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**THE DOTTED I'S AND CROSSED T'S
ON GALICIAN-RUTHENIAN COPPER COINAGE
OF THE 14TH CENTURY¹**

ABSTRACT: In the 14th century, copper coins of Galician Ruthenia were minted at the Lviv mint, most of which can be easily attributed to dated issuers. However, among them there are coins of two types that arouse controversy. These are variants with a crown on both sides of the coin (*crown/crown* type) and a coin with two initials (*K/crowned L* type). Almost all researchers, with the exception of perhaps only Borys Paszkiewicz, date the coins of the *crown/crown* type to the period before 1370, when the Polish King Casimir III the Great ruled in Galician Ruthenia. The analysis of the dies and die-chains presented in the present article allow us to attribute the coins to Louis of Hungary and refer their issue to the years 1378–1382, as suggested by B. Paszkiewicz. So far, coins of the *K/crowned L* type were dated to the years of the reign of Louis of Hungary. However, the analysis of the material from hoards and the shape of the punch with letter L indicate that they were minted during the interregnum in Lviv, i.e. between the end of 1370 (the date of King Casimir's death) and October 1372 (when Władysław Opolczyk, who was appointed the governor of the Hungarian king, Louis in Galician Ruthenia, arrived in Lviv).

ABSTRAKT: W XIV w. w mennicy lwowskiej wybijano miedziane monety Rusi Halickiej, które w większości łatwo daje się przypisać emitentom, jak i ustalić czas ich powstania. Istnieją jednak wśród nich monety dwóch typów, które wzbudzają kontrowersję. Chodzi o wariant z wizerunkiem korony na obu stronach monety (typ *korona/korona*) oraz o monetę z dwoma inicjałami (typ *K/L pod koroną*). Niemal wszyscy badacze, za wyjątkiem bodaj jedynie Borysa Paszkiewicza, monety typu *korona/korona* datują na okres przed 1370 r., gdy w Rusi Halickiej panował król Polski Kazimierz Wielki. Przedstawiona w niniejszym tekście analiza stempli monet i łańcuchów ich połączeń, pozwoliła przypisać je Ludwikowi Węgierskiemu i odnieść

¹ The authors express their sincere gratitude to Prof. Borys Paszkiewicz for valuable advice and assistance in editing the text.

emisję do lat 1378–1382, co zresztą sugerował B. Paszkiewicz. Natomiast monety typu *K/L pod koroną* datowano dotychczas na lata panowania Ludwika Węgierskiego. Jednak analiza materiału skarbowego oraz kształtu puncy L wskazuje, że zostały wybite w czasach bezkrólewia we Lwowie, tj. między końcem 1370 (data śmierci króla Kazimierza) a październikiem 1372 r. (przybycie do Lwowa Władysława Opolczyka mianowanego namiestnikiem króla węgierskiego, Ludwika, na Rusi Halickiej).

KEYWORDS: copper coins from the 14th century, Galician Ruthenia, Lