzień*.¹⁷

The key task which Kazimierz Stronczyński set himself late in life was improving and expanding his work *Coinage of the Piasts*. In a letter written to his friend Romuald Hube on 15 September 1872 he reported that: (...) *Alteration and supplementation of my earlier work on the Piast coinage is nowadays almost the order of the day, and my work to this end is already much advanced. It might even have been completed a long time ago were it not for the whim which took me to include sigillography, and to address in brief other parts of our archaeology as well.*(...) *The whole will be much larger and brought up to the year 1506, that is, to the complete coin reform in the reign of King Sigismundus I.*¹⁸ Evidence that the work on this book was nearing completion is found also in a letter of 17 June 1875 from Karol Beyer, a distinguished Warsaw photographer, to Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, where it is noted that Stronczyński came to visit him in Warsaw and brought: (...) *his nearly complete work on the Polish numismatics brought up to Sigismundus I, from the earliest times.*¹⁹ Karol Beyer was helping Stronczyński illustrate this book. Sadly, the death of the photographer in 1877 interrupted this nearly complete work, intended for publication by the Cracow Academy of Learning. Ultimately the three volumes of *Dawne monety polskie dynastji Piastów i Jagiellonów*, covering coins from the Piast period until 1586, came out in print only in 1883–1885, through Stronczyński's own efforts. It was published in Piotrków,²⁰ the town where the author's busy life would come to an end on 10 November 1896 (Fig. 3).²¹

Kazimierz Stronczyński was a pioneer in many areas of research, taking an innovative approach which was far ahead of his time. The effect of his many-sided activities are not only his publications, but also research methods which still find application in numismatic studies.

¹⁵ AGAD 186 III, Rada Stanu Królestwa Polskiego, sygn. 110, pp. 250–1; Suchodolski 2005, p. 5.

¹⁶ Kuczyński 2005, p. 368.

¹⁷ Śliwińska & Stupkiewicz 1972, pp. 169–70.

¹⁸ A letter from Kazimierz Stronczyński of 15 September 1872, Hube, MS, t. 8, f. 496.

¹⁹ Triller 1991, p. 93.

²⁰ Stronczyński 1883–1885.

²¹ Czyżewski 2019, p. 184.



Fig. 3. Gravestone of the Stronczyński family in the Old Roman Catholic Cemetery in Piotrków Trybunalski

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FAMOUS COLLECTORS

Piotr JAWORSKI*

KING STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS (1732-1798)



Fig. 1. Stanislas Auguste Roy de Pologne [...], stipple engraving, by A. Fogg, from a painting of M. Bacciarelli (Pall Mall: E. Harding, 1798). Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library), Warsaw, inv. no. G.10499. Photo Polona.

The last monarch of Poland was born as Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski into the family of a new aristocracy devoted to the cause of the reformation of the Republic of the Two Nations. The reign of Stanislaus Augustus (Fig. 1), elected king in 1764, coincided with hard times – the state was foundering, torn by internal conflict, exposed to the expansion of neighbouring powers, stripped of its territory on three occasions, and lost its national sovereignty in 1795. Essentially controlled from Russia, with little influence on the destiny of his country, the king took an active part in the last attempt made to repair the State which was the enactment of the Constitution of 3 May 1791 – the first modern written national constitution in Europe. Forced to abdicate in 1795 he moved to Grodno, and next to Petersburg, where he died suddenly on 12 February 1798.¹

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¹ Zamoycki 1992.

Unable to play the role of a strong monarch Stanislaus Augustus dedicated a significant part of his activity to the idea of promoting progress of sciences and arts, envisioning the multinational Republic taking its place among the enlightened nations of Europe.² He made a major contribution in this field, spending prodigious sums expended from his private resources, which ultimately led him into disastrous debts. One of the main areas of his cultural activity was royal patronage extended over artists and scientists.³ Political events prevented the king from achieving his ambitious plans of establishing on a model of other European countries a museum of fine arts or an academy of fine arts, using as their core his own collection of paintings and sculpture, scientific cabinets and library, housed mostly in the interiors of the Warsaw Castle.

The future king bought the first painting for his collection in Brussels in 1748 when he was only sixteen. In Paris the young Poniatowski made his first contacts with artists and scholars, *e.g.*, the painter Maurice-Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788) and Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–1795), who, as the king would recollect, had liked the enthusiasm with which Poniatowski examined ancient and modern coins belonging to the king of France shown to him in the *Paris Cabinet de Médailles*.⁴ After his election, King Stanislaus Augustus steadily matured as a collector, increasingly aware of the aims of his pursuits, carried out on a wider scale and in a fairly regular manner although, naturally, within the constraints of external factors. At the end of his life the collections amassed by the king comprised *e.g.*, 2,289 paintings, *c.* 30,000 prints, over 18,000 coins and medals, of which *c.* 8,400 were of ancient, 9,400 of modern issue,⁵ a library of 15,000–20,000 volumes,⁶ a dactyliothea of several hundred engraved gems⁷ and a number of sculptures, plaster casts and gem impressions. In addition, there were mineralogy, astronomy and antiquities cabinets. What is notable, the collections of Stanislaus Augustus, rather than being the work of several generations of royalty, had been accumulated by their owner from scratch. Therefore, in assessing the value of what was in the second half of the 18th century the largest art collection in Poland, one must go beyond a simple summation of the number of objects, or their material and scientific value, as in this respect it was inferior to the many collections formed by longstanding European royal courts. For a more balanced assessment we need to take account of the political, social and cultural context of the king's collecting activity in the twilight years of Poland.

² Fabre 1952.

³ Mańkowski 1976; Manikowska 2007.

⁴ Neverov 1984, p. 47.

⁵ Męcłewska 2019b, p. 248; *cf.* Męcłewska 2019a, p. 309.

⁶ Łaskarzewska 2001, p. 220.

⁷ Mikocki 1991, p. 19; Neverov 1984.

True to the spirit of his age, a special place in the artistic interests of Stanislaus Augustus was occupied by Antiquity, although the king himself had never visited Italy. He would make his purchases acting through antiquity dealers, private contacts and a circle of trusted artists and scholars who while travelling abroad acquired items on his behalf.⁸ Some objects the king had received as gifts, being ready to respond in kind, or acquired them by buying up private collections, complete or their fragments. The principal function of the royal collections of antiquities was ornamental, but also to preserve and educate.⁹

Stanislaus Augustus started expanding his *cabinet des médailles* soon after his coronation: in 1767 he purchased the collection of Johann Benjamin Steinhäuser, followed by the collection formed by Feliks Łubieński (1758–1848) in 1770–1773 as a youth on his travels in Italy under the tutelage of Jan Chrzciciel Albertrandy (1731–1808). This was the start of the king's longstanding cooperation with the latter. This outstanding polyhistor and connoisseur of antiquities, later a bishop and first chairman of the Warsaw Society of Letters, was soon appointed the custodian of the scientific collections in the Warsaw Castle and devoted much time to enlarge and study the collections of the coins and medals cabinet and library.¹⁰ He expanded the royal collection with coins purchased in 1782–1785. Albertrandy took over the post of curator of the royal collections from the prominent connoisseur of antiquities and coin expert, Count August Fryderyk Moszyński (1730–1786), the grandson of King Augustus II the Strong, a friend of Stanislaus Augustus. Moszyński had added to the royal collection his own collection of antiquities, coins among them, the work of three decades.¹¹ In 1784 Moszyński journeyed to France and Italy, with full authority from the king to buy antiquities. In Marseilles he purchased for the king “a pouch of local coins, including probably Massalian and other ancient specimens”,¹² and in 1776, at Paestum, a small bag of coins, probably some of them Poseidonian.¹³ The correspondence between the king and Moszyński from this period portrays the two collectors as great enthusiasts of antiquity with a good understanding of archaeology.¹⁴ In 1787 Stanislaus Augustus bought a valuable collection of Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins of General Jan de Witte (1709–1785), the military commandant of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski.¹⁵ Other coins and medals were offered to the king as gifts by individuals who did so for a variety of reasons. Some coins in the collection came from finds made on Polish territory, as for instance, a pot of coins dis-

⁸ Godziejewska 1991; Mikocki 1990, pp. 11–25; Abramowicz 1987, pp. 15–32.

⁹ Mikocki 1990, p. 18.

¹⁰ Mielczarek 1997b, p. 97; Abramowicz 1987, p. 21; cf. Męciewska 2009; Męciewska 2001.

¹¹ Mikocki 1990, p. 14.

¹² Mańkowski 1976, p. 59.

¹³ Abramowicz 2002, p. 475.

¹⁴ Abramowicz 1987, pp. 63–97.

¹⁵ Mielczarek 1998.

covered at Wilków, an offering from Gutakowski.¹⁶ The king received direct reports about discoveries, e.g., a hoard of Roman coins discovered near Reszel, eventually presented to him in 1780.¹⁷ Among ancient coin finds in the royal collection were truly rare pieces, e.g., a group of more than sixty Imperial Roman gold coins, some pierced others looped, mostly discovered on the territory of the Republic, recently rediscovered in the collections of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in Kyiv (Fig. 2).¹⁸



Fig. 2. An aureus of Victorinus (269–271), from the former collection of Stanislaus Augustus, now in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in Kyiv (Bursche & Więcek 2010, p. 213–214, no. 33). Photo B. Kashtanov (scale 200%)

Among more than 8,013 ancient coins belonging to the royal collection listed by Albertrandy in his sales catalogue there were 5,431 Roman Imperial issues, 188 of them gold and 1,935 silver.¹⁹ On his visit to the Warsaw Castle in 1778, Johann Bernoulli noted that the king's numismatic collection was kept in a cabinet "finer than others and decorated to indicate its contents". For his part, Alphonse Fortia de Piles who inspected the collections in 1792, recollected seeing some coins of Roman emperors and 1,562 specimens arranged geographically, 37 of them gold and 354 silver. Also found in the collection of ancient coins were 1,130 Republican coins, six gold and 650 silver.²⁰ On a model of the best cabinets, the numismatic study of this royal collection would be assisted by a numismatic library of 221 tomes collected in the section *Res nummaria*.²¹

In one of his letters Stanislaus Augustus referred to his print and coins cabinets in these words: *Mes estampes et mes médailles sans doute ne sont qu'un amusement en comparaison du reste [...] cependant Vous scavez que j'y envisage un coté utile, et que je voudrais rendre utile même à ceux qui jouiront*

¹⁶ Mielczarek 1997a; Abramowicz 1987, p. 22.

¹⁷ Kolendo 1998a.

¹⁸ Bursche & Więcek 2010; cf. Męclewska 2019b.

¹⁹ Albertrandy 1799.

²⁰ Abramowicz 1987, p. 23.

²¹ Męclewska 2019a, 314.

*de cela après ma mort.*²² This will and testament of sorts would be executed only to a limited extent. After the king's death his art collections were up for sale, to pay off his debts and ultimately were largely scattered. The coin cabinet was purchased in 1805 together with the royal library by Tadeusz Czacki (cf. Bursche, in this volume) to form the core of the teaching resources of the Gymnasium, and later the Lyceum, in Krzemieniec where one of those employed to organize the cabinet was briefly Joachim Lelewel.²³ In 1828 the tsarist authorities had the numismatic collections and the library housed at Krzemieniec moved to the Vilna University, and when by way of repressions these two centres of learning were abolished in 1832, in 1834 these collections passed to Kyiv.²⁴ There they remain today, in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine (coins and medals) and in the V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (*Bibliotheca Regia*).

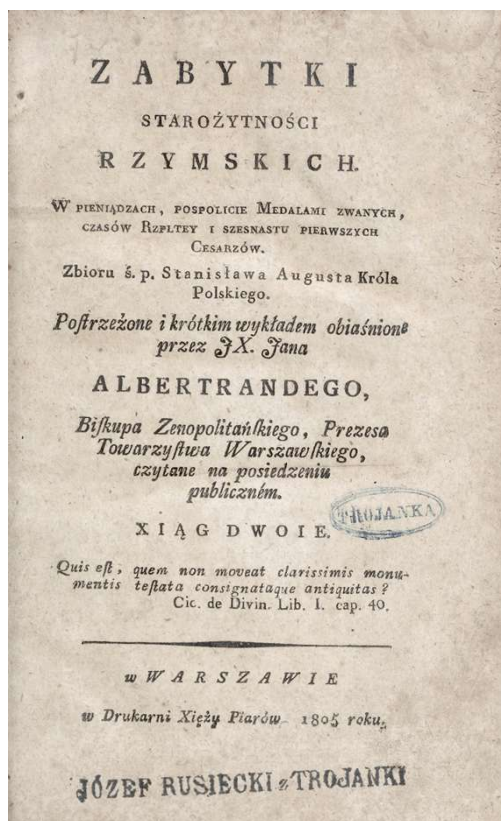


Fig. 3. J.Ch. ALBERTRANDY, *Zabytki starożytności rzymskich w pieniądzach [...]*, vols. 1–2 (Warsaw, 1805), title page. National Library, Warsaw, inv. no. 100.430 A. Photo Polona.

²² Abramowicz 1987, p. 24; Męclewska 2019a, p. 309.

²³ Kolendo 1998b.

²⁴ Męclewska 2019b, pp. 248–249.

In the deserted Warsaw of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, the memory of Stanislaus Augustus and his collections was still alive. Jan Chrzyciel Albertrandy, the former custodian of the royal collections, additionally to several scholarly contributions intended for the Warsaw Society of Letters published in print a number of papers based on the glyptic and numismatic collections of Stanislaus Augustus (Fig. 3).²⁵ Albertrandy's own numismatic collection numbering 1,174 specimens, of which more than a half were ancient coins, would be purchased from his heirs in 1826 to organise a coins and medals cabinet of the Warsaw University.²⁶ Of the collections of Stanislaus Augustus the only to survive was his cabinet of prints, now the pride of the collections of the University Library in Warsaw. It was purchased in 1818 from the king's heirs for the library of the Warsaw University, seized and taken to Russia, and returned by the Soviet Union before World War II.

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²⁵ Albertrandy 1805–1808.

²⁶ Kolendo 2003, pp. 433–4.

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Krzysztof FILIPOW*

COUNTESS NATALIA ANNA KICKA *NÉE* BISPING (1801-1888)

Natalia Anna Kicka *née* Bisping was a painter, collector of Polish national memorabilia (in which she included coins and medals) and an amateur archaeologist. She was born in 1801 in Vilna, in the Russian partition, to Piotr Bisping, member of the Polish nobility, marshal of the Wołkowysk County, and Józefa Kicka.¹ As a child she had received careful home schooling on the family estate at Hołowczyce. In 1815 she moved to Warsaw to continue her studies, staying with her grandmother Józefa Kicka *née* Szydłowska.



Fig. 1. Botanical Garden of the Vilna University, c.1830. Drawing by Karol Raczyński, lithograph by Maciej Przybylski, 1832-1837. National Library Warsaw (public domain).

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¹ German 1966-1967.

Natalia Kicka was greatly influenced by the family tradition learnt at home, love for her homeland and a whole-hearted readiness to serve her country.² Her personality had been shaped by Romanticism and prominent artists, intellectuals and politicians of Vilna (Fig. 1), more notably, Joachim Lelewel one of whose interests was numismatics.³

Natalia's adulthood would be overshadowed by the November Uprising and the Russo-Polish War of 1830-1831. At this time, on 27 January 1831 she married Count Ludwik Kicki, her almost 40-years' old uncle, a general of the Polish Army, "... a man of a heroic valour and truly dauntless bravery".⁴ Too soon he was killed in the Battle of Ostrołęka on 26 May 1831.⁵

For the rest of her life Natalia Kicka would cherish the memory of her husband. Her years after the Uprising were spent on travels with her daughter, abroad and at home. After her daughter's premature death at twenty, the countess continued moving in artistic, literary and political circles. She often went to France and Dresden, where she took refuge to escape arrest in late 1863, after the outbreak of the January Uprising. Two years later she returned to Warsaw where she engaged in charity work and cultural activities.

In Warsaw she engaged in numismatics and collecting national memorabilia. She amassed a sizable collection of Polish coins and medals from the period between the Middle Ages to the reign of the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus (1764-95). Some of her close friends were collectors of similar memorabilia. Of special value for Kicka were her contacts with Karol Beyer, collector and animator of the Polish numismatic movement in the Russian partition.⁶ Beyer supplied sought-after coins not only to the Warsaw numismatics community, but also to collectors outside the Congress Kingdom of Poland, first foremost, to Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski. Beyer was also an agent and a friend who assisted Countess Kicka in building up her collection of coins and medals.

It is likely that Natalia Kicka took part in social gatherings dedicated to numismatics held on Thursdays in Beyer's apartment, the seat of the unofficial Warsaw numismatic society. Since 1856 they became regular, held at the Merchants Association,⁷ but because of Russian policing restrictions no official numismatics association was established. This numismatic community included, besides Natalia Kicka: Kazimierz Stężyński-Bandtkie, Karol Beyer, Karol Blicher, Teodor Dembowski, Jerzy Gauger, Justynian Karnicki, Walery Kostrzębski, Konstanty Miler, Paweł Muchanow, Bolesław

² Filipow 2013, pp. 159-67.

³ Puzynina 1988, p. 174.

⁴ Patelski 1921, p. 155.

⁵ Tarczyński 1980, p. 399.

⁶ Triller 1970, p. 192; Triller 1964, p. 189; Czerski & Maciaszek 1995.

⁷ Czerski & Maciaszek 1995, p. 21.

Podczaszyński, Stanisław Pusch, Baron Edward Rastawiecki, Countess Izabela Starzyńska, Count Henryk Stecki, Kazimierz Stronczyński, Wiktor Szaniawski, Count Stanisław Walewski, Count Tomasz Zamoyski and Józef Zellt, and very likely, also Tymoteusz Lipiński, Józef Przyborowski and Aleksander Weinert. With time the group decreased in size.⁸

Konstanty Miler assisted Natalia Kicka in complementing her numismatic collection, and she was a godmother of his son.⁹ Acting on advice from Miler, Kicka entrusted the writing of a catalogue of her collections to Walery Kostrzębski, former assayer of the Warsaw Mint, recognizing his acumen and erudition.¹⁰ This happened around 1868. The catalogue was to be on the model of a manuscript catalogue of collections brought to the capital of the Kingdom of Poland and shown to the antiquarians of Warsaw by Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski. This was a catalogue of the Count's collections published in print at a later date.¹¹ Kicka was in contact also with Antoni Ryszard, a bibliophile, bibliographer and collector of coins and medals active in Cracow, but most notably, with Senator Kazimierz Stronczyński. In 1866 this the most senior of Polish numismatists sold to Kicka his excellent collection of medieval Polish coins for a sum of 9,000 Polish złotys.¹²

As befitted a self-respecting 19th-century antiquarian Countess Kicka interested herself also in archaeology and late in life would publish the results of her studies in print. This had brought her to a cooperation with the Warsaw periodical *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*.¹³ The plates, drawings and engravings included in these publications were probably her own, as the countess was a skilled draughtswoman and painter.

In 1882 Countess Kicka published a brief note dedicated to a coin of Khan Tokhtamysh with a countermark of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas in the Warsaw review *Przegląd Bibliograficzno-Archeologiczny*.¹⁴ The Tatar coin of interest was a specimen from her numismatic collection. The same or a very similar Tatar coin with a Lithuanian countermark is recorded in the collection of Count Józef Tyszkiewicz at Birże (then in the Kovno Governorate) described by its owner with an annotation in his "Index of Lithuanian coins".¹⁵ The description of this coin drew the interest of Countess Kicka who noted: "I was very keen to add this specimen to my modest collection". Once again Beyer came to her aid: „thus, after a few years' search

⁸ Filipow 2003, pp. 22-3. The members of the Warsaw numismatic club were listed in the Cracow journal *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*, 1891.

⁹ Kicka 1972, p. 541.

¹⁰ Filipow & Kuklik 2012; Filipow 2012.

¹¹ Hutten-Czapski 1871-1916.

¹² Strzałkowski 1991, p. 70; Suchodolski 2005, pp. 11-12; Ryszard MS, I/2, p. [120 — unnumbered pp.].

¹³ Kicka 1881, 1882a; German 1966-67.

¹⁴ Kicka 1882b.

¹⁵ Tyszkiewicz 1875, p. 28.

I purchased the piece from him [*i.e.*, Beyer]”, and she published its drawing in the article.¹⁶ Today, after a long discussion, numismatists have agreed to attribute the countermark to Vytautas; at the same time, the countess had concluded mistakenly that “the Tatars had been forced to strike on their coins the heraldic charge of the Lithuanian dukes, this is demonstrated by the coin presented in the introduction”.¹⁷

Today the contents of the coin and medals collection of Natalia Kicka are poorly understood. The catalogue of the collection drafted by Walery Kostrzębski was lost. One specimen mentioned by Józef Tyszkiewicz as belonging to Kicka’s collection was a rare *szóstak* of Augustus II with initials and heraldic charge of Ludwik Pociąg, Treasurer of Lithuania, struck in 1707 in the Moscow mint.¹⁸



Fig. 2. Natalia Kicka, née Biszpink (*recte*: Biszping). Engraved by Edward Nicz, according to a photograph by Walery Rzewuski, from *Kłosa*, 1888, vol. 46, no. 1191, p. 261 (public domain).

¹⁶ Kicka 1882b, p. 48.

¹⁷ Kicka 1882b, p. 49.

¹⁸ Tyszkiewicz 1875, p. 26, pl. XV.

Natalia Anna Kicka nee Bisping (Fig. 2), lived to a venerable old age and died in Warsaw on 4 April 1888.

The fate of her numismatic collection was typical for many collections amassed during the long period of partitions “to lift up hearts”. Piast coins from Kazimierz Stronczyński’s collection were purchased by Emeryk Hutten-Czapski. Kicka’s niece, Helena Przybyśławska received coins of Sigismundus I the Old (1506–1548) to Michael (1669–1673). Coins of other elective monarchs: Stephen Bathory (1576–1586), John Casimir (1649–1668), the Saxonian dynasty (1697–1763) and Stanislaus Augustus (1764–1795) passed to Natalia Dobrzańska who sold the coins of Stanislaus Augustus to Wiktor Szaniawski, coin collector, landowner from Przegaliny near Radzyń Podlaski.

Despite her contribution to upholding Polish culture under the partitions, Natalia Kicka, avid numismatist and guardian of Polish national consciousness deserves a greater recognition and commemoration than accorded to date.

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Katarzyna BALBUZA*

KAROL BEYER (1818-1877)

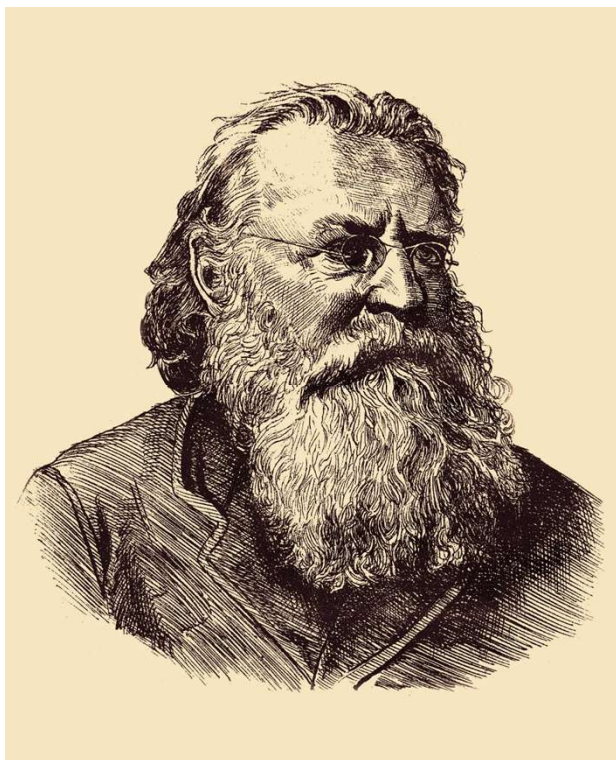


Fig. 1. Karol Beyer, an anonymous lithograph from the posthumous edition of Skorowidz Monet Polskich (Kraków, 1880).

Karol Adolf Beyer (Fig. 1) was a leading expert on coins, photography and archaeology, innovative and a pioneer in many fields, the father of the Polish numismatic movement. He was born on 10 February 1818 in Warsaw to Wilhelm Beyer (1778-1819), the director of the Warsaw lottery, and Henriette Minter, a painter (1782-1855). Orphaned by his father just a year after his birth Karol was raised by his mother. She made a living by opening a school of painting and drawing for women in 1824, but as part of the repressions after the failed November Uprising it was shut down in 1832. Karol was educated at the Warsaw Lyceum which existed in the period

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between 1804 and 1831 and had the reputation of the best secondary school in the Kingdom of Poland. His education was cut short when this school too was shut down by tsarist authorities. He then took up a job in a metal casting plant run by his uncle Karol Fryderyk Minter. Using this experience, he soon made his first attempts to make objects using the galvanoplasty process. He presented the results in 1841 at the Warsaw Exhibition of Industry and Fine Arts.¹ Three years later, in 1844, on a visit to the French Industrial Exposition in Paris, he was introduced to the daguerreotype photographic process. That same year he opened his own daguerreotype gallery “Zakład Daguerrotypowy Karol Beyer w Warszawie”, the first in Warsaw, in the Blue Palace of the Zamoyski family in Senatorska nos. 35/37, which with time he turned into a photograph gallery (later addresses) – Beyer’s house in Warecka no. 1359, since 1857 at Krakowskie Przedmieście no. 389). Involving himself in the public life Beyer photographed the victims of Russian repressions and January Uprising insurrectionists. For this he was acclaimed as a national photographer, arrested (September 1861–May 1862 and October 1863–April 1865) and exiled to a remote region of Russia. At this time the photography business was run by Joanna, Karol Beyer’s wife. Upon his return, after many difficulties, in 1867 Beyer had to close his photography gallery. Having become familiar with the new collotype photographic process during his stay in München in 1869 and taken a course in Vienna in January 1870, Beyer opened the first collotype printing business in Poland. In 1872 he sold it to Julian Kostka and Ludwik Mulert.

Karol Beyer photographed people from different walks of life as well as urban scenes, quite often historic buildings. He used many pioneer photographic processes: the daguerreotype, collotype, collodion process and stereoscopy. He made reproductions of photographs using lithography and xylography. His contribution to the development of Polish photography cannot be overestimated.

Next to his activities as photographer, social activist and patriot Karol Beyer engaged in various areas of research, a reflection of his lively interest in the arts, archaeology and numismatics.² The latter drew his attention for the first apparently in 1832 and in 1844 he published a scholarly paper on numismatics,³ and another a year later.⁴ The latter demonstrates Beyer’s passion for collecting. He was interested in coins found during archaeological fieldwork and stray finds on Polish soil. We are indebted to him for a description, still relevant today, of two hoards of 13th-century Polish coins from Wieniec and Wielen, of great scholarly importance.⁵

¹ *Tygodnik* 1841, no. 63, pp. 351-2.

² On Karol Beyer’s research activities: Triller 1964; 1984.

³ Beyer 1844.

⁴ Beyer 1845.

⁵ Beyer 1850; Beyer 1876. See Triller 1993.

“An undeniably major and everlasting contribution of Karol Beyer was that he was the first to wage a stern campaign war on forgers. In this he had support from Zagórski, Count Czapski, Kostrzębski and many others. To Karol Beyer we owe not only the unmasking of leading counterfeiters but also the understanding of their forgery methods. Today we can list a series of coins recognized as counterfeit, enumerate methods of their production, name forgers and dealers responsible for distributing their forgeries” – thus Count Henryk Mańkowski in his early 20th-century account.⁶ In an article on coin forgery Karol Beyer described the process of their manufacture and gave a list of counterfeit coins. This work was published only in 1909, long after Beyer’s death, because of the names of forgers that were disclosed in it⁷. Another article by Beyer on counterfeit coins went missing before it could be published, which it never was because it too mentioned some forgers by name. It had been written in response to the circulation on the antiquities market of forged coins manufactured by Zelman Igel.⁸ According to the testimonial of H. Mańkowski, in 1865 K. Beyer had sent a note to Władysław Bartynowski stating that: “counterfeit Polish coins appeared in 1865, forged presumably in London, through the effort and industry of one Igel, an antiquities dealer of Lwów”.⁹ Karol Beyer addressed the subject of forged Polish coins exposed by him in a number of articles written in German.¹⁰

A major achievement in unmasking coin forgeries and forgers of the 19th century was the purchase by Karol Beyer of ninety-nine dies for striking fifty-five coin types. They had been made by Józef Majnert (1813–1879), a known Warsaw engraver and medallist, son of Godfryd Majnert, medallist and employee of the Warsaw mint.¹¹ Sixty-three dies had been engraved, the remainder cast from original pieces. The first forgeries of some rare Polish coins and completely fictitious types had entered the antiquarian market through Majnert’s efforts still in January 1836 – a taler of Poland of King Sigismund I (1535) and a taler of Sigismund Augustus (1547).¹² The full number of these coin forgeries remains obscure. Shortly afterwards the

⁶ Mańkowski 1930, pp. 3–4.

⁷ This publication came out in 1909 on the initiative of Władysław Bartynowski. Based on the manuscripts of Karol Beyer it was printed in several parts entitled: “O numizmatach polskich podrobionych lub zmyślonych w nowszych czasach”, in separate WNA issues of published in Cracow. The full text was published in 1973 on the initiative of the Polish Archaeological Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne), annexed to a reedition of the book of Count Henryk Mańkowski: *Fałszywe monety polskie* (Mańkowski 1973, pp. 97–121, 10 plates). See also: Triller 1981.

⁸ Triller 1982.

⁹ Mańkowski 1930, p. 37. The author concluded that Igel was responsible only for distributing coins forged by others – the instigator was the lawyer Hausmann, the forger the goldsmith Fein.

¹⁰ Beyer 1866; 1872.

¹¹ Beyer 1909.

¹² Mańkowski 1930, pp. 35–7.

dies were acquired by Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, and subsequently entered the National Museum in Cracow.¹³ Beyer countermarked them in writing as FALSUS.

Among subjects addressed in Beyer's articles and brief notes published in the press were medals and coins,¹⁴ and coin collections examined upon the demise of their owners – Ignacy Łoś of Lwów,¹⁵ Antoni Urbanowski of Horodec,¹⁶ Johann Jakob Ernst, a merchant of Gdańsk.¹⁷

In 1856 Beyer was among the organizers of the Warsaw Exhibition of Antiquities and Art Objects (*Wystawa Starożytności i Przedmiotów Sztuki*) held 1 July 1856–8 February 1857). Beyer photographed the exhibits using the collodion process which had attracted his interest in 1851 through contacts with Frederick Scott Archer, its inventor. He published these images in what would be the first Polish photography album.¹⁸ Another album of photographs and descriptions of Polish medals soon followed.¹⁹ Two years later, at another exhibition, held in Cracow (11 November 1858–8 January 1859) approximately fifteen hundred objects were put on display deriving from private collections (*e.g.*, of Tytus Działyński) and the collections of the Cracow Learned Society. Karol Beyer made a photographic album to this exhibition.²⁰

Another of Karol Beyer's interests was paper money. In September 1858 he bought a certain number at an auction of the Treasury Commission. His purchase included spines (stubs) from bound stacks of treasury notes, the first Polish paper money issued in 1794. Beyer described this purchase in an article but it was banned by censorship and never came out in print. No copy of this text survives. Beyer sold his collection of paper money in 1869 to E. Hutten-Czapski.²¹ In 1858 he wrote a supplement to Ignacy Zagórski's work of the coins of old Poland (*Monety dawnej Polski*), and followed in 1862 with a concise catalogue of Polish coins (published posthumously on the initiative of I. Polkowski, Figs. 2 and 3). In 1877 continuing Zagórski's work, he completed in cooperation with Józef Zellt a new concise catalogue of Polish coins (*Nowy skorowidz*).²²

¹³ Mańkowski 1930, pp. 36.

¹⁴ *E.g.*: Beyer 1852a; 1858.

¹⁵ Beyer 1852b.

¹⁶ Beyer 1856a.

¹⁷ Beyer 1851–1854.

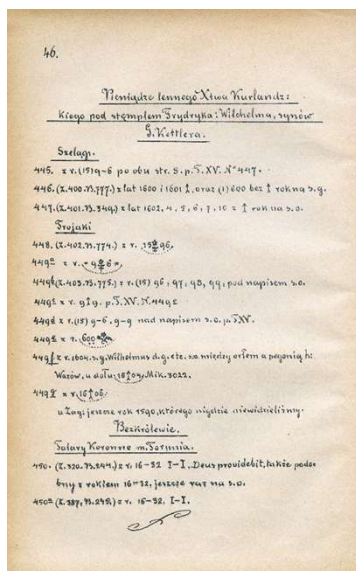
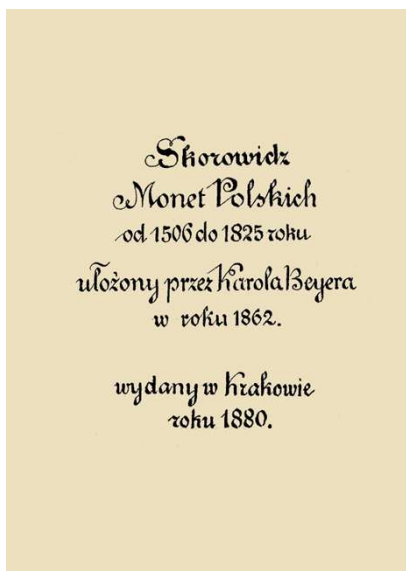
¹⁸ Beyer 1856b; Zajac 2014, p. 46, footnote no. 57.

¹⁹ Beyer 1857. See Mossakowska 1994, pp. 70 & 282.

²⁰ Beyer 1859. On the subject of this exhibition Lesiak-Przybył 2015; Siemieński 1858.

²¹ Triller 1965.

²² Beyer 1880; Zellt & Beyer 1877.



Figs. 2 and 3. The title page and a text page of Beyer's, *Skorowidz Monet Polskich od 1506 do 1825 roku* łożony przez Karola Beyera w roku 1862 ("A concise Catalogue of Polish Coins from 1506 to 1825 compiled by Karol Beyer in 1862") (Kraków, 1880).

He also contributed some texts on numismatics to the Polish encyclopaedia *Encyklopedia Powszechna* published in Warsaw by Samuel Orgelbrand.

Furthermore, he made a major contribution to many publications written in his day by other authors, particularly after returning from his exile, in the latter half of the 1860s.²³ He advised them on scholarly matters, sharing information and his materials. He collaborated with, e.g. Emeryk Hutten-Czapski on a catalogue of his collection.²⁴ Beyer also bought and sold coins, including ancient specimens. He was well known on the antiquarian market, also abroad.²⁵

Another of Karol Beyer's major achievements in the field of numismatics was fostering the numismatic movement. Starting around the mid-19th century he organized the first meetings of Warsaw numismatic enthusiasts. In recognition of his contribution, the Warsaw branch of the Polish Numismatic Society chose Karol Beyer as their patron. His passion for numismatics never abated until the end.

Karol Beyer died on 8 November 1877 and was buried in the Reformed Protestant Cemetery in Warsaw (Fig. 4).²⁶

²³ See Triller 1984, pp. 25–27.

²⁴ Hutten-Czapski 1871–1916.

²⁵ My article on this subject will come out soon.

²⁶ <https://warszawa.grobonet.com/grobonet/start.php?id=detale&idg=20360&inni=0&cinki=2%7C>



Fig. 4. Karol Beyer's grave in the Reformed Protestant Cemetery in Warsaw (plot E, row 3, no. 1). Photo Mateusz Opasiński, CC BY-SA 3.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>), via Wikimedia Commons.

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Mariola KAZIMIERCZAK*

COUNT MICHEL TYSZKIEWICZ (1828-1897) AND NUMISMATICS



Fig. 1. Michel Tyszkiewicz, anonymous photograph from the family archive

Michel Tyszkiewicz was an enthusiastic and outstanding collector of antiquities, and his collection, enriched with objects coming from his excavations in Egypt and Italy, “belonged to the most valuable European collections” created in the second half of 19th century.¹ (Fig. 1) He collected ancient gems, old coins, ceramics, silverware, golden jewellery, and sculptures in bronze and marble. He could boast the world’s oldest statuettes and intaglios.² Today, masterpieces from his collection grace some of the world’s major museums.

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¹ Lorentz 1973, p. 25.

² Froehner 1898, p. 4.

Michel Tyszkiewicz was born on 4 December 1828 in Wołożyn (today Valozhyn in Belarus, at that time considered part of Lithuania under Russian authority). He took his passion for collecting from his family home. His illustrious family had given Poland, in the course of five centuries, forty senators and high dignitaries.³ The Tyszkiewicz family realised their motto *Pandite lucem in asperis vitae* (“Ignite the light in the darkness of life”) in many ways, also in the field of collecting. Michel Tyszkiewicz’s merits here were considerable already in the Lithuanian period. When in 1855 his cousin Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (1814–1873) established the Polish Museum of Antiquities in Vilna, Michel was one of the first to support this initiative⁴ by ordering museum furniture; numismatic tables and display cases.⁵

Indeed, from his youthful years he was passionate about numismatics, and with the help of Mikołaj Malinowski and Eustachy Tyszkiewicz he collected many important materials. Despite the lack of academic education, already in 1850 he had very serious ambition and intended to publish a book devoted to Polish medals overlooked by Edward Raczyński (1786–1845) in his four-volume work *Gabinet medalów polskich* from 1838–1843.⁶ This project, however, was not fully realised. A single lithograph from 1850, depicting “Coins and medals from the collection of Michel Joseph Tyszkiewicz”, has been preserved in the collection of the National Museum of Warsaw.⁷ (Fig 2) It comes from *Album Wileńskie (Album de Wilna)* of Jan Kazimierz Wilczyński (series II, bookplate 32). It depicts thirteen coins and medals, including a gold medal with the bust of King John Casimir and the panorama of Gdańsk (no. 10).

At that time Michel Tyszkiewicz also applied for membership of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society in Petersburg and presented himself as a coin collector and numismatic expert.⁸ He was accepted on 10 December 1851. Later, in 1856, he became a member of the newly established Vilna Archaeological Commission. By far the best effect of Tyszkiewicz’s passion for collecting was, first of all, his collection of Polish coins, acquired, among others, from eminent numismatists: Karol Beyer (1818–1877), Leon Mikocki (1809–1875) and others.⁹ Later, he sold his collection to Emeryk Hutten-

³ Tyszkiewicz 1900, vol. 1, p. 12.

⁴ [Editorial] 1897, p. 973.

⁵ AGAD, *Teki Skimborowicza XXII 2/41*. According to the report of the meeting of the Archaeological Commission of 11 February 1856: “Count Michel Tyszkiewicz ordered, at his own expense, to glaze the numismatic tables and showcases under the windows, and purchased the furniture necessary for the Commission” *Hr. Michał Tyszkiewicz swoim kosztem polecił zaszklić stoły numizmatyczne i witryny pod oknami, tudzież zakupił meble niezbędnie potrzebne dla Komisji*.

⁶ Letter from Michel Tyszkiewicz to Professor Hipolit Skimborowicz (1815–1880), custodian of the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Warsaw, 23 March 1850; Minsk (AGAD, *Teki Skimborowicza XXV 2/12*).

⁷ See also Jaworska 1976, pp. 287–9, item 84.

⁸ Blombergowa 2003, p. 150.

⁹ Tyszkiewicz 1903, pp. 86–7.

Czapski (1828–1896), who in turn bequeathed it in his will to the National Museum of Cracow.

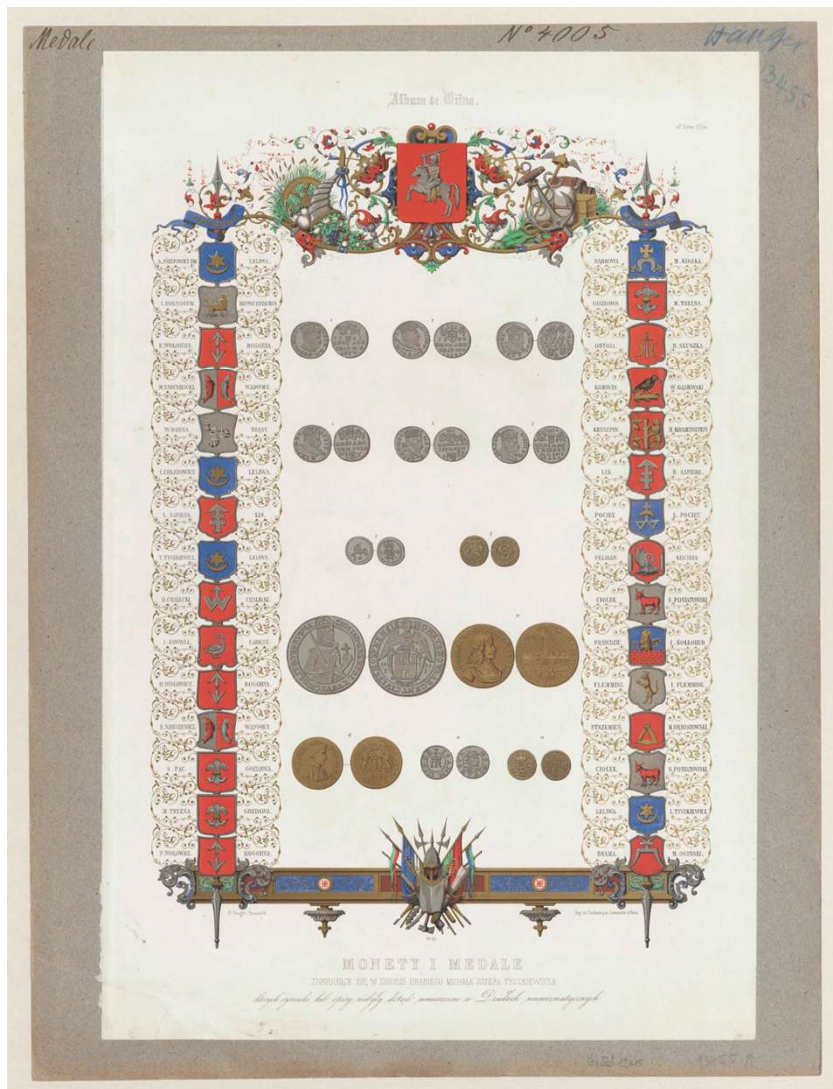


Fig. 2. Monety i medale znajdujące się w zbiorze hrabiego Michała Józefa Tyszkiewicza, których rysunki lub opisy nie były dotąd umieszczone w *Dzielałach numizmatycznych* ("Coins and medals from the collection of Count Michel Joseph Tyszkiewicz"), lithographed by E. Hauger, printed by Rose-Joseph Lemercier, Paris (45 × 31.5 cm); (National Museum Warsaw, inv. no. Gr.Pol.12815).

In the world of European antiquarians, Michel Tyszkiewicz became famous in 1862 for his generous donation of 194 Egyptian antiquities to the Louvre Museum upon his return from Egypt and Nubia, where he was the first Pole to conduct archaeological excavations. Today Tyszkiewicz's name is engraved on the Rotunda of Apollo among the major Museums's donors.

After the crushing of the January Uprising in 1863, the Vilna museum was closed down as part of Russian repressions, and in 1867 the collections were taken to Moscow. The activity of the Archaeological Commission in Vilna was also suspended. Tyszkiewicz, like many other prominent representatives of Polish culture, consciously sought to live up to his talents and ambitions outside his native country.¹⁰ Thanks to the great fortune inherited from his ancestors, he bought a magnificent villa in Naples in 1863 and finally settled in Rome in 1865, where he quickly found his place among the then elite of collectors, scholars and traders of antiquity.

Michel Tyszkiewicz's passion for numismatics never waned. However, not much is known about the numismatic collection he amassed during his stay in Naples. In December 1864 he was in possession of twenty-four Greek gold medals from the reign of Alexander the Great, which quite unexpectedly found their path into a catalogue of sales of artistic objects and jewels belonging to his life companion, Juliette Beaud (1836-1898).¹¹ The collector's son Józef writes that in Naples his father collected mostly Roman gold coins, the collection of which was later sold for a considerable sum of a hundred and several thousand francs.¹² During his first years in Rome, the Count created an important collection of Roman medallions. Four of them – Olympic gold medals from the 3rd century AD found in Tarsus, of exceptional artistic value – are today in the Cabinet des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques at the French National Library. In 1868 the Count intended to sell them in Paris¹³ and for this purpose he was to meet for the first time with the German scholar, Dr Wilhelm Froehner (1834-1925), a researcher in the Department of Antiquities at the Louvre and also Napoleon III's personal interpreter. Froehner was impressed by this meeting and on 14 September 1868, he sketched a portrait of Tyszkiewicz in a few words: "The Count brought the medals from Tarsus to Hoffmann's apartment to show them to me. He is tall, solidly built, wears a ginger beard, is very affable and pleasant".¹⁴ The medallions found in Tarsus were given to the Cabinet of Medals

¹⁰ Dobrowolski 1997, pp. 162-3.

¹¹ Archives de Paris, case file D96E3 18, Minutes and files of auctioneers Paul Rain, P. Boucheron the jeweller at the Palais Royal, and Ch. Mannheim, *Catalogue des bijoux de l'argenterie & du mobilier appartenant à Madame J*** B****, p. 15, no. 122.

¹² Tyszkiewicz 1903, p. 86. Józef apparently did not know the collection personally, as he added this comment: "It must have been a beautiful and substantial collection, because it was a high price for those times" (*Musiał być zbiór piękny i obszerny, bo to była wysoka cena jak na owe czasy*).

¹³ Tyszkiewicz 1898, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ W. FROEHNER, *Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen in Tagebuchform mit einer Aufstellung der eigenen Werke*, 14 September 1868; GSA 107/812.

by their next buyer, Napoleon III: “they were purchased by H.M. the Emperor for the price of 50,000 francs from PP. Rollin and Feuardent, who have recently acquired them as a result of a cession made by Count Michel Tyszkiewicz”¹⁵ (inv. nos. F 1671, F 1672, F 1673 and F 1674). These medallions representing victory prizes (Nikèterìa) awarded in the presence of the emperor to the winners of the Olympic Games, were kept in Beroia or the Pythian Games in Thessaloniki, the metropolis of Macedonia, in the middle of the 3rd century AD.¹⁶ Three of them in particular were “distinguished by their exceptionally large diameter and beautiful relief”.¹⁷ The largest medal weighed 110.42 g (F 1672).¹⁸ (Fig. 3) Michel Amandry, former director of the Cabinet of Medals told the author that 50,000 fr. was a good price compared to the price of just one golden medal depicting King Eucratid I of Bactria [Eucratides I], purchased in 1867 for the sum of 30,000 fr.¹⁹



Fig. 3. Alexander the Great, gold medallion; on the reverse: Alexander galloping on horseback with a spear aimed at a lion (scale 75%)
(BnF, département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, F 1672; source: gallica.bnf.fr).

Tyszkiewicz was not interested in collecting Greek medallions, as they too often turned out to be forgeries.²⁰ At present, scholars know little about his numismatic collection from the 1870s. In the preface to the catalogue of the Count's collection from 1898, Froehner writes that Tyszkiewicz worked

¹⁵ Register of gifts F, 28 March 1869, p. 101, Cabinet des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, BnF.

¹⁶ Amandry 1989, p. 93.

¹⁷ De Longpérier 1868, p. 309.

¹⁸ Amandry 1989, p. 95.

¹⁹ During the meeting on 30 November 2007, Michel Amandry explained to the author that the 20 stater of Eucratides I is the largest antique gold coin known today (58 mm in diameter, 169.20 g) and the most expensive coin in the collection of the French National Library.

²⁰ Letter from Tyszkiewicz to Froehner, 18 December 1888, GSA 107/962.

diligently to create a collection of Roman gold coins à fleur de coin, which soon gave place to medallions, in two successive series.²¹ The collector's son confirms that the collection of Roman coins was replaced by "a sumptuous collection of Roman medallions".²² On 14 May 1872, Froehner saw Tyszkiewicz's Roman medallions at his home in Neuilly-sur-Seine, during a visit in the company of the art dealers Hoffmann and Sambon.²³ This meeting would result in an important scholarly publication. In 1875 a major piece of scholarship on numismatics was being prepared for publication by four people: Froehner, Hoffmann, Félix-Bienaimé Feuarent and the excellent engraver and famous French illustrator Léon Dardel, whom Tyszkiewicz commissioned to execute the engravings of the medallions.²⁴

Froehner's book *Les Médailles de l'Empire romain depuis le règne d'Auguste jusqu'à Priscus Attale*, decorated with 1310 vignettes by Léon Dardel, was published in 1878.²⁵ "Dardel's engravings are always very well executed and sometimes achieve impressive mastery. Thus, the Roman medallions engraved for the work of W. Froehner (1834-1925) are of unparalleled quality and they alone would suffice to rank their creator among the greatest artists".²⁶

So, what was the connection between Froehner's book and the Tyszkiewicz collection? The first clue is in the title of this work, which includes the medallion of Priscus Attalus (d. after AD 416), and Tyszkiewicz writes in his memories that he had purchased a large silver medallion of Priscus Attalus from the Roman antiquarian Depoletti.²⁷ The Count had several dozen similar medallions in his collection, and all of them were in an excellent state of conservation.²⁸ The next clue is the surprising dedication in Froehner's book: "À Monsieur le Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz". Józef Tyszkiewicz testifies that this work was compiled by his father, "who later allowed Mr W. Froehner to publish it under his own name".²⁹ Professor Marie-Christine Hellmann excludes this possibility.³⁰

Tyszkiewicz's own handwritten note to Froehner from 1875, preserved in Weimar (Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv), also refers to the Roman medals, Dardel's charts and the joint publication: "Having sold the plates of the

²¹ Froehner 1898, Préface.

²² Tyszkiewicz 1903, p. 87: *przepyszny zbiór rzymskich medaljonów*.

²³ Froehner, GSA 107/812, 14 May 1872. The closest family of Tyszkiewicz's second wife, Juliette Beaud, lived in Neuilly-sur-Seine, near of Paris. Tyszkiewicz had two flats there: one at 40 rue de Chézy and the other at 74 boulevard Bineau.

²⁴ Letter from Tyszkiewicz to Froehner, 15 January 1875; GSA 107/962.

²⁵ Froehner 1878.

²⁶ Hollard 1991, pp. 17-18.

²⁷ Tyszkiewicz 1898, p. 25.

²⁸ Tyszkiewicz 1903, p. 87.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Marie-Christine Hellmann, email of 6 April 2011.

Roman medals to Mr Rollin, and this on the condition that You have the right to produce for Your work such number of plates and copies as You shall determine to serve Our work, I address to You these few lines ...” Froehner would explain in 1898 that the objects published in his work on Roman medals were engraved at Michel Tyszkiewicz’s expense³¹. What advantage could he have derived from this? How many objects from his collection are represented in Froehner’s work? This rich work should be studied in depth.³²

This chapter of Michel Tyszkiewicz’s collecting activities is not yet well known and awaits further study. His name as a numismatist is cited by Stanisław Krzyżanowski.³³ He is also mentioned in the French *Répertoire annuaire général des collectionneurs* as a numismatist residing at 40 rue de Chézy, Neuilly-sur-Seine.³⁴ The Austrian archaeologist, Dr Ludwig Pollak (1868–1943), a long-time friend of Tyszkiewicz during his stay in Rome, claimed that the Count “contributed much more to archaeology than some think”³⁵. But the contribution of the Polish collector to the development of science is little known today and, in principle, is limited to a narrow circle of experts, despite the fact that Tyszkiewicz’s activities for the development of archaeology and epigraphy were already known during his lifetime, e.g. through presentations of his unique pieces at conferences at Rome’s Accademia dei Lincei or at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris, as well as through numerous scientific publications by German, Austrian, French and Italian scholars.³⁶

Michel Tyszkiewicz died in Rome on 18 November 1897. Today, the masterpieces from his collection are scattered among over thirty of the most important museums in the world such as London’s British Museum, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art, or the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

³¹ Froehner 1898, p. 1.

³² The Berlin Museum currently holds 34 pieces from Tyszkiewicz’s former collection, 11 of which came here in 1873, 3 in 1875, 6 in 1881, 11 in 1882 and 3 after the collector’s death.

³³ Krzyżanowski 1873, p. 234, no. 312.

³⁴ Ris-Paquot *et al.* 1895–1896, p. 444.

³⁵ Pollak 1898, no. 22, p. 7.

³⁶ Kazimierczak 2019, p. 65.

Abbreviations

AGAD = Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw).

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

GSA = Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar.

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aczy z wyszczególnieniem ich zbiorów i kierunku, w jakim przedewszystki-
m swoim studjom się oddają", *Rocznik dla archeologów, numizmatyków i bibliografów
polskich, 1870 [1873]*, pp. 207-37.

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tique*, 1868, pp. 309-36, pls. X-XIII.

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January 1898, no. 22, pp. 7-8.

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(Paris).

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Jarosław BODZEK* and Mateusz WOŹNIAK**

EMERYK COUNT HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1828–1896): HIS COLLECTING PASSION AND MUSEUM

The Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum is a repository of what is definitely a major and the best-known collection of Polish coins, medals and banknotes and similar items associated with Poland. Both the collection and the museum owe their existence to Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, one of the greatest, if not the most outstanding of Polish coin collectors.

Emeryk Hutten-Czapski was born on 17 October 1828 into the aristocratic Czapski family on the estate at Stańków near Minsk (today Stan'kava, Belarus; at the time, in the Russian partition). Originally from Royal Prussia, the Czapski family at some point took up residence in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Emeryk Hutten-Czapski's father, Karol Józef was a chamberlain to the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus (1764–95), his mother Fabianna came from the prominent Obuchowicz family. Educated in Vilna and Berlin, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski obtained his university degree in natural sciences in Moscow. Fluent in five modern languages, he was proficient also in Latin and Greek. His education, aristocratic background and connections made him an eligible candidate for the Russian Imperial civil service, where he would hold positions of responsibility and reached the rank of a Privy Councillor (3rd class).



Fig. 1. Medal for Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, commemorating the 25th anniversary of his scholarly work, by Kazimierz Bartoszewicz, 1896; obverse. Gold, National Museum in Krakow (scale 80%).

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The greatest passion of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (Fig. 1) was numismatics. Ever since his gymnasium days he would collect coins, medals and banknotes of Russian and Polish issue. His collecting interests extended to prints and drawings. These he acquired and studied as sources auxiliary to this primary interest in coins. He continued to collect prints all his life, and amassed a library of Polish memorabilia (*Polonica*) of nearly 6,000 items, many of them deriving from illustrious aristocratic or even royal collections. Every book found in this collection was provided with an individual carefully made catalogue card. The collection of prints (mostly, portraits of notable Polish personages) includes 3,500 specimens and is accompanied by a catalogue made by hand by Emeryk Hutten-Czapski. Collections of military objects, textiles, phaleristic and crafts objects typical for Polish magnate houses included a smaller number of specimens, and were amassed in a less purposeful and regular manner, but were rich in rare or unique pieces. Next to the *Polonica*, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski also collected Russian memorabilia.

The numismatic collection – the most cherished by Hutten-Czapski – was formed by him through the purchase of both individual objects and entire collections. As early as 1853, he bought a collection of Russian coins of Pavel Shishkin, a year later, the collection of Polish coins of Count Michał Tyszkiewicz, followed in later years by several Russian collections *e.g.*, of Fëdor F. Schubert, and Polish collections, of Zygmunt Czarnecki, Natalia Kicka, Leon Skórzewski, Kazimierz Stronczyński, Leon Zwoliński and Władysław Morsztyn. An important accomplishment was the purchase of duplicates from the Hermitage collections made with the Emperor's permission.

In acquiring items for his collections Hutten-Czapski was assisted by advisors and agents – Russian and Polish numismatists and antiquaries, *e.g.*, such as Arist A. Kunik, Iuliĭ B. Iversen, Christian Ch. Gil, Karol Beyer and Władysław Bartynowski. Opportunities to acquire new items to his collections were furnished by Hutten-Czapski's many official trips, social calls and private travels abroad, during which – to the shock of some of his family members – he would tour the local landmarks on foot, without neglecting visits to every antiquarian shop on his way. Finally, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski had dealings with foreign auction houses: Abraham (later Eugen) Merzbacher's (Munich), Egger Brothers' (Vienna), Leo Hamburger's and Adolf Hess's (Frankfurt am Main), C.G. Thieme's (Leipzig), and Dr Anton Buchholtz's (Riga).

Hutten-Czapski spent substantial sums pursuing his collecting passion but refrained from bargaining over the price, even of the most desired pieces, which became his trademark of sorts. From entries made in his notebook covering the period from 1860 to 1893 recording his sources and prices of coin purchases it appears that they cost Hutten-Czapski on average c. 4,000 roubles yearly.

Initially Emeryk Hutten-Czapski also collected Russian coins and medals, and became an expert on them. His collection of *ca.* 4,000 coins and 900 medals was one of the best in Russia, all the more valuable because it was published (*see below*). In 1884 Hutten-Czapski sold those of the Russian coins and medals in his collection which were not associated in any way with Poland to the Grand Prince George Mikhailovich of Russia, of which a portion was passed on to Count Ivan I. Tolstoi. After a time, the collections of the grand prince and the count were submitted to the Russian Museum in Saint Petersburg (Russian Museum of His Imperial Majesty Alexander III). During the Bolshevik Revolution they were broken up and were scattered all over the world; every now and then, specimens provenanced to the former Hutten-Czapski collection turn up at antiquarian auctions.

The fate of the collection of Polish coins and medals of more than 11,000 items was rather different. This large collection, excellent in quality and selected with great care, included many unique and rare specimens, like the GNEZDVN CIVITAS penny of Boleslaus the Brave issued around AD 1000, the floren of Vladislaus the Elbow-High from *c.* 1330, a Crown hundred ducats of Sigismundus III from 1621, exceedingly rare medals of kings of Poland from the Waza (Vasa) dynasty, struck in gold, numerous multiple-ducats donatives of Gdańsk and Toruń, and a set of the first Polish paper money issued in 1794. Next to these rare specimens, the collection included possibly the most regular overview of the Polish coinage and coinage “associated with Poland”, organized in line with the standards and views of the time, and Hutten-Czapski’s personal ideas. Thus, it started out with Roman coins with Sarmatian references, included the coinage of Courland and Prussia, while Silesian and Pomeranian coins were mostly not represented. Without a shadow of doubt, at the end of the 19th century this was the best collection of Polish coins and medals, rivalled only by the Krakow (Cracow) collection of Count Andrzej Potocki.

After his retirement (1879/80), in the face of mounting anti-Polish feeling in Russia, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski decided to leave his estates, leaving them to his sons, and to relocate to the somewhat more liberal Austrian partition. In 1894 he bought a small palace in Krakow at what was then Wolska Street, and moved into it the following year, having already dispatched a part of his collections to Krakow in four railway cars. The small floor area of the palace prompted him to have a pavilion built next to it, to house and display his collections to the public. Built on an excellent architectural design, developed following Hutten-Czapski’s ideas, the pavilion was a truly modern private museum, visitor-friendly, with provisions for the proper display of the collections and their safe storage (a strong-box, anti-burglar shutter systems, warm air heating systems). Sadly, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski did not live to see the opening of this museum. He died in 1896 while still full of creative energy, leaving his wife Elżbieta *née* Meyendorff (1833-1916) to complete his project. Despite her advanced age and various challenges, one of them being a lack of family members in Krakow to support her, she

completed her husband's project and opened the private museum in 1901. In 1903 at her suggestion, the collection and the museum building were offered to the Municipality of Krakow and passed under the management of the National Museum, where it continues to be housed and displayed today. In reality, the need to make the collections public and store them properly had been evident already back during the Stańków period, at the time when the palace there was redeveloped in early 1860s.

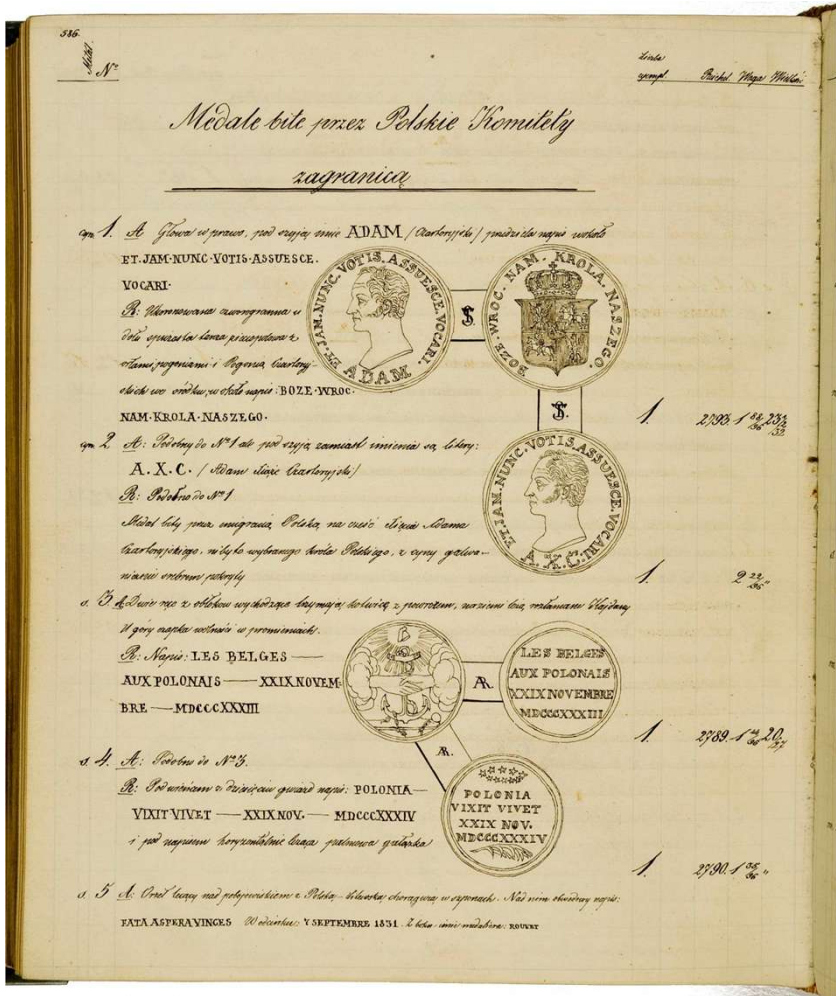


Fig. 2. A page from Spis medalów i monet polskich ... (List of coins and medals ...), 1855-1856. National Museum in Krakow.

What set Emeryk Hutten-Czapski apart from other collectors from a similarly aristocratic background was his personal involvement, not only in the acquisition of coins but also their study, and his inclination to present them to the public. This was due in part to his passion for learning mentioned earlier. As his collections expanded dynamically, he soon began to catalogue them on his own and the first effect of this work would be his manuscript *Spis medalów i monet polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiej stycznych* ("List of coins and medals, Polish or touching upon the history of the Polish land", Stańków, 1855 and Saint Petersburg, 1856; Fig. 2). It was drafted on the basis of a special card catalogue developed by Hutten-Czapski, with inventory cards of different colours corresponding to different metals, stored in cases bound in leather. The catalogue was enriched during a dozen-odd years by drawings made with his wife Elżbieta's help. As he became more qualified as a numismatist, Hutten-Czapski was ready to offer his help in organizing other excellent collections. For instance, in the late 1850s he worked as a volunteer, cataloguing Polish coins and medals in the collections of the Hermitage. The result of this work was the handwritten *Catalogue de la collection de l'Ermitage de monnaies et médailles polonaises*. Hutten-Czapski did not stop at cataloguing his numismatic collections, he successively published their catalogues in print. Two of his publications met with the greatest recognition. The first of these was a study of a part of his collection of Russian coins: *Udel'nyiĭ, velikokniazheskiiĭ i tsarskiiĭ dien'gi Drevnei Rusi* (Saint Petersburg, 1875). It met with the recognition of Russian scholars, members of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, who rewarded Hutten-Czapski with a silver medal struck in his honour. The second was a monumental opus in five volumes, a catalogue of his collection of coins and medals, Polish specimens and items associated with Poland (*Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises du comte Emeric Hutten-Czapski*. Vols. I-V). It was published in French in Paris (1871 - Fig. 3, 1872), in Saint Petersburg (1880) and Krakow (1891). The last, fifth volume (Krakow, 1916), was printed after the death of Hutten-Czapski, basing on his manuscript, with a substantial contribution from Marian Gumowski, the Curator of the Czapski Museum, and personal involvement of Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska. The Catalogue has a total of 2,094 pages and contains descriptions of 11,061 items some of them with illustrations.

Czapski joined in the activity of various learned societies. In 1851 he became a member of the Imperial Geographical Society, and sometime later, of the Archeological-Numismatic Society in Saint Petersburg. Starting from 1889 he acted as active founding member of the Numismatic Society of Krakow, established officially at this time, the first Polish numismatic organization.

Czapski's collecting and publication activity was widely acknowledged. He was honoured in 1896 with a gold medal commemorating the 25th anniversary of his research, subscribed by 127 European numismatists. Many of them contributed their addresses to a special album prepared on this occasion. A few years after Hutten-Czapski's death the numismatists of Warsaw had a silver medal struck in his honour.

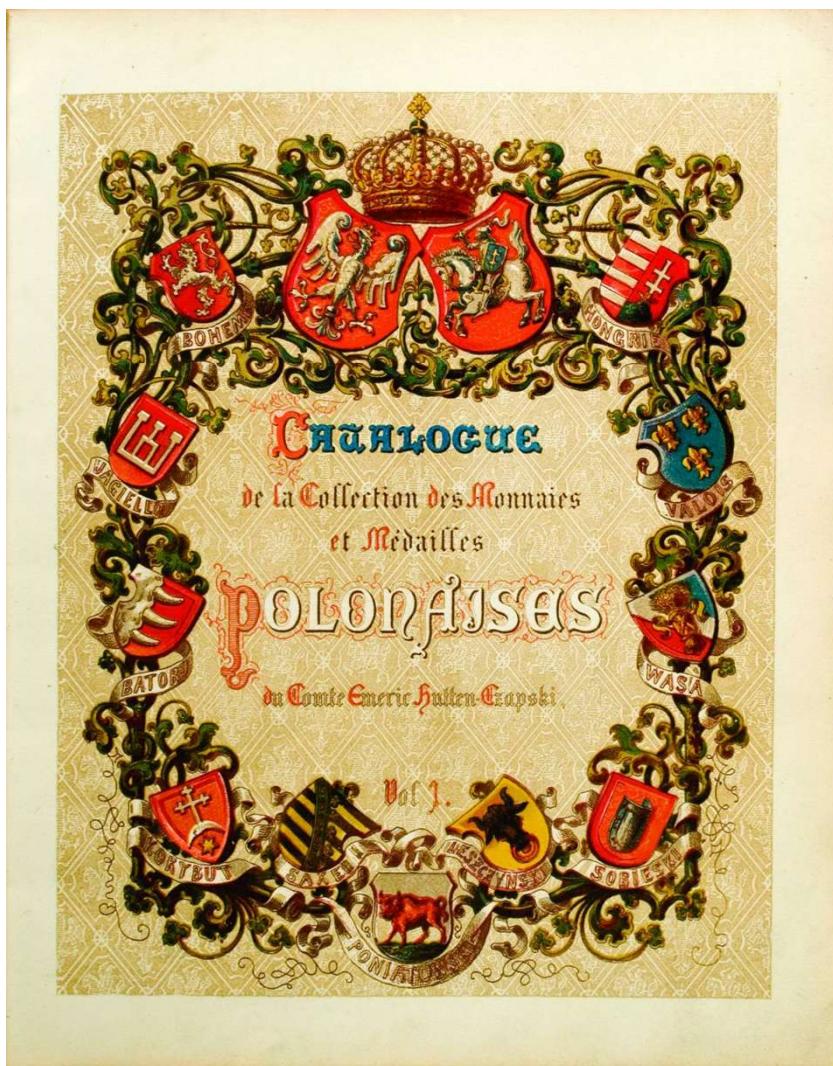


Fig. 3. The title page of *Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises du comte Emeric Hutten-Czapski, vol. I* (St. Petersburg, 1871). National Museum in Krakow.

Not unexpectedly, the achievements of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski continue to be respected and recognized today, while a true monument to him are his collections, housed and displayed in the Krakow museum of his name, as are the still relevant catalogues to his collection.

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Maciej WIDAWSKI*

COUNT KAZIMIERZ SOBAŃSKI (1859-1909)

The collecting of coins and medals was a passion avocation quite often encountered in the second half of the 19th century among the elite of the Polish society. Numerous rich numismatic collections were created in those times. The collections tended to be broken up and sold off after the death of their owners, gradually amassed into new collections. Only rarely were collections passed from one generation to the next, like the collection of Franciszek and Andrzej Potocki, surviving more than a hundred years. One way to save a collection from breaking up was by presenting it to a public museum, but this too was uncommon. The best-known benefactors in this respect were the successors of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski who gave over his prodigious collections to the city of Cracow. Perhaps this example inspired Kazimierz Sobański, also a known coin collector, to offer his collection of coins to the city of Warsaw.

Count Kazimierz Sobański was born on 14 December 1859 in Wasylówka, in the eastern reaches of the so-called Ukrainian Podolia, into a wealthy aristocratic landed family known for many services rendered to Poland and the Catholic Church. A more prominent representative of this family was Feliks Hilary Sobański (1833-1913), a vigorous social activist, generous founder of alms-houses, hospitals, schools, and scholarships and many religious buildings. In 1880, Feliks Hilary and his sons were made hereditary counts by Pope Leo XIII. The main seat of the family in Podole was Obodówka. Another known seat of the Sobański was Guzów in Żyrardów county, a great estate with three thousand hectares of ploughland and a sugar refinery. Feliks purchased this property in 1856, and in 1880 he had a magnificent palace built in the French Neo-renaissance style. Feliks Sobański had two sons, Michał and Kazimierz.

Kazimierz, the future numismatist, studied law and economy in Warsaw and Lille. Next, in 1882, he took up agricultural training on an estate at Gruben in Upper Silesia (now Grabin, near Niemodlin). The owner of the estate was Stanisław Walewski, a well-known numismatist, coin collector and publicist. There is no doubt that Walewski was the one who awoke in young Sobański a passion for numismatics. From that time on Sobański started collecting Polish coins, spanning the reign of Sigismundus I the Old and the middle of the 19th century. His financial situation improved around 1886, when he received the estate at Guzów from his father, and he was able from that time to purchase even the most valuable specimens.

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Sobański bought coins at auctions, but also directly from collectors or their successors. There is evidence for example that he added to his collection the most noteworthy coins from the collection of Adam Jocher, a well-known collector of Vilna.¹ Travelling abroad Sobański acquainted himself with museum collections of Polish coins. In the British Museum he identified an unknown gold ten ducat coin of king John Casimir from the Bydgoszcz mint, which would be described and published, complete with its image, in the *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*.²

Sobański was very active on the auctions and antiquarian market, and after a few years his collection started to be counted among the largest collections of Polish coins, named next to those of Czapski, the Potocki family and Mańkowski. Its wealth is evidenced not only by the sheer number of coins, c. 9,000, but also by the presence in this collection of many rare specimens and 395 gold coins, among them sixteen so-called portugals, eleven half-portugals and three talers in gold. Sobański would add to his collection almost until the last moments of his life; it is known also that he had plans to expand his collection with Polish medals.

Count Kazimierz Sobański died on 11 February 1909 in Warsaw and was buried in the cemetery at Wiskitki. In his will of 25 June 1908, he presented to the city of Warsaw his collection of Polish coins with the intention of having it placed in the future City Museum.

With Sobański's gift the Museum augmented its collections with a new category – coins – which from that time on became an important part of its holdings. An inventory was made of its collections in 1910 (with 8,882 items) and their valuation at 106,121 roubles.

After Sobański's death, the custody of his collections was taken by Henryk Mańkowski, a known collector, landowner, chairman of the Numismatic Society of Cracow. A decision was taken at this time to make a catalogue of the whole collection. This task was entrusted to Marian Gumowski, then a curator in the Czapski Museum in Cracow. The work on the catalogue took several years.³ The catalogue, which later passed to the National Museum, today represents an important element of pre-1939 record on the collection.

During the First World War the Sobański collection was in Cracow, which proved providential, because warfare bypassed Cracow and all the collections found in the city remained intact. The relocation of the collection to Warsaw was organized in February 1920 by Mańkowski. A little earlier, a safe cabinet and 95 books were brought from Guzów. A financial settlement was reached with the Sobański family related to the annuity of 3,000 roubles provided for in the will.

¹ Rózdzyński 1975.

² [Editorial] 1891.

³ Gumowski 1965, p. 49.

In the interwar period the Sobański collection was catalogued in the National Museum; unfortunately, without a photographic documentation.

The view established for many years used to be that the entire Sobański collection was robbed by the Germans and did not return to the National Museum in Warsaw.⁴ However, another cataloguing project undertaken in the 1990s by the staff of the Coin and Medals Department of the Museum identified at least a part of this collection in the museum holdings. This suggests that during the German occupation Polish coins shared the fate of ancient coins, and that the history of the whole numismatic collection of the National Museum in Warsaw was briefly as follows:

Before the outbreak of the war, the coins had been packed in ten cases – Polish coins in six cases, ancient coins in four. The cases were placed in a concrete shelter found on the Museum premises. A few days after occupying Warsaw the Germans learned about the hidden collections and demanded their surrender. On 23 October 1939 these and other museum pieces were taken from the Museum to Cracow. In 1945 the retreating Germans shipped the collections to Silesia where they placed them in several museum storage facilities. The coins and medals from Warsaw's National Museum were discovered in 1945 in the locality Morawa near Strzegom. At first, they were placed into storage in Cracow, and in May 1946 brought to Warsaw. The recovered collection had been looted to some extent with all the gold items missing.

The coins brought back from Silesia had lost their earlier packaging, and thus, their individual inventory numbers. With not a single piece of pre-war photographic documentation of the coins and medals surviving in Warsaw's National Museum, the identification of coins from the original collections is very difficult. This applies also to the coins from the Sobański collection which had not been marked in any way, for instance with a punched emblem of their owner.⁵ What we have at our disposal is the handwritten catalogue professionally made by Gumowski and the pre-1939 record cards. According to these records the National Museum of Warsaw recovered c. 80% of smaller denomination coins from its pre-war holdings, and of the larger denominations, presumably a much smaller percentage.

However, some fine and rare specimens are found among the surviving coins, unique ones even, as the truly exceptional Crown taler of John Casimir with letters GBA (Gianbattista Amoretti) minted in Lwów in 1661 (Fig. 1).

⁴ About the collection of Polish coins in the National Museum in Warsaw: "its origin was Count W. Sobański's collection (about 13,000 pieces, lost during the last war)"; Kiersnowski 1961, p. 142.

⁵ Possibly the decisive factor was the form of the Junosza coat of arms of the Sobański family, or, an image of ram in a side view, not easily made into a legible punch-mark, analogous to the Leliwa coat of arms of Czapski, or the Pilawa of the Potocki family.



Fig. 1. A pattern taler of John Casimir from 1661, with letters GBA, initials of Giovan Battista Amoretti, the Administrator of the Lwów mint. Silver, 45 mm. National Museum, Warsaw, no. 112203MN (photo by the author).

This taler was identified in 1898 in the royal collections in Stockholm by Wiktor Wittyg. Thanks to the intercession of the renowned Stockholm antiquarian Henryk Bukowski with King Oscar II of Sweden, an exchange was made, and the taler that same year passed to Sobański's collection.⁶

Another unique piece is a pattern taler of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, made in 1766 by Jan Filip Holzhäusser (Fig. 2).⁷ The design of its reverse failed to gain approval of those who assessed this pattern piece, but the design of the obverse was subsequently used on taler of regular issue with the date of 1766.



Fig. 2. A pattern taler of Stanislaus Augustus from 1766, designed by Jan Filip Holzhäusser. Silver, 44 mm. National Museum, Warsaw, no. 113549MN (photo by the author).

⁶ Bartynowski 1899.

⁷ Kopiccki 1995, no. 2455; Plage 1913, no. 378. The coin was purchased by Sobański for 1,200 marks in December 1896 at Merzbacher's auction in Munich (Merzbacher 1896, no. 132, with a photograph).

Other outstanding coins from Sobański's collection held by the Warsaw National Museum:

- a pattern *czworak* (quadruple groschen) of Sigismundus August from 1568
- a Crown shilling of Stephen Bathory from 1586 with an eagle on the obverse
- a Crown *półgrosz* (half-groschen) of Stephen Bathory from 1579
- a Crown *trojak* (triple groschen coin) of Stephen Bathory from 1580 without the denomination "III" on the reverse
- a Prussian groschen of Stephen Bathory from 1584
- a Prussian triple groschen coin of Stephen Bathory from 1585
- a Crown ternarius of Sigismundus III from 1601
- a triple groschen coin of Lithuania of Sigismundus III from 1603
- a taler struck to commemorate the siege of Toruń issued in 1629
- a half-taler of Toruń from 1642
- a pattern Crown zloty coins of John Casimir from 1665
- Crown half-talers of John Casimir from 1649 and 1651
- a Lithuanian shilling of John Casimir with letters TZH from 1666
- a Gdańsk ort of John Casimir from 1667
- an Elbląg ort struck on a square flan from 1651
- a Crown ort of Augustus II from 1704.

The fate of Sobański's gold remains unclear. It could be in museum store-rooms in Germany or Russia. A small group of these coins, thirty pieces at most, returned to the Museum after the war from Silesia, with a further sixty-four gold coins. Of these the most interesting is a unique John III Sobieski quadruple ducat coin of Gdańsk issued in 1692. (Fig. 3). At present, this is the only known specimen of this coin.⁸



Fig. 3. A quadruple ducat coin of John III Sobieski from 1692. Gold, 37 mm. National Museum, Warsaw, no. 116832MN (photo by the author).

⁸ Previously in the collection of John Philipp of Gdańsk who acquired this coin at an auction in 1906 (Hess Nachf. 1906, no. 2459, with a photograph). The quadruple ducat coin was put up for auction in 1907 (Rosenberg (ed.) 1907, no. 499, with a photograph) and bought by Sobański.

The review of other coins in this group reveals several more characteristic specimens traced to from Sobański's collection. These are:

- a Crown double ducat of Sigismundus I the Old from 1528⁹
- a Crown ducat of Sigismundus I the Old with letters T-I from 1531
- a Lithuanian ducat of John Casimir from 1666
- a shilling struck in gold of the Free City of Danzig from 1808.

Moreover, a further 24 coins brought from Silesia could have belonged to Sobański's collection but this cannot be established conclusively. Thus, out of 395 Polish coins from the pre-war collection bequeathed by Sobański, Warsaw's National Museum at present has in its keeping at most 30 specimens. Thus, the "war" losses are staggering¹⁰.

The history of the collection of Kazimierz Sobański reflects the process of formation of private collections, but is also a reminder that the resources of today's public museums largely derive from past donations or bequests.

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⁹ According to A. Ryszard, the double ducat struck in 1528 was bought by Sobański from Bartynowski. A. Ryszard MS, II/2, p. [41 – unnumbered pp.], entry: *Sobański Kazimierz*.

¹⁰ Some of these lost, valuable coins were enumerated in a more extensive essay on Sobański's collection: Widawski 2012.

NUMISMATIC COLLECTIONS

Adam DEGLER*

THE OSSOLIŃSKI NATIONAL INSTITUTION, WROCŁAW: THE NUMISMATIC COLLECTION

There is no need to discuss the general history of the numismatic collection in the Ossoliński National Institute (in short: the Ossolineum), since it was presented on the XIVth INC Congress in Glasgow.¹ In this paper, I would like to present some developments in our knowledge of the subject.

The numismatic collections in the Ossolineum are as old as the institution itself. Their beginnings were connected with the cultural activity of Polish aristocracy and nobility in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (so-called East Galicia, Eastern Lesser Poland in the years 1918-1939) in the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. Founders' donations, as we call them, came from Count Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748-1826), Prince Henryk Lubomirski (1777-1850) and Count Ignacy Adam Krasicki (1767-1844); each of them contained more than 1,000 items in 1828-1829.² Other donations started to come immediately, among others from Prince Fryderyk Lubomirski (1779-1848), Henryk's brother, Adam Junosza Rościszewski (1774-1844), a landowner and a friend of the first director of the Ossolineum, the neighbour of Lubomirski and collector, and then hundreds of other people, among others aristocrats, noblemen, clergy, officials, artists, freelancers of various descent, mainly Polish, German, Austrian, Jewish, Ruthenian, Hungarian and Romanian. Many of them were collectors themselves. Some of them are still very well known today. Others are now completely forgotten or unknown. Gifts were supplied by much less numerous purchases and still less numerous exchanges.

The funding gift of Ossoliński contained 58 ancient coins, 446 Polish coins and medals and 512 foreign coins and medals.³ The mystery of the origin of Ossoliński's collection is still unsolved. We only know that it had to be completed in Vienna at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, perhaps on the basis of the older collection of Józef Salezy Ossoliński.

The founding gift of Lubomirski contained 1,851 ancient coins, c. 2,973 Polish coins and medals, and c. 347 foreign coins and medals.⁴ Lubomirski

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¹ Degler 2011.

² *Księga darczyńców* MS., pp. 16-20, nos. 1, 2, 8 and 9.

³ Pawlikowski MS.; Łoś MS.

⁴ *Księga darczyńców*, MS., pp. 16 and 18. The number of ancient coins is almost identical with the number obtained from the detailed lists of the gift.

obtained 548 coins and medals from the legacy of Stanisław Lubomirski (1722-1783), the late husband of Henryk's patroness Izabela.⁵ He had also a collection of his own, counting 844 Polish coins and medals, including at least 160 gold specimens.⁶ Thanks to the newly discovered (in August 2021) document which is the list of a few thousand numismatic objects prefaced with two pages of introduction entitled "Notification on medals sent by Stanisław [Kostka] Potocki to Vienna for Princess [Izabela] Lubomirska" we got to know the origin of the remaining part of the Prince's collection.⁷ There were 1,926 ancient coins, 872 Polish coins and medals, and 321 foreign coins in this transfer. Although the list is very general, a dozen or so unique or distinct objects had been described in it; they can be subject to identification (Figs. 1 and 2).⁸ Those coins were kept in Izabela's palace in Vienna, which was inherited with all the equipment by Henryk after the princess died in 1816.⁹



Fig. 1: Aureus, mint in Rome, 43 BC, issuers L. Cestius, C. Norbanus (praetors).
Diam. 19.1 mm, weight 8.10 g, Inv. No. B 5569. There is a trace of the former inventory no. on the obverse of the coin. The provenance of this coin can be traced back to Stanisław Kostka Potocki, c. 1800.



Fig. 2: Four-ducats medal issued in memory of King Louis by King Ferdinand I, minted in Kremnica (Hungary, today's Slovakia), 1544. Medallist Christoph Fuessel, mint-director Wolfgang Guglinger. Diam. 30 mm, weight 13.87 g, Inv. No.: G 1659.
There is the former inventory number seen on the obverse of the coin.
The provenance of this coin can be traced back to Stanisław Kostka Potocki, c. 1800.

⁵ Lubomirski (*Opisanie*) MS.

⁶ Lubomirski (*Spis*) MS.

⁷ Potocki MS., pp. 1-2 ("Uwiedomienie o medalach, które Stanisław Potocki przesyła do Wiednia dla Xiężnej JWci Lubomirskiej"). It is digitalised and accessible on the Internet.

⁸ Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) was one of the most outstanding representatives of the Polish Enlightenment and also a collector, an amateur explorer and first Polish art historian, who organised his private museum in Wilanów in 1805 (see: Długajczyk & Machnik 2008, pp. 56-57 & 74-75; Długajczyk & Machnik 2019, pp. 8-9).

⁹ Currently we cannot state when Henryk Lubomirski received the part of his collection originating from Stanisław Lubomirski.

The founding gift of count Ignacy Adam Krasicki contained 977 ancient coins and 24 modern French coins. The origin of a small part of this collection is given in the list itself: the former collection of Daner.¹⁰ Until recently we had just a vague idea of what were the origins of this collection and its content. The discovery of rich manuscript legacy of Krasicki allows us to get to know it and far more than that. It is kept in the Przemyśl State Archive within the series *Archiwum Zamku Leskiego Krasickich* (archive of the Krasicki family from Lesko castle). There are several dozen manuscripts containing descriptions of the manor house, its equipment, the numismatic collection, some numismatic treaties and extensive comments (for example on faking ancient coins at that time), as well as Krasicki's diaries, including the one (in two volumes) of his tour to Italy in 1811 with extremely detailed descriptions of monuments and names of antiquarians selling numismatic objects.¹¹ Krasicki had a splendid collection of ancient coins (4,850 items), with at least 155 gold objects in it. It was dispersed after the count's death and then got lost.

The Ossolineum had also been receiving parcels with coins found in East Galicia from the mid-1830s throughout the 1840s. Many coins from those finds entered the collection. Other local coin finds entered the collection irregularly or were recorded in the Institute's archive only. In 1914, there were 12,411 coins and medals registered in the inventory books written down by Wojciech Kętrzyński, director of the Ossolineum, including 413 Greek coins, 2,689 Roman coins, 5,620 Polish coins, 1,512 Polish medals and 2,177 foreign medals. At least 5,000 foreign coins were not inventoried at that time. The numismatic collection in the Ossolineum in Lwów (today's Lviv, Ukraine) reached 23,500 specimens in 1928 and 29,600 specimens in 1939, including two former big collections of the Pawlikowski family (3,811 specimens) and Ludwik Świeżawski (3,581 specimens). The dramatic period of the division of the collection in years 1940-1946 has been researched recently. It is a very complex subject, so let us only mention that c. 12,500 coins and medals remained in Lviv, whereas c. 17,500 were evacuated by the Germans to Cracow and then to Złotoryja in Lower Silesia. At last, we managed to evaluate the total war losses from that time at c. 3,000 specimens, including many valuable, gold pieces. These numismatic objects got lost during their journey.¹²

The Numismatic Department has been functioning since 1955 in Wrocław, from the 1990s as a part of the recreated Museum of the Lubomirski Princes. Its collections are more diverse than coins and medals only. There are also seals (matrices and imprints), orders, badges and other decorations, plaques, arts and crafts, historical souvenirs and stamps. There are 6,500 ancient

¹⁰ Krasicki MS., pp. 23-24.

¹¹ The series (*Archiwum Krasickich*, MS.) is still being digitised, so it is too early to say a final word on it.

¹² Degler 2020; Forysiak-Wójciński 2020.

coins, 20,000 Polish coins, 11,250 foreign coins, 6,700 medals, 5,550 phaleristic objects and over 72,000 sphragistic objects and 7,100 banknotes. Apart of that, there is one hoard discovered in Wrocław on Kazimierza Wielkiego Street in 2000 which counts c. 100,000 Jagiellonian pennies. A sample of them, researched in 2021, indicates that they come from a counterfeiting mint. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański and Stanisław Garczyński donated two biggest gifts after the WWII.¹³

In 2017–2018, on the occasion of the bicentennial of the Ossolineum, the keepers of the numismatic collection prepared a presentation devoted to the long forgotten permanent numismatic exhibition in Lwów (Lviv) held in 1928–1939.¹⁴ We managed to determine that c. 1,700 coins and medals and 244 banknotes were exhibited on it and that the greatest part of those objects were lost during the wartime transports. We are working at the moment on the future permanent exhibition of the Museum of the Lubomirski Princes. Some kind of reconstruction of the Lwów exhibition, virtual or illustrative, will find its place in the new building. Thus, the past will meet the future.

The research on the various aspects of the Ossolineum is one of the keys to understand the broader context of the history of coin collecting among the Poles during partitions (1772–1918), and then in the independent Second Polish Republic (1918–1939). Recent developments prove that there is still much to discover.

Abbreviations

AGAD = Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw).

LNNB MS = Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника (Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine), Department of Manuscripts.

Ossolineum, MS = The Ossoliński National Institute, Department of Manuscripts.

¹³ The recent period was discussed in: Forysiak–Wójciński & Koniarek 2018, pp. 414–39.

¹⁴ Baran *et al.* 2019.

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**THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN KRAKOW:
THE NUMISMATIC COLLECTION**



Fig. 1. Exterior of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, Krakow

The National Museum in Krakow was created in 1879 by a resolution of the City Council of Krakow, at a time when the Polish State was no longer in existence, its territory divided by Prussia, Russia and Austria. The National Museum could be instituted thanks to the liberal policies pursued at the time in Austria-Hungary. In its first statute passed in 1883, the Museum was provided with a Department of Numismatics (now Numismatic Cabinet) in response to the progress made in the Polish numismatic research and the awareness of its significance for the history of Poland. In the 19th century a large community of collectors and researchers was active in all three partitions, as well as outside Poland's historical borders, and the first serious contributions on numismatics were published. In 1888 the Numismatic Society was established in Krakow, the first such association in Polish lands, serving as a focal point for Polish numismatists then active in different parts of the country and the world. In practice, the Numismatic Cabinet started to operate in 1884, the time when it acquired its first item: a medal commemorating the resolution passed by the Four Years' Sejm to

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enlarge the army (1789), donated by Jan Matejko. As time went by, the numismatic collection continued expanding, supported largely by donations deriving from all three partitions, and to a lesser extent, by purchases. By 1903 the numismatic collection had grown to include several thousand coins, medals and banknotes.

The year 1903 marks a milestone in the history of the Numismatic Cabinet. By the decision of Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska and her son Jerzy, the Municipality of Krakow received as a donation the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, her deceased husband, complete with the museum pavilion housing it (Fig. 1). The collection and pavilion were made part of the National Museum, then governed by the Municipality. With this major change in its holdings the status of the Numismatic Cabinet also changed. Until then it used to be an average collection, one of many of its kind in the country. The acquisition of an extensive high-quality collection of more than 11,000 Polish coins, medals and memorabilia associated with Poland amassed by Count Emeryk, made the collection of the National Museum in Krakow a leading corpus of its kind (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Wedding medal of King Vladislas IV and Queen Louise-Mary de Gonzague by Jan Höhn the Elder, obverse, Gdańsk mint, 1646. Gold. Collection of the National Museum in Krakow, ex Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski bequest

What is more, for the first time in its history the Museum had acquired space for the display of its numismatic collections in the excellently designed and fitted out Museum of the Counts Czapski (previously the numismatic pieces had been stored in the building of the Cloth Hall). The donation from the Czapski family and the display facilities opened up the way for a wave of further donations. Many benefactors simply followed the example of the Czapskis, while others did their best to add to his collections in an informed manner. Some pieces acquired in this way were found to be duplicates and sold off, the obtained funds used to purchase lacking specimens

at auctions abroad, and from private individuals. Numerous acquisitions significantly enhanced and supplemented the display in the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, this is indicated by the guidebook published in 1908 and plans made to publish volume 6 of the catalogue to the collection.

The outbreak of the First World War did not slow down the growth of the collection, although in the face of the threat of the Russian offensive it was concealed in barrels and buried in the cellars of the Czapski Palace, with dire consequences for the arrangement by chronology and classes developed over many years. Worse still, some of the provenances went missing. The end of the war and the regaining of its independence by Poland in 1918 brought some changes to the situation of the National Museum and its numismatic collection. Other institutions were established across the country and became to some extent a target for the generosity of benefactors. Even so, the flow of donations to the Numismatic Cabinet continued, and some significant purchases were made as well. The Polish part of the collection retained its prominent role, while the permanent display in the Czapski Palace was open to the general public who could acquaint themselves with the numismatic collection. This period also witnessed a very lively cooperation between the Museum and the Numismatic Society of Krakow.

The Second World War brought major changes, fraught with consequences for the situation of the numismatic collections. In the face of threat, they were once again concealed in barrels and buried but this did not keep them from being seized by the Germans. Nevertheless, for reasons that are not entirely clear the war losses suffered by the holdings of Krakow's National Museum turned out relatively small as compared to other Polish museums. Much more fraught with consequences was once again the disruption of the original arrangement of the collection and the loss of a part of the records, resulting in the loss of provenances of a significant number of items. Another major development was the expulsion by the Germans of the Museum management from the Cloth Hall and its relocation to the Czapski Palace which caused the loss of the exhibition spaces. This situation persisted after independence was regained in 1945, reducing the space available for the display of the collections of the Numismatic Cabinet only in the form of temporary exhibitions. The management and most of the Museum administration would remove from the Czapski Palace only in the 1990s. However, this did not discourage benefactors, who continued to add substantially to the collections of the Numismatic Cabinet. Among many donations two gifts stand out especially in this period – a group of 2,574 ancient coins donated by Karol Halama (1946), and 5,000 medieval coins presented by Jadwiga and Andrzej Kleczkowski – originally from the collection of Zygmunt Zakrzewski (1960). The former would make the collection of ancient coins one of the most important in this country, the latter added significantly to the class of medieval Polish and Central European coins. The time after the war was also a period of tedious work on restoring order to the numismatic collection, arranged by classes. The year 1989 and the fall of communism

brought further major changes in the history of the collection. In the 1990s the key goals for developing the numismatic collection were defined, as e.g., organizing a permanent exhibition in the Czapski Palace, restoring the proper remembrance of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski and his collection, expanding the numismatic collection with indicated fields and making the Numismatic Cabinet the focus of the collecting community, and for research and educational activities. The pursuit of these goals was a priority for the staff of the Numismatic Cabinet. Contacts were established with members of the Czapski family, and the Society of Friends of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum was established, its main goal being to support the idea of opening a permanent exhibition. In 1997 an exhibition was organized accompanied by a comprehensive catalogue to commemorate the centenary of the death of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski. Lastly, in cooperation with the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, the Museum started to publish its academic journal *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*.

The early 21st century brought an intensification of the process of the quantitative and qualitative enlargement of the collections of the Numismatic Cabinet through donations, large and small – the latter not less relevant because of their quality – and to a lesser extent, from purchases. More outstanding among the former have been donations made in stages over a few years, decades even, aimed on augmenting the numismatic collections of the National Museum in Krakow with particular classes of coins. Of these the most notable was the contribution made by the lawyer Lech Kokociński (over 8,000 donated items), Mirosław Kruszyński (c. 21,000 items), reverend Jan J. KołECKI (c. 5,200 items), architect Jacek Budyn (c. 100 items) and William M. Stancomb (c. 100 items). Each of these benefactors was guided by a somewhat different goal. Thus, thanks to L. Kokociński, the Museum added to its collections, besides items of other classes, 2,500 ancient coins (mostly from the Black Sea region and the Greek Orient) and nearly 3,000 forgeries (ancient to modern). M. Kruszyński may be credited with basically creating a comprehensive collection of world circulation coins and banknotes, 10th to 20th century. A similar aim had guided J.J. KołECKI, while the primary concern of J. Budyn was to raise the quality of the Antiquity and Medieval collections, while W.M. Stancomb was concerned with the collection of ancient coins. Among single donations first place is taken by a group of 900 items offered in 2016 by Michał Krupowies. Its main element was a series of coins of Pomerania, poorly represented previously in the collections of the Krakow Museum, next to which there were some coins of the Teutonic Order, ancient issues, etc. A much smaller but extremely valuable group of ten ancient coins was donated by Prof. Tadeusz Zawadzki, while Prof. Jannis Hourmouziadis contributed two early coins of Ancient Lydia (an electrum trite and a silver stater of Croesus). Some donations were made by institutions, e.g., the Warsaw Numismatic Centre, and organizations e.g., the Polish Numismatic Society. An event important for

the development of the Oriental and Antique collections was the acquisition of more than 12,000 coins and some other items previously in the former Polish Museum in Jerusalem accomplished through the efforts of the Ministry of Culture, National Heritage and Sports. Finally, the museum collections have been regularly augmented by gifts from the National Bank of Poland. All in all, since 1990 the resources of the Numismatic Cabinet have increased by c. 40,000 items, and number at present c. 130,000 inventory entries. This makes the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow not only unique in Poland, one that not only emerged almost intact from the most gruelling periods of Poland's 20th-century history, but thanks to the generosity of benefactors also one that is continuing to develop in a dynamic manner.



*Fig. 3. Interior of the Emyrek Hutten-Czapski Museum, Krakow.
The Room of Coins and Medals from the 16th-18th centuries.*

A major milestone was the renovation of the Czapski Palace in 2009-2013, co-financed by the European Union, which opened up the way after seventy years for a new and forward-looking permanent numismatic exhibition (Fig. 3). It presents 2,500 specimens – ancient and Polish coins, among them a few hundred prime specimens from the former collection of Emyrek Hutten-Czapski. Another room is dedicated to the display of temporary exhibitions addressing a specific subject and based both on the museum's own collections and on specimens borrowed from other institutions and from private individuals. Eight temporary exhibitions were held since 2013, and yet another is pending, companion to the International Numismatic

Congress, its subject Polish private medals, from the Renaissance to the end of the First Republic (1795). Thanks to its renovation the Czapski Palace is now provided with lecture halls, enabling the implementation of postulate of turning the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum and the Numismatic Cabinet into the focus of all sorts of activities related to numismatics. The museum has played host to domestic and international conferences and has been the seat (since 1908) of the Krakow branch of the Polish Numismatic Society. The lecture halls of the Czapski Palace have been the venue of popular science lectures, introducing numismatics to the general public. This has also been the venue for strictly academic encounters as part of a cooperation with the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow. Last but not least, the Numismatic Cabinet has been the home base of members of the editorial office of *Notae Numismaticae-Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, at present a leading Polish numismatic journal.

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Andrzej ROMANOWSKI*

**THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW (MNW):
DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS**

The collection of the Department of Coins and Medals in the National Museum in Warsaw is the largest of its kind in Poland and a leading collection in Europe. It owes its repute not only to the number of objects in its possession (over 250,000) but, above all, to their quality and diversity. The numismatic collection spans the history of European and non-European coinage from Antiquity through the medieval and modern ages to the most recent coins issued in Poland. This rich corpus of coins is complemented by a fine collection of banknotes and paper securities, and by some fascinating examples of non-monetary currency. Its other resources are medals and decorations, and there is also a rich collection of seals. Another critical function of the Department is restoration work which not only ensures that objects in its collections are maintained in the best possible condition, but also helps broaden our knowledge on the proper care of our exhibits.



*Fig. 1. Kazimierz Count Sobański, photo by unknown author, before 1900.
National Museum in Warsaw, no. 22525 MNW*

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The National Museum in Warsaw is one of the largest and most important art museums in Poland. It was created in 1862 as the Museum of Fine Arts, in 1916 was renamed the National Museum of the Capital City of Warsaw, and in 1918 the National Museum. In 1945 it was recognized as a central State institution. Its Department of Coins and Medals dates back to 1921 when it comprised two major collections: the collection of Count Kazimierz Sobański (Fig. 1) – one of the largest and most famous collections of Polish coins of that period, and a fine collection of ancient coins of Dr Władysław Semerau-Siemianowski acquired the same year. Two rooms in the National Museum building were opened in 1938 and dedicated to the numismatic collections; they were named after these two benefactors. With time, the collection expanded by donations and purchases, enriched with many valuable specimens deriving from regular collections, accidental finds and archaeological fieldwork.

The numismatic collection suffered major losses during the Second World War. Many rare and unique specimens were seized by the Germans. These losses would be recouped only to some extent in the post-war years by private and institutional collections obtained in the process of salvaging pre-war collections abandoned and scattered during the Second World War. Even so, some of them entered the National Museum already depleted of their finest specimens.

The Department of Coins and Medals falls into eleven main classes. The largest of these is the Collection of Polish Coins, with c. 58,000 objects, spanning the history of Polish coinage from its origins to the present day (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Sigismund II Augustus, portugal (10 ducats) of Lithuania, 1562, Vilna mint, obverse. Gold. National Museum in Warsaw, no. 116777 MNW

The Collection of Polish Coins dates to the same period as the Department of Coins and Medals. In 1920, the National Museum in Warsaw added to its resources the collection of Count Kazimierz Sobański, originally bequeathed in his will to the city of Warsaw in 1908. This was a corpus of nearly 9,000 coins, from Sigismund I to 1867.¹ With subsequent acquisitions, as *e.g.*, the

¹ Widawski 2012.

purchase from Baron Józef Weysenhoff in 1922 of a corpus of c. 1,000 early medieval coins, and sixteen years later, the allocation from the National Art Collection, the collection continued to expand. Many coins obtained from the National Art Collection originated from the so-called equivalent collection returned by Soviet Russia to Poland by the Peace Treaty of Riga of 1920 to compensate for coins and medals seized by the Russians after the national uprisings of the 19th century – in the first place, from the University of Warsaw. As such, the Department of Coins and Medals of the National Museum may be said to continue the numismatic traditions of the University of Warsaw. With the heavy losses suffered during the Second World War the value of the surviving collections decreased by more than half. In the post-war period the collection was restored by donations, allocations and purchases.

The second largest and extremely diverse collection of the Department of Coins and Medals is its Collection of Foreign Coins. It includes 50,000 European coins spanning a broad territory and chronology. Found here are *e.g.*, coins of early medieval European kingdoms, the earliest dating to the 7th century, as well as later gold coins – *e.g.*, Venetian and Hungarian ducats, French *écu d'or* and English nobles. The early modern period is represented by a rich selection of coins – early 16th-century Jáchymov talers, and assorted Imperial, municipal, princely and episcopal issues. A group that is set apart by a non-standard material and circumstances of issue are siege coins, commemorative coins *e.g.*, square prize coins of Saxony, talers struck in gold and early 17th-century silver medal-like talers. The collection of 19th- and 20th-century coins completes this presentation of European coinage.



Fig. 3. Derrones, octodrachm, minted in Macedon, c.520–480 BC, obverse.
National Museum in Warsaw, no. 57110 MNW

The Collection of Ancient Coins is the best of its kind in Poland (Fig. 3). Its origins go back to Dr Władysław Semerau–Siemianowski who donated to the National Museum in 1921 his collection of 27,711 ancient coins and 133 Byzantine seals.² In 1925–1930 the Museum purchased from the collection of Ignacy Terlecki 1,751 coins of Black Sea Greek colonies and of the King-

² Wiercińska 2014.

dom of Cimmerian Bosphorus,³ including a group of electrum staters.⁴ In 1938 the National Art Collection transferred more than 3,000 ancient coins, among them *aes grave* series and the first didrachms.⁵ Also notable is a corpus of Byzantine coins which includes an impressive number of gold specimens. In 1939 the Museum added to its resources the collection of Prof. Jan Lewiński of 446 Greek and Roman coins. The pre-war collection of ancient coins comprised over 30,000 pieces, including 361 gold and electrum issues. After the war the depleted collection started being rebuilt. At present it comprises over 40,000 Greek, Celtic, Roman and Byzantine coins.

The Collection of Coins from Lands Historically Affiliated with Poland numbering more than 6,000 specimens includes coins issued by states tributary to Poland and territories otherwise historically affiliated with Poland. Unfortunately, the provenance of most of these specimens is hard to establish. This is because they are survivors of pre-war collections, abandoned or broken up during the Second World War. Their acquisition by the museum partly compensated for the heavy war losses. The geographical and chronological scope of this collection is quite diverse. Found here are coins of Courland, Silesian duchies, Western Pomerania, the Teutonic Order,⁶ Ducal Prussia, from the medieval period until the 17th century, as well as the coins of the Principality of Moldavia, for a time a fiefdom of Poland. Also of special note is a group of Silesian coins which besides their substantial value for research are high in aesthetic value. The appeal of this collection is raised by the presence of rare and unique items.

Another fascinating group is the Collection of Eastern Coins. It includes the coinage of the Near East and the Caucasus, *e.g.*, Iran, Syria, Armenia and Georgia, and the Far East – India, China, Japan, with a total of more than 4,000 specimens. The most complete and instructive group are Chinese coins – spade or knife shaped among them – from the of 4th century BC and the most recent, 20th-century issues. Another interesting group are medieval silver dirhams of the Islamic East which were carried to Europe, including the territory of present-day Poland between the late 9th and early 11th century.

Finally, the Collection of Banknotes and Paper Securities numbers some 19,000 items. Its resources include paper money and financial documents from the last three centuries: bonds, promissory notes, cheques and share certificates. Of particular importance for the history of Poland are *e.g.*, treasury notes from the time of the Kosciuszko's Rising in 1794, cash notes of the Duchy of Warsaw from 1810, and the first banknotes of the Second

³ Walczak 2016.

⁴ The collections of coins of Black Sea cities and Cimmerian Bosphorus were presented in catalogues to this collection in the series *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*: Walczak & Krzyżanowska 2015; Walczak 2018.

⁵ The collection of Roman Republican coins was presented in the catalogue to this collection: Wiercińska 1996.

⁶ Coins of the Teutonic Order were published in a catalogue by Miehle 1998.

Polish Republic. A poignant reminder of a more recent age is a collection of paper money of the Litzmannstadt Ghetto donated in 1978 by Włodzimirz Głuchowski. An interesting, nearly comprehensive collection of United States and Canada dollar notes was donated in 1976 by Andrzej J. Piękoś.

Another excellent section of the Department is the Collection of Polish and Foreign Medals numbering over 16,000 items. Its original core, the collection of Kazimierz Sobański included royal medals, mostly struck in gold, but these were lost during the Second World War. Other acquisitions included a collection purchased in 1924 from Henryk Phull – 1460 medals from the post-Partitions period, and a collection of 179 royal medals donated by Henryk Mańkowski. In 1938 the Cabinet was enriched further with 1,000 medals obtained from the National Art Collection. Another acquisition made that year was a collection of medals, devotional medals and pendants received from the Polish Museum in Rapperswil. Polish medals found in the collection include the earliest, 16th-century specimens, and more recent pieces, some of them the work of outstanding medal makers – Giovanni Maria Mosca (il Padovano), Sebastian Dadler, Johann Höhn, Johann Buchheim and Jan Filip Holzhaeusser. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Polish medal-making marked by a strong patriotic sentiment is represented by the works of outstanding masters *e.g.*, Władysław Leszczyński, Kazimierz Chodziński, Jan Wysocki, Jan Raszka, Stanisław Lewandowski and Konstanty Laszczka.

Next to its numismatic collections the Department of Coins and Medals of the National Museum in Warsaw has some non-numismatic objects. Numbering 17,000 items, the Sigillography Collection includes impressions, prints and seal matrices. Most of these items derive from private collections acquired before 1939. They include medieval and early modern seal matrices, seal impressions found on documents from the 15th century and later, and signet ring stones engraved with heraldic crests. A collection of 19th-century brass casts of medieval seals is one of the largest of its kind in Poland. It includes royal, ducal, ecclesiastic seals, seals used by members of the clergy and private lay individuals, and also municipal and guild seals.

Despite its relatively short history the Phaleristics Collection contains some interesting pieces. Created only in the post-war period, it is made up mostly of items acquired before the war – in the first place, from the collection of Stanisław Kosieradzki containing, *i.a.*, 2,272 badges and decorations. There is also an excellent collection of Polish shooting society badges and of German military awards and decorations. Also on display is a vast range of pins and decorations related to governmental administration, social organizations, sports clubs, etc. Enthusiasts of Polish military decorations and emblems will also find much to enjoy. Some of the decorations on display are extremely valuable on account of their recipients, as for example the Order of *Polonia Restituta* awarded to Ignacy Paderewski and orders of the

heroic mayor of Warsaw, Stefan Starzyński. The oldest decorations in this Collection are stars of the Order of the White Eagle.

The Collection of Religious Pendants comprises over 9,000 items deriving from valuable pre-war collections – e.g., of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil, the collections of Dominik Witke-Jeżewski and Stanisław Kosieradzki, which next to the award items mentioned earlier contained 4,720 devotional medals and pendants. Miscellaneous objects collected in the Department are of interest both to researchers and the general public. They include a rich collection of plaques and jewellery made from coins.

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Witold GARBACZEWSKI*

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ: HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS

The origins of the existing collections of the Department of Coins and Medals in the National Museum in Poznań (subseq.: GNMNP) may be traced to the collections of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning (PTPN). The Society was established in 1857 (as Society of Friends of Learning of Poznań) to collect, study and make available the relics of Polish history to the general public. The same year, the Museum of Polish and Slav Antiquities in the Grand Duchy of Poznań was established attached to the Society.¹ When the predominantly German board of trustees of the Raczyński Library gave the Society notice to vacate its previous premises in the Library, the Society's most generous benefactor, Seweryn Mielżyński (1804–1872) lent his support. In 1871, he bought a house in what is now no. 35 Młyńska Street in Poznań, and offered it to the Society. A building constructed on its site was designed specifically for museum and library purposes. On 8 November 1882, the extended museum facility officially opened its doors under the name of the Mielżyński Museum.² In the period of the Second Polish Republic, during a project of reorganization of the Poznań museums, the collections of the Society were successively transferred to the Greater Poland Museum (coins and medals entered that museum only during the Second World War, transferred by Germans in the process of abolishing Polish institutions).³ However, let us go back to the beginnings of the public numismatic collection in Poznań.

In 1894 the Provincial Museum (*Provinzial-Museum der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen*) was created in Poznań headed by its Director, Dr Franz Schwartz (1864–1901). It added to its collections mainly the resources of the Historical Society of Poznań (*Historische Gesellschaft zu Posen*) established in 1885. In November 1902 the Provincial Museum was renamed the Emperor Frederick Museum (*Kaiser Friedrich-Museum*, KFM), and moved shortly afterwards to a newly constructed building (1904). Its Director, Prof. Dr Ludwig Kaemmerer (1862–1938) held this position between 1903 and 1918. The numismatic collection was an important part of the museum's resources in the Department of Cultural History (historic coins and medals) and the Department of Prehistory (hoards, ancient coins). Plaquet-

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¹ Olejniczak 1987, p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³ Olejniczak 1982, p. 109.

tes, medallions and artistic medals were placed in the Department of Artistic Crafts. Interestingly enough, the management of the Provincial Museum took special care to present the history of coinage of Greater Poland (then — *Provinz Posen*) against a broader background of the history of Polish coinage. This liberal approach in displaying the works of Polish art and culture was presumably in line with the official policy of the Prussian state. In presenting coins and medals struck in mints of Greater Poland, emphasis care was taken to highlight the German contribution to the history of Polish coinage (e.g., senior mint officials and die engravers of German origin). Another possible objective could have been “taking the presentation of the past from Polish hands”,⁴ even strictly Polish past, at a time when a Polish Society of Friends of Learning was active in Poznań.

From the very first years of its operation, the Provincial Museum pursued an extensive campaign of acquisition of numismatic items. In 1895 it bought a sizeable batch of coins and medals (over 200 items) from the collection of Max Kirmis (1851–1926), initially based in Poznań, and subsequently (from the early 1880s) in Neumünster in Holstein, a secondary school teacher, collector and popularizer of history, author of the first handbook of Polish numismatics (*Handbuch der polnischen Münzkunde*, Poznań, 1892). This purchase included Polish medieval coins, early modern coins from mints of Greater Poland (Poznań, Bydgoszcz, Wschowa, Łobżenica) and medals produced in Greater Poland during the partition period.⁵ The Museum also acquired medieval and early modern hoards found in Greater Poland, some of them by purchase.⁶

On the occasion of the KFM’s opening on 30 October 1904, the Numismatic Society in Poznań (*Numismatische Gesellschaft in Posen*) (1899–1918/1919), donated to the Museum a collection of 342 Polish coins, spanning the period from early medieval to issues of the Free City of Cracow from 1835, on the condition that the Museum display the coins to the public.⁷ This donation, while very valuable, was incomplete (more notably, it included no gold or silver coins of higher denominations). Taken together with coins and medals already held by KFM, it led the Museum to establish a permanent numismatic gallery, made available to visitors in the Department of Cultural History already in 1904 (additionally to coin hoards and single finds, mostly Antique, displayed in the Department of Prehistory).

The openness of the museum to Polish numismatics meant that in addition to purchases made at auction houses and from German museums, the KFM was in close contact with leading Polish numismatist-collectors and societies, obtaining from this source valuable Polish coins and medals, mostly

⁴ Stahr 2004a, p. 265.

⁵ Stahr 2004a, p. 261; Murawska 2010, pp. 9–10.

⁶ Stahr 2004a, p. 261; Murawska 2010, pp. 12–17.

⁷ Garbaczewski 2010, pp. 26–7; Murawska 2010, pp. 11–23.

by purchase.⁸ Between 1903 and 1918 the Museum added to its collections more than 1,000 rare Polish coins and medals (not counting hoards), more notably, higher denomination gold and silver coins (47 and 27 respectively), mostly talers, and 7 gold and 53 silver medals.⁹



Fig. 1. Medallion: *The Fall of Phaeton*, by *Moderno*, cast bronze, diam. 106 mm, MNP GN H1 62, donated to the KFM of Poznań by James Simon in 1903 (photo Sławomir Obst, Photography unit of the National Museum in Poznań).

Among acquisitions of the Department of Artistic Crafts the most important donation was from James Simon (1851-1932), eminent collector, patron of the arts and philanthropist who in 1903 offered the KFM 140 Renaissance plaquettes (Fig. 1)¹⁰, along with more than 60 European plaquettes and medals from the last quarter of the 19th and early 20th century (mostly French, works of *e.g.*, Alexandre Charpentier, Frederic Vernon, Oscar Roty and Jules

⁸ Stahr 2004a, p. 263.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4.

¹⁰ Stahr 1994.

Clément). Unlike historic coins and medals, the collection of plaquettes and medallions was expanded only sporadically, despite being displayed “in greater part”.¹¹

After the successful Greater Poland Uprising of 1918/19 and the return of Poznań to the Motherland, the KFM passed under Polish administration and was renamed the Greater Poland Museum (*Muzeum Wielkopolskie*, MW). In 1919 the position of its director was taken by Dr Marian Gumowski (1881–1974), imported from Cracow (his tenure continued until May 1932), an outstanding but controversial researcher of impressively broad interests. Considering the fact that Gumowski was one of the best known (and active) Polish numismatists of his day, it is somewhat surprising that during his tenure the Department of Coins and Medals of the Museum remained on the margin of its activities.



Fig. 2. Medallion with a portrait of Kasia Zakrzewska, by Jan Wysocki, 1920, cast bronze, diam. 109 mm, MNP GN H2 284, purchased for the collections of the Greater Poland Museum from Antoni Liske of Poznań in 1926 (photo Witold Garbaczewski).

¹¹ Stahr 2004b, p. 269.

Sources are insufficient to establish what criteria guided the director in developing the collection, and whether there was any policy in this respect. Purchases of numismatic items were few, but some of them – as the purchase in 1926–1927 of Polish medallions and plaquettes from the collection of Antoni Liske based in Poznań – substantially enriched the Museum's collection (Fig. 2). There were also some spectacular donations. The most notable was a gift of plaster models of medallions and plaquettes made by Czesław Makowski, a prominent Polish portraitist–medallist (Fig. 3). They were offered to the Museum by this artist as an expression of appreciation and a form of thanks for the participation of armed units from Greater Poland in the Polish–Bolshevik war (1919–20).



Fig. 3. Plaquette (plaster model – scale 65%) with a portrait of Zygmunt Kramsztyk, by Czesław Makowski, 1905, plaster, MNP GN M 98, donated to the Greater Poland Museum of Poznań by the artist in 1920 (photo Sławomir Obst, Photography unit of the National Museum in Poznań).

Gumowski maintained contacts with institutions both in Poland (*e.g.*, the Warsaw Mint, the National Museum of Warsaw), and abroad (the *Kunst-historisches Museum* in Vienna), but also with auction houses in Germany and with Polish collectors; however, judging by the surviving records, this rarely brought tangible results in the form of gifts or purchases. The aim in such cases was primarily consultation, valuation, and getting information about the numismatic traffic, etc.¹² Perhaps, funds were insufficient to develop a more ambitious purchasing campaign, although interestingly enough, the Museum library continued to be regularly provided with numismatic literature, quite expensive at times.

After Gumowski's retirement in 1932 the position of the MW director passed to Nikodem Pajzderski (1882–1940). The intensity of activities aimed at acquiring numismatic products decreased further, although on some rare occasions the Museum would express interest in received offers. This is the case of Roman coins from Słowikowo, reported to the Museum in early 1938 which matter was addressed by Curator Dr Jerzy Koller as the representative of the MW.¹³ Another notable point is the absence of evidence in the Museum's records for cooperation during the tenure of Gumowski and Pajzderski of its cooperation with the (Polish) Numismatic Society active in Poznań in 1920–1939.

Things changed dramatically after the outbreak of the Second World War. In September 1939 Germans took over the collections of the MW, including the numismatic collection with an exceptionally rich representation of gold specimens (almost 100) and silver coins. Director Pajzderski was arrested, imprisoned in Fort VII in Poznań and shot. Reopened officially on 21 January 1940, the Museum reverted to its former name *Kaiser Friedrich-Museum* (*Landesmuseum des Reichsgaues Wartheland*) now with Dr Siegfried Rühle, *Sturmbannführer* SA, art historian arrived from Gdańsk as Director. The department of coins and medals became the charge of Dr Reinhold von Sengbusch brought from Riga who was assisted by Carl Stempel.

From the first days after its opening the Museum began purchasing numismatic items for its collection, both from antiquity dealers and auction houses, contacting also the *Reichsbank*. These purchases were often consulted with prominent German numismatists, *e.g.*, Richard Gaettens in Munich and Prof. Arthur Suhle, then a manager in the *Staatliches Münz-kabinett* in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin.

The Germans kept a record in the inventory books of the Museum of seized Polish private and institutional collections. Thus, already in 1940, the Museum had taken over the collections of Paweł Czarnecki of Dobrzyca, the Counts Skórzewski of Lubostroń, Michael Levy of Inowrocław, Marian Gumowski of Dębowiec, the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning (moved

¹² Murawska 2011, pp. 27f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

from the Mielżyński Museum of Poznań), and the Benedictine monastery in Lubiń (turned into an internment camp for priests and monastics from Greater Poland). In the following years, the KFM added to its resources the collections *e.g.*, of Franciszek Zygarłowski (medals, religious pendants, plaquettes, coins, emergency money) and Paweł Wańkowicz of Poznań (an impressive collection of gold coins) and other collections or their fragments whose owners remain unidentified today.¹⁴

In mid-1944, under the supervision of Carl Stempel, the collections started being prepared for evacuation. Coins and medals were placed in boxes, which were next placed in cases, sent to locations safe from bombing. Information about this action survives far from complete. A part of the collection was taken to Pniewy (then *Pinne*), another to the manor at Słupiec (*Schlegel*, now a district of Nowa Ruda). Its later fate is unknown.

War losses suffered by the Department of Coins and Medals of the MW (renamed the National Museum in Poznań, MNP, in 1950) were severe. All gold specimens and higher denomination silver coins were lost, what remained of the collection fell into disarray making provenance identification impossible. The ravages of war spared the valuable collection of plaster plaquettes and medallions of Czesław Makowski and the collection (nearly complete) of Renaissance and Art Nouveau plaquettes donated by James Simon. The task of organizing the resources was addressed in the 1950s and 60s by Curator Kazimierz Szuda, who continued as the head of the Department until 1970. He was succeeded by Julian Olejniczak (until 2011) who with great energy continued to expand the collection (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Sigismund III, a Crown half-portugal (five ducats), 1611, Cracow mint, gold, 17.21 g, diam. 31 mm, MNP GN P 4227, purchased for the MNP collection in 1991 (photo Witold Garbaczewski).

Currently the numismatic collection of the MNP numbers over 155,000 objects. The majority (*c.* 100,000) are coins, both Polish (*c.* 50,000) and foreign spanning the ancient and the modern period. Other resources consist of more than 2,200 plaquettes and medallions (including a collection of several

¹⁴ On the KFM in Poznań during the Second World War see Łuczak 2011, pp. 204–15.

score plaster models) and more than 11,500 medals, religious pendants, orders and badges. An important element in the structure of the collection is a group of c. 3,500 sigillography items, a set of nearly 20,000 Polish and foreign paper money, and a series of hoards from the 10th–20th century. The numismatic collection of the MNP is one of the three largest and most significant public numismatic collections in Poland.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE INC COMMITTEE, MAY 20TH, 2021

1. Introduction by the president

The president, Michael Alram (MA), starts the videoconference at 15h20 in presence of all the members: Aleksander Bursche (AB), Maria Caccamo Caltabiano (MC), François de Callataÿ (FdC), Andrew Meadows (AM), Pere Pau Ripolles (PPR), Cecilia von Heijne (CvH), Ute Wartenberg (UW), and Bernhard Weisser (BW).

2. Minutes of the Committee Meeting (board), April 27th, 2020, and the Survey meeting (board, editors and subeditors), May 6th, 2020

The minutes of the Committee Meeting (board), April 27th, 2020, and the Survey meeting (board, editors and subeditors), May 6th, 2020, have been prepared (FdC) and submitted for comments before the meeting. No remarks are made and they are therefore approved.

3. and 4. Treasurer's report: accounts for 2020 and budget for 2021 (BW)

The treasurer, Bernhard Weisser (BW) comments on the accounts for 2020, and the auditor's report approving them, as well as the provisional budget for 2021. With slight modification on the budget, these documents are approved by the Committee. He also passed under examination the short list of members which, despite several reminders, continue to fail to pay their yearly membership. It is decided to send them a message signifying their formal exclusion (with the possibility to apply again if they wish). The members who have not already paid the 2021 fees will receive a letter clearly establishing that a default of payment will impeach to benefit from any reduction for the INC Congress in Warsaw in 2022.

5. Membership

New members

Three applications have been received and approved: Berlin (Deutsches Historisches Museum - Lili Reyels), Tours (CETHIS - Pierre-Olivier Hochard), and Tübingen (University - Stefan Krmnicek).

Resigning members.

Two members have expressed their wish to disaffiliate: Prag (Czech Numismatic Society - Michal Mašek) and Thessaloniki (Cast Museum of the Aristotle University).

6. Publications of the INC

a. Website and INCNews (<http://INCnews.org/>)

CvH reports about the website for which she has gathered interesting statistics. UW announces that all the Surveys as well as the *Compte Rendu* and the INC Newsletter are now available online through the site Archives.org (<https://archive.org/search.php?query=creator%3A%22International+Numismatic+Commission%22>). This is a considerable step forward, for which the Committee expresses its grateful thoughts. Instead to download all these documents on the INC website, simple links will be created. On the other hand, the *INC News* (<http://INCnews.org/>) proves to be a rather time-consuming task for little profit. Without a devoted person to feed it (for which the INC has no money), the question is: does it make sense to continue? As a possible alternative, AM volunteers to launch (as a test) an INC Twitter account.

b. *Compte Rendu* (CR)

The INC *Compte Rendu* 66 (2019) has been distributed as planned in September 2020. FdC reports about the work in progress for the current INC *Compte Rendu* 67 (2020) due to be delivered in September 2021 (for which CvH accepts to prepare a short paper about the INC website), and is grateful to AB for taking in charge the INC *Compte Rendu* 68 (2021) which will be published on time for the Warsaw Congress and will be fully devoted to Polish institutions and numismatists. FdC briefly comments about the results of the poll about the *Compte Rendu* (full results have been distributed before the meeting). Only 12 colleagues have replied and the general tone is to keep the *Compte Rendu* as such, including its title.

7. Grants

7a. Travel grants

In these much-troubled times of pandemic, only one application has been received for the travel grant: Arturo Annucci whose PhD is entitled: *Islamic coinage of the Eastern Iranian territories (mid. 8th – mid. 11th cent.)*. The Committee agrees to fund his demand (€ 2,750) in order to pursue his researches at Tübingen, Oxford and Stockholm.

7b. Conference grants

No application has been received due to the general uncertainty of the times. The demand of Erfurt to extend the delay allowed for using the funding received last year is accepted.

8. XVIth INC Congress in Warsaw 2022 (AB)

AB reports about the recent developments of the INC Congress in Warsaw (September 2022):

“1. One month ago, the University of Warsaw has applied for a 2-years grant to the new Ministry of Education and Science for some extra costs of the international numismatic congress organization and preparation of its proceedings, circa € 60,000 (mainly streaming - some 50% of the budget, but gives a lot of possibilities). We will be informed about results in October. If it does not work, we will apply for an internal university grant - circa half of that amount, and at least this one should work. Our University as an institution of excellence is currently quite rich also thanks to the pandemic. We have obtained many EU and State grants that were not implemented on time (no travel costs etc.) and were extended. I do expect that it is a strong difference compared to many private universities in the US, Great Britain etc.

2. We are collecting the best offers for the minting of the Congress Medal. Most probably it will be the Norwegian mint, however we still expect better offers from the Czech and Lithuania mints. Decision concerning minting of the special Congress Coin by the National Bank will be taken by the end of June, but we are rather optimistic.

3. We have prepared a special invitation letter, with the help of Ute, Andy and David Wigg (many thanks to all of you), which as you know have been sent yesterday to more than 300 e-mails of VIP numismatists around the world (including Eastern Europe and the Far East), from the formal address of the University of Warsaw. However, there are some problems with servers of some national museums like the Hermitage, Pushkin or British Museums, which automatically block for security purposes all e-mails with any unknown content like links, attachments etc. So in our opinion, in some cases, it will be much easier to use rather private addresses than to fight with IT groups of particular museums.

4. In mid-June we will start with Social media and first number 16 of the INC Newsletter. We have handed all responsibility for that to the younger generation.

5. We are working on the program accompanying the congress, especially regarding special exhibitions. Considering the constant changes of the directors of our state museums, it is not an easy task. However, we do hope that thanks to a private sponsor (Count Sobański), after a hundred years, it will be finally possible to open during the Congress a permanent exhibition of the greatest numismatic collections in Poland at the National Museum in Warsaw. There is no problem with other exhibitions.”

9. Survey of Numismatic Research (AB)

AB reports on his plan for a *Survey of Numismatic Research Online (SNRO)*: “What I will present to you are our opinions as Congress organizers, very briefly in 6 points:

1. In the case of an extended deadline of individual contributors connected with the pandemic, we do not see the possibility of publishing the Survey in a traditional, paper form.

2. Therefore, the only reasonable solution remains the editorial preparation and composition of unified texts in pdf format with continuous, final pagination and placing the *Survey* on a safe, publicly accessible digital repository or several such online platforms. We have checked the two best possibilities in Poland: the "Library of Science" created by the Interdisciplinary Centre for Mathematical and Computational Modeling at the University of Warsaw, and the "Digital Repository of Science" used for 15 years by the Supercomputing and Networking Centre. We can use either of them free of charge, they only need signing a simple agreement with the publisher of the *Survey*, which does not exclude other parties. But we can also use any other, perhaps more convenient platform or platforms, including the INC website.

3. The advantage of such a solution is the immediate and universal access of users to all texts (and bibliography), additionally in case of professional repositories, also using advanced search options. All contributors will also be able to upload immediately their texts on scientific platforms like academia.edu, etc. even before the Congress!

4. Using such repositories also allows to print individually particular texts with original pagination, however not the whole volume. These platforms do not have such possibilities. But we can lodge the whole volume as pdf with a Print-on-demand company, for those who do want to purchase a hard copy.

5. In this situation, we suggest that INC be the only publisher of the Survey. In such a case we have a completely clear law situation, particularly concerning copy-rights, which belongs to the INC.

6. The only costs to be borne by INC will be then for type-setting, technical, and perhaps in some cases language correction (English)."

The Committee agrees on this formula keeping active for those who are interested the option print on demand. While the organizing committee of the congress, as the editor, will manage for all the intellectual aspects of the *Survey*, it is decided that the INC will act as the publisher taking in charge type-setting and language editing (with € 12,000 provisioned for that specific issue).

10. Other relevant items

a) 17th INC Congress in 2027

Two potential candidates have expressed their interest to organize the 17th INC Congress in 2027: Athens (Yannis Stoyas) and Frankfurt (Fleur Kemmers). These two places are particularly legitimate to host the most im-

portant numismatic congress worldwide, and the Committee intends to minimize the frustration which naturally derives from competition. After videoconferences organized during spring with both, it has been decided to send a questionnaire including a provisional budget. In front of these two excellent potential applications, the Committee has decided: 1) to create a sub-commission of three members (AB, AM, and UW) in charge to report within two weeks about the provisional budgets; 2) to organize separate interviews (MA, FdC, AB, AM, and UW) by videoconference before the end of June with Yannis Stoyas and Fleur Kemmers; 3) to possibly organize an additional interview with the full Committee and the two potential organizers together.

b) Demand of patronage

To demands of patronage have been introduced: one for NUMID by Bernhard Weisser, the other for *Moneda Iberica* by Pere Pau Ripolles. Both are accepted.

c) Honorary members

It is decided to propose at the general assembly in Warsaw the election as honorary members the following names: Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Donald Bateson, Kenneth Jonsson, William Metcalf, Marjan Scharloo, Tuukka Talvio, and Benedikt Zäch.

d) Suggestions for names to be proposed as new members of the Committee in 2022

Three members of the current Committee (MA, MC, and PPR) will complete their second terms in 2022 at the congress in Warsaw, opening places for new members. It is the tradition of the INC that the current Committee proposes at each general assembly a list of names for the next Committee, usually keeping those who have served for one term only. A large discussion takes place about the criteria (geographic, thematic, gender, professional skills) one should integrate to achieve representativeness and efficiency. At the end and taking into account the limited number of places for new members (2 since the organizer of the 2027 INC Congress will be integrated in the new Committee), the present members unanimously agree about 2 names who will be soon contacted to see if they are keen to accept such a proposal.

11. Date and place of the next Committee meeting

At the invitation of AB, the next meeting will take place in Warsaw on June 2nd and 3rd, 2022. It will start on Thursday 2nd in the morning.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE INC COMMITTEE, MAY 21ST, 2021

The president, Michael Alram (MA), starts the videoconference at 15h10.

Present. For the Committee: Aleksander Bursche (AB), François de Callataÿ (FdC), Andrew Meadows (AM), Pere Pau Ripolles (PPR), Cecilia von Heijne (CvH), Ute Wartenberg (UW), and Bernhard Weisser (BW). As editor or subeditors of the *Survey of Numismatic Research*: Roger Bland, Jaroslav Bodzek, Mateusz Bogucki, Arianna D'Ottone, Jérôme Jambu, Dorota Malarczyk, Tuukka Talvio, Peter van Alfen, Helen Wang.

Excused: Maria Caccamo Caltabiano.

MA introduces the meeting asking each editor and subeditor to report about that current state of progress. A common concern is about the quality of the language when not the native one of the author.

AB presents the project of *Survey of Numismatic Research Online (SNRO)* which is welcome favourably by all the participants. The INC will be in charge as publisher for type-setting and language editing.

The deadline for authors is confirmed: end of September 2021. The deadline for subeditors to submit papers to the general editors after having verified the adaptation to the guidelines and the correctness of language is fixed to the end of January 2022.

Peter van Alfen suggests to create a Google Drive folder with an open access to subeditors and editors (the ANS is equipped to host such a repository).

It is decided to organize an additional videoconference in October after the deadline for authors at the end of September.

The meeting ends at 16h15.

ACCOUNTS OF THE INC

Fiscal Year 1/1/2020 to 31/XII/2020

Income and expenditure accounts (in €)

	2021	2020	2019
Income	proposed	Actual	Actual
Membership fees	18,650.00	17,111.00	14,997.27
Membership fees, previous years	2,000.00	3,000.00	5,988.00
Total income [1]	20,650.00	20.111.00	20,985.27

Expenditure			
<i>Compte Rendu</i>	8,000.00	-	3,132.55
<i>Newsletter</i>	3,000.00	-	
Internet site	4,000.00	3,269.75	349.80
Scholarships	3,000.00	3,344.28	4,000.00
Conferences	1,000.00	20.00	3,000.00
INC supported projects	2,000.00	-	-
Warzawa travel grants (500×30)	15,000.00	-	-
Warzawa congress subsidy 5/5 (30,000/25,000 paid)	5,000.00		18,500.00
Survey of Num. Research	12,000.00	-	-
Travelling costs INC/Survey	-	-	2,737.73
Meeting costs INC / Survey	-	-248,40	781.25
Banking costs	250.00	132.75	184.88
Legal advice	1,500.00	-	-
Total expenditure [2]	54,750.00	6,766.78	32,686.21
Surplus / (Deficit) [1]-[2]	(34,100.00)	13,344.22	(11,700.94)

Balance sheet	31/XII/2020	31/XII/2019
<i>Council funds Account PostFinance CH</i>	56,615.71	43,023.05
<i>of which reserved for Compte Rendu</i>	8,000.00	5,000.00
<i>Internet site and eNews</i>	7,000.00	7,000.00
<i>scholarships</i>	3,000.00	4,000.00
<i>conferences</i>	1,000.00	5,000.00
<i>INC supported projects</i>	2,000.00	-
<i>2021 congress</i>	5,000.00	18,500.00
<i>grants for the 2021 congress</i>	15,000.00	10,000.00
<i>2021 congress / survey of numismatic research</i>	12,000.00	0
<i>travelling and meeting costs</i>	0	3,000.00
<i>banking costs and legal advice</i>	1,750.00	3,000.00
<i>unallocated reserve</i>	1,865.71	1,223.99

Bernhard Weisser, Treasurer

Read and approved, The President

AUDITORS' REPORT FOR INC 2020 ACCOUNTS

The activities and finances of the International Numismatic Council, as with so many societies, were curtailed during 2020 due to the covid pandemic. Expenditure was considerably down but happily income has been maintained.

We were provided with copies of the INC's monthly bank statements from PostFinance AG for the year 2020, invoices for payments and the membership list with an indication of the position of fees paid.

Based on these, we have checked the summary accounts and believe these to be complete and correct.

Income, again, was derived purely from membership fees and was over € 2,000 above that for the previous year. In addition, € 3,000 was received for earlier unpaid fees.

Expenditure was greatly down at € 6,766.78, circa 20% of the figure for 2019. Many of the allocations were not used. Spending was mainly for one travel grant of € 3,000 and € 3,269.75 for the INC internet site. Banking fees at € 132.75 remain modest.

This had allowed a surplus of € 13,344.22 for the year 2020.

This has allowed, by the end of the year 2020, a surplus of € 56,615.71 to accrue which will cover future planned allocations. Among these is € 25,000 related to the delayed Congress now taking place in 2022.

Currently the INC finances are in a healthy position.

Signed: Rahel C. Ackermann
May 17th, 2021

Donal Bateson
May 17th, 2021

REPORTS

Projects under the patronage of the INC

1a. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (SNG), by Andrew MEADOWS

The following volumes have been noted since the publication of the last report:

Czech Republic

Militký, J., Mašek, M., Fikrle, M., and Kysela, J. (2019). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Czech Republic 1. The National Museum, Prague. Part 10, Bactria and India: (early Bactria, Graeco-Baktrian and Indo-Greek coins, imitations, Indo-Scythians)*. Prague: The National Museum.

Militký, J., Král, L. and Jenček, J. (2021). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Czech Republic 4. The Luboš Král collection. Egypt: Roman provincial coinage*. Prague: The National Museum.

Great Britain

Ashton, R.H.J. (2020). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Great Britain 12. The Hunterian Museum University of Glasgow: Part 7. Cimmerian Bosphorus – Capadocia*. London: Oxford University Press.

Italy

Conti, S. (2021). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Italia. Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: Part 1.2, Gallia*. Rome, Florence and London: Istituto central per il catalogo e la documentazione, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana, London Ancient Coins.

Turkey

Köker, H., (2021). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Turkey 6. Burdur Museum. Burdur Museum. Vol. 1,2, Pisidia : Part 2. Sagalassos–Termessos*. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.

Altinoluk, S., Tekin, O. (2022). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Turkey 12. İzmir Museum, Part 2: Roman Provincial Coins*. Antalya: Koç University Suna & İnan Kıracı Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations.

As always, the complete list of SNG publications can be found on the INC website: <https://www.inc-cin.org/sng.html>

1.c *Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae Classicae et Mediae Aetatis* (LIN), by Maria CACCAMO CALTABIANO

Muovendo dall'esperienza maturata dai gruppi di ricerca delle Università di Messina, Calabria, Bologna e Milano, coinvolti a partire dal biennio 2000-2001 nella realizzazione del progetto *LIN – Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae*, l'unità dell'Università di Bologna, rappresentata dalla Prof.ssa Anna Lina Morelli e dalla dott.ssa Erica Filippini, nelle giornate del 16 e 17 novembre 2021, ha organizzato anche *online* il workshop internazionale “*Il metodo LIN e le ricerche di iconografia monetale. Bilanci e prospettive* (Interventi brevi e Tavola rotonda), dedicato alla presentazione e alla discussione di studi e ricerche condotti recentemente, o attualmente in corso nell'ambito dell'iconografia monetale, focalizzando l'attenzione sugli approcci metodologici adottati.

Interventi presentati: Maria Caltabiano (ex Università di Messina, responsabile Progetto LIN), *La storicizzazione della moneta: il lessico numismatico e il 'programma iconico' della sua zecca*; Grazia Salamone (Università di Messina, collaboratrice al progetto LIN), *Monete 'fiorite'. La categoria tipologica dei flores sui documenti monetali di età greca*; Benedetto Carroccio (Università della Calabria), *Le 'scene affollate' nelle monetazioni greche: elementi per una sintassi iconografica*; Elena Moreno Pulido (Universidad de Cádiz), *Iconografía monetaria del Fretum Gaditanum. Balance y perspectivas*; Erica Filippini (Università di Bologna), *Lessico e sintassi del linguaggio monetale in epoca tardorepubblicana: insignia sacerdotale, un caso di studio*; Nathan T. Elkins (Baylor University), *The Significance of Diana on the Coinage of Nerva: The Career of Cornutus Tertullus and a Reconstruction of the Temple of Diana Planciana*; Claudia Perassi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano), *Ricerche di iconografia monetale: dalla parte degli osservatori*; Dario Calomino (Università di Verona), *Iconografia monetale nelle province romane orientali: stato dell'arte e prospettive di ricerca*; Daniele Castrizio, Mariangela Puglisi (Università di Messina), *Nastri come segno distintivo di divinità, sovrani, atleti e sacerdoti. Testimonianze monetali di ambito greco, romano e bizantino*; Lucia Travaini (Università Statale di Milano), *Iconografie monetali travisate tra medioevo ed età moderna*.

Tavola rotonda: Maria Caltabiano (Università di Messina), Renata Cantilena (Università di Salerno), François de Callataj (Royal Library of Belgium), Bartolomé Mora Serrano (Universidad de Málaga), Anna Lina Morelli (Università di Bologna), Lucia Travaini (Università Statale di Milano).

Publicazioni e conferenze Università di Bologna

E. FILIPPINI, *Considerazioni sul ruolo delle Augustae nella costruzione ideologica di epoca traiana. Il contributo della documentazione numismatica*, in *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 50, 2020, pp. 195–215.

A.L. MORELLI, *Il concetto di Salus come nozione fondante dell'ideologia imperiale. Il contributo della documentazione numismatica*, conferenza nell'ambito del ciclo *Malattie, medici e cure nel mondo antico*, Alma Mater Studiorum

Università di Bologna – Incontri di Storia antica 2021, Bologna 4 marzo 2021.

A.L. MORELLI, *Salus Augusta: il ruolo di Livia nell'ideologia della prima età imperiale*, in B. Carroccio, D. Castrizio, K. Mannino, M. Puglisi, G. Salamone (a cura di), *Magistra optima. Scritti in onore di Maria Caltabiano per i suoi 50 anni di studi numismatici*, Reggio Calabria c.d.s.

Publicazioni e conferenze Università degli Studi di Messina

Prof. E.D. CASTRIZIO

1. *The Antikythera Wreck: A Numismatic Approach – Аварія На Антикитери: Нумізматичний Підхід*, “The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual” Issue 5, Pereiaslav, 2021, pp. 105-120.
2. *The “Head of the Philosopher” from Porticello: Proposal for the Identification*, IX Международная Научная Конференция Актуальные Проблемы Теории И Истории Искусства – 8th International Conference Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art, St. Petersburg 29-30 ottobre 2020, St. Petersburg 2021, pp. 47-54.
3. *Monete in bronzo siciliane nel relitto di Anticitera*, NAC 50, 2021, pp. 87-97.
4. *The Statue of Apollon Rheginos in the Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria*, in (ed. D. Katsonopoulou) *Paros through the ages. From prehistoric times to the 16th century*. Paros V, Proceedings of International Conferences on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Athens 2021, pp. 161-170.
5. *The Beginning of the Coinage of Paros: Some Chronological, Economics and Iconographic Questions*, in (ed. D. Katsonopoulou) *Paros through the ages. From prehistoric times to the 16th century*. Paros V, Proceedings of International Conferences on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, Athens 2021, pp. 263-272.

Prof. Maria Caccamo Caltabiano (Già Università di Messina)

1. *La storicizzazione della moneta: il lessico numismatico e il ‘programma iconico’ della sua zecca*, in A.L. Morelli – E. Filippini, *Il metodo LIN e le ricerche di Iconografia monetale. Bilanci e prospettive*. Workshop Internazionale Bologna 16-17.XI.2021.
2. *My life’s work: Numismatics at the University of Messina (SICILY)*, Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia, Gil Davies Ed. 27 Jan. 2022, pp. 1-20.
3. *I vasi raffigurati sulle monete dell’Italia antica*, in Catalogo della Mostra “Il vaso sui vasi. Le forme dei vasi e le loro funzioni nelle scene dipinte sulla ceramica a figure rosse del Museo Nazionale Jatta di Ruvo di Puglia”. Museo

Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, Marzo – Luglio 2022, a cura di Carmelo Malacrino e Luca Mercuri.

4. *Moneta e propaganda politica: il programma iconico di Camarina*, in *Arqueología y Numismática, Estudios en homenaj a la Profesora Francisca Chaves Tristan*, Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2022, pp. 135-146.

Conferenze:

23. Febbraio 2022 (on line) per Archeo Club Messina: *Il simbolismo della corsa con le quadrighe. Dalle antiche monete siciliane alle monete romano-imperiali, al Mosaico della corsa di Piazza Armerina*.

16. Maggio 2022 per la Biblioteca Comunale di Reggio Calabria: *La monetazione di Anassila e l'esperienza del conurbamento di Reggio e Messina nel V sec. a.C.*

Dr. Marianna Spinelli (Università della Calabria, Collaboratrice al LIN): *La collezione Scaglione e lo studio delle monete locresi: la storicizzazione di Iconografie testimoni di relazioni internazionali nel Mediterraneo*.

1.e Sylloge Nummorum Particorum, by Vesta CURTIS & Fabrizio SINISI

Work on SNP 4 continued remotely during 2021. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, Elizabeth Pendleton and Alex Magub had full remote access to their custom database for Volume IV: Mithradates III – Pacorus I. They were able therefore to work on the coins independently, while liaising with each other on-line to discuss any points arising from their research. Liaising about various coin types and the updating of the database continued as normal with Chris Hopkins, the database manager, who is based in the USA. Silver and bronze coins for Mithradates III/IV were examined in detail and classified, and their inscriptions studied and recorded. Minor differences in the basic inscriptions can support mint attributions: for instance, some of the bronze issues do not bear a mint mark, so they must be attributed from internal evidence. The inscriptions can also indicate connections between mints. For instance, the arrangement of the same set of words round the central type varies consistently from mint to mint; so do the presence or absence of a connecting word between epithets; and preferred letter forms vary from mint to mint, as do certain corruptions.

In addition, the different mint marks and their variants have been recorded. A set of drawings of these is currently being prepared so that a character for each can be created for use in the adapted Pro Numismatica font. This is an essential step so that the monograms can be printed in the final volume.

Key features of the coinage are being identified so that a typology can be constructed. These include the use of control letters (in addition to the mint monograms); and the use of subsidiary celestial symbols on the obverse. The archers on the reverses of the silver drachms are very consistent in one sense, as the image type remains static from mint to mint and over time.

However, differences in how the basic type is handled illuminate the differences between the mints, but they also shed light on connections and relationships between different mints. Other minor features, such as the shape of the links of the king's necklace, can also be pinned down to particular mints. As Mithradates' coins lack dates, we are dependent on secondary features to construct a sequence of production.

Preliminary work has been performed on the varied bronzes of Mithradates III/IV. Several variants that were not recorded in the key reference work by Sellwood (published in 1980) have been identified. At the same time, the SNP 4 team has liaised with Fabrizio Sinisi of SNP 5 to discuss and identify coins that were wrongly included in the database for SNP 4. This has been most important for the bronzes. As these are often in less than perfect condition, key features for identifying the issuing ruler are sometimes either absent or uncertain, and so an important part of our work has been deciding which new variants do in fact belong to the kings of SNP 4 rather than elsewhere, such as SNP 5. These erroneous inclusions have been extracted to SNP 5, or indeed an earlier SNP volume. Throughout this period, Zoom meetings and discussions enabled the authors of both SNP 4 and 5 to share the results of their findings and discuss the next steps.

SNP 4 is in a much earlier stage of preparation than SNP 5. While we are close to starting to construct the typology for Mithradates III/IV, we are not yet in a position to do so for Orodes II. His coinage is much more complex and will still require further detailed study. This greater complexity is unsurprising, given that Orodes reigned for much longer than the brief rule of his brother. He also seems to have expanded the use of secondary symbols begun by his brother.

Fabrizio Sinisi has continued his work on SNP 5 (Phraates IV to Orodes III, c. 37 BC-AD 6), with the aim of completing the manuscript.

In addition to delays caused by the general COVID situation, the two main chapters of the five that compose the volume, *i.e.*, those on Typology and Numismatic History, required some modification. This was in part due to the complexities of reconstructing a coinage for which the surviving evidence is quantitatively very large. The best case is the coinage minted in Susa, which has been exceptionally well documented thanks to the finds of the French excavations there. Added to that, there is new material which has surfaced in the meantime, especially for the bronze series. The latter has provided further support for the negative assessment of the hypothesis of an annual system in the typological choice of the bronze reverses in the Iranian mints during the period covered by SNP 5. On the other hand, the structural study of the drachm production has allowed the detection of several instances of subdivisions in the various mints that struck this denomination, comparable in concept to the system visible on the tetradrachms minted in Seleucia.

After completing those chapters, the remaining sections of the volume have been dealt with. Currently, work is in an advanced stage on the Historical Overview, which will include the main results of the numismatic study. Therefore, its structure has been conceived with a first section summarizing the picture reconstructed by historians mainly based on Roman textual sources, accompanied by a second section specifically focusing on the contribution of Arsacid coin series, *i.e.*, in their role as a primary source for political history.

It has been thus possible to refine, for instance, the assessment of the rebellion of Tiridates against the legitimate king Phraates IV between 30 and 26 BC. Here, thanks to the insights provided by the structural approach to the reconstruction of coin production, Parthian coinage has for the first time been used as a primary source even for the first part of Tiridates' challenge to Phraates in 30 BC.

Some of these results will be presented at the INC 2022 congress as part of a session on the SNP project to be held by members of the SNP teams from Austria, the UK and the US.

The manuscript of SNP 5 is expected to be finalized within 2022. The reviewing procedures can then commence, with the aim of publishing it in 2023.

Reports from affiliated bodies

2c. International Association of Professional Numismatists (IAPN/AINP)

J.L. VAN DER SCHUEREN reports:

The IAPN consists today of 102 member firms representing 23 countries.

At the 2019 General Assembly, a new President had been elected: Daniel Frank SEDWICK, from the USA.

The Association held in September 2021 its first virtual meeting ever, and had the pleasure to meet again in person at its General Assembly of May 2022 in Palma de Mallorca (Spain).

At the 2021 G.A., nine new members have been elected: AMOS Media (Mr Rick AMOS), US – as associated member; COHEN Mariano (Mr Mariano COHEN), Argentina; HERITAGE Auctions (Mr Cristiano BIERRENBACH), US; KÖLNER Münzkabinett (Mr Christoph HEINEN), DE; LUGDUNUM GmbH (Mr Jonas Emmanuel FLÜCK), CH; MDC Monnaies de Collection (Mr Nicolas GIMBERT), MC; MORUZZI Numismatica (Mr Umberto MORUZZI), IT; Shanna SCHMIDT Numismatic Inc. (Mrs Shanna SCHMIDT), US and VILMAR Numismatics LLC (Mr Constantin MARINSCU), US.

Moreover, Mr Eric MCFADDEN has been made honorary President, and Mr Mark TELLER has been appointed corresponding member as from January 1st, 2022.

At the 2022 G.A., three more new members have been elected: Roberto DELZANNO Mynthandel (Mr Roberto DELZANNO), SE; MEP Auctions (Mr Paulo ESTEVES), PT; MÜNZEN und RARITEITENSHOP GmbH (Mr Pascal KUMMER), CH.

The IAPN Book Prize for 2020 was awarded to Roberto DELZANNO, *Sveriges Guldmynt 1512-2020*. Roberto, Stockholm, Sweden, 2019, ISBN 978-91-639-9466-1.

In Mallorca, the 2021 Book Prize went again to the same author as the previous one: Roberto DELZANNO, *Sveriges Myntbok/Münzen aus Schweden/Coins from Sweden 995-2022*, Stockholm, 2020, ISBN 978-91-639-9468-5, while the 2022 Book Prize was awarded to Steve HILL, *The Gold Sovereign Series*. 2nd revised edition. Token Publishing, Exeter, England, 2021, ISBN 978-1-908828-55-2.

The central focuses of the IAPN these past years remained: 1) the fight against increasingly sophisticated and dangerous counterfeits emanating from the Far East, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere; 2) the exchange of information between members and non-members such as other profit or non-profit numismatic associations, scholars and museums; and 3) while continuing to support restrictions on the movement of illegally excavated or acquired coins, working to limit the imposition of unreasonable laws on the trade in common, long-known coins of little or no historical, cultural, or archaeological significance.

NUMiD | Report 2020 and 2021

Johannes WIENAND reports:

NUMiD is the Network of German University Coin Collections (Netzwerk universitärer Münzsammlungen in Deutschland), a collaborative research and digitization project jointly carried out by 42 university partners, flanked by the Berlin coin cabinet (Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin). Dr Katharina Martin (Düsseldorf/Münster) is the academic coordinator of the network, Prof. Dr Johannes Wienand (Braunschweig) its speaker. The NUMiD member collections mostly belong to departments of ancient history or classical archaeology, a smaller number of collections are associated with departments of Islamic history, classical philology, or theology, or with university libraries or university museums. The total inventory of original numismatic objects in German university collections amounts to approximately 300,000 items, roughly two thirds of which are ancient coins (mostly Greco-Roman, including late antiquity, but also coins from other ancient and early medieval cultures), and one third Islamic coins. To

various degrees, the collections are equipped with numismatic research infrastructure, including collections of numismatic research literature, auction catalogues, photographs, or casts. NUMiD is under the patronage of the International Numismatic Council. The German Numismatic Commission (Numismatische Kommission der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) has implemented a subject area representation for university coin collections with J. Wienand as correspondent. The network has joined the consortium NFDI4Objects and takes part in the development of a National Research Data Infrastructure (NFDI). Most NUMiD member collections do not have a distinct budget for collection maintenance and staffing. Also, the NUMiD network has no regular budget on its own.

From 2017 to the end of March 2021, the starting phase of the network was generously supported by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung). NUMiD has implemented individual digital coin cabinets for member collections (with an mk-edit backend and IKMK frontend, typically hosted by the individual universities' data centers). The individual mk-edit/IKMK instances form a decentralized yet interconnected database structure based on a joint use of thesauri (norm data). The network has implemented an overarching quality management system and follows an open data philosophy (CC-0 for meta-data, CC-3 for image files). NUMiD adheres to the FAIR principles, providing findable, accessible, interoperable, and reusable data. All datasets can be shared via LIDO or JSON exchange schemes. In this way, NUMiD contributes to the research databases of the American Numismatic Society (CHRR, CRRO, HRC, OCRE, PCO, PELLA, SCO), the Oxford University databases (CHRE, RPC online), and Corpus Nummorum, among others. The NUMiD member collections also contribute in various ways to university collection databases and to cultural heritage databases, such as europa.eu, or museum-digital.de. NUMiD also provides a joint platform of all member institutions under <https://numid.online>. This website gives access to the data of all associated coin cabinets throughout the network. The website also hosts an innovative visualization tool under <https://visualize.numid.online>. In addition, the NUMiD collections are part of the international 'IKMK family' and provide their data via the joint platform <https://ikmk.net>. By the end of 2021, the NUMiD collections have digitized a total of 86,310 coins: 33,568 via the mk-edit/IKMK database structure, 41,455 via kenom.de, and 11,287 via independent systems.

The NUMiD database system also provides tools for academic teaching, specifically in the form of the eNumis tool for numismatic seminars, and the eMuseum tool for online exhibitions. These digital tools have been variously used by the NUMiD members in academic teaching and have contributed to a continuous involvement of students in the digitization of coins, even when in the years 2020 and 2021, regular work processes were affected by the pandemic: Academic teaching was carried out online or in hybrid form, access to the collections was temporarily restricted, and

several conferences, workshops, presentations, and exhibitions had to be cancelled or postponed. Despite the pandemic-related restrictions, NUMiD members offered academic seminars that made use of their numismatic collections (lists of the seminars can be accessed here: <https://t1p.de/jp2od>), continued their collaboration with the centers for conservation and heritage preservation, with coin find projects, or with domestic or international archaeological excavation projects (e.g., Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Münster, Tübingen), and were engaged in teaching cooperation, such as cooperation of different departments (e.g., Dept of Classical Studies and Dept of Chemistry at Universität zu Köln), cooperation of different universities (e.g., Frankfurt am Main and Mainz), cooperation of universities and local schools (e.g., Universität Konstanz and local elementary schools), cooperation of universities and museums (e.g., Technische Universität Braunschweig and Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, or Universität Mainz and Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum), cooperation of universities and centers for heritage preservation (e.g., Tübingen/Heidelberg and the federal center for heritage preservation in Baden-Württemberg), or international university cooperation (e.g., Kiel and Poznan). New online exhibitions were launched in Braunschweig, Düsseldorf, and Tübingen. Numismatic exhibitions (in analogue format) were developed and presented by Eichstätt ('Antike Medizin und Botanik'; Bayerische Landesgartenschau, Ingolstadt); Rostock (as a relaunch of the exposition of Roman coins in the permanent exhibition of the university's archaeological collection); Tübingen ('MuseumVirtuell', Museum der Universität Tübingen MUT); Würzburg (Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg). Two Numismatic Autumn Schools were held in Münster (8.-11.10.2020 and 7.-10.10.2021), the Numismatic Spring School in Halle (23.-27.3.2020) had to be canceled.

In the reporting period, the following NUMiD members have newly launched their digital coin cabinets: Greifswald, Gustaf Dalman collection; Rostock, Heinrich-Schliemann-Institut; Stuttgart (with a particular focus on civic coinage from the kingdom of Pontus under Mithradates VI); Trier; Tübingen [Research Centre for Islamic Numismatics Tübingen (FINT)] (with a particular focus on Buyid coinage. Several network members (Augsburg, Bonn, Erlangen, Freiberg, Gießen, Halle, Mainz, Passau, Regensburg, Trier) rented (free of charge) the network's own digital coin photography equipment, and used the project funds to hire student assistants. The Victor Schultze collection in Greifswald was fully digitized; Freiburg has almost fully digitized its university coin collection of more than 14,000 objects. The NUMiD member collections in Mannheim, Rostock and Stuttgart joined museum-digital.de. A new feature for recording secondary attributes (erasions, countermarks, punchings, graffiti, etc.) was added to the NUMiD database system. Tübingen published a series of numismatic videos from the NumisVlogs project (<https://t1p.de/qp1fq>), and Heidelberg launched the eLearning website NumiScience (<http://numiscience.de>).

Objects and data from the NUMiD member collections were used in a number of BA, MA, and PhD theses, only a selection of which can be mentioned here; in Frankfurt am Main, for instance, several numismatic PhD projects were conducted (including a ANR-DFG French-German cooperation with partners in Bochum, Orléans, Regensburg, and Tours, and a DFG-funded project), in particular, Hülya Vidin submitted her PhD thesis on the history of ancient Carian coinage in 2021 (the project was directly funded via the NUMiD project); in Münster, among a number of numismatic PhD projects, Roberto Tomassoni submitted his thesis 'La collezione numismatica di Apostolo Zeno' (Co-tutelle with University of Venice); in Tübingen, coins from Caesarea Maritima, Sepphoris and Tiberias from the collection of biblical coins as well as coins from Asia Minor, bronze drachms of Elymais, and Roman Antoniniani were identified, catalogued and digitized in connection with several BA and MA theses, and the Augsburg hoard of c. 5,500 Roman silver coins is investigated as part of a PhD project.

The following NUMiD member collections have received notable donations or permanent loans: Braunschweig (donation of c. 100 Greek coins); Frankfurt am Main (permanent loan of c. 1,800 Roman imperial coins); Münster (donation of c. 300 Sicilian and several hundred Arabo-Byzantine coins); Köln (donation of c. 5,500 Ptolemaic coins and Roman coins from Alexandria); Tübingen [FINT] (donations by James Farr [c. 3,500 coins from the Golden Horde], Dr. Wolfgang Schulze [c. 110 coins from the Timurid dynasty and Aq-Qoyunlu], Dr. Peter Ilisch [c. 130 Mamluk and Zangid dirhams, among others], Martin Hoch, Hans Herrli) and permanent loans of c. 95 Islamic coins by the Pelling-Zarnitz-Stiftung).

Selection of projects conducted by NUMiD members

- Craveler/Copter, numismatic eLearning app development project, Tübingen [Volkswagenstiftung]
- Die Römischen Fundmünzen aus Walheim im antiken Kontext, Tübingen [Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg]
- Einprägende Bilder. Die Ästhetik(en) von Münzen in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, Tübingen [Collaborative Research Center project]
- Graffiti auf römischen Goldmünzen, Heidelberg [Collaborative Research Center project]
- Münzen und die Dynamik der Macht: Der westliche Mittelmeerraum, Frankfurt [Volkswagenstiftung]
- Münz-Imitationen im infrastrukturellen Kontext während der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts in der heutigen Pfalz, Heidelberg [Fritz Thyssen Stiftung]
- Numiscience, eLearning platform, Heidelberg [Volkswagenstiftung]
- Numismatischer Verbund Baden-Württemberg, Heidelberg [Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kunst Baden-Württemberg]
- NumisVlogs, numismatic video series, Tübingen [Hochschulrektorenkonferenz / Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung]

- OZeAN (online Journal for Ancient Numismatics), Münster
- sikka:büya, digital typology project, Tübingen [Fritz Thyssen Stiftung]

Selection of conferences and workshops organized by or held with participation of NUMiD members

- 13.-14.2.2020: NUMiD workshop, Braunschweig.
- 17.-19.2.2020: 'Pecunia non olet. Vom Umgang mit Geld im Römischen Reich', Mainz.
- 20.-21.3.2020: 'Geschichte der universitären Münzsammlungen im deutschsprachigen Raum', Gotha [canceled].
- 30.10.2020: 'Münzen aus römischen Militärplätzen. Zu Theorie, Methodik und Praxis der Fundmünzenauswertung', Tübingen [online]
- 14.11.2020: 'Digitizing for Research and Academic Teaching', ICOM conference, Munich.
- 18.12.2020: 'Münzen aus römischen Militärplätzen. Zu Theorie, Methodik und Praxis der Fundmünzenauswertung', Tübingen.
- 28.10.2021: 'Religious Networks as a Catalyst for Commercial Renewal? The Western Mediterranean in the Long Eighth Century', Hamburg.
- 6.11.2021: 'Tag der Antiken Numismatik', Münster.
- 26.11.2021: ikmk.net workshop [online]
- 25.11.2021: 'Münzsammlungen in Deutschland zwischen 1933 und 1945 – Erwerbungen und Normdaten' [online]
- 20.5.2021: 'Mitarbeiter des Münzkabinetts und IKMK-Familie: Veranstaltung zum 14. Geburtstag des IKMK' [online]
- 8.5.2021: Conference of the Oriental Numismatic Society, Tübingen [FINT], online
- 30.3.2021: Closing workshop of the NUMiD project [online]
- 29.7.2021: 'Aktuelle numismatische Forschung zur Büyiden-Zeit: Die Banū 'Umāra und das Rätsel ihrer Münzstätten', Tübingen [online]

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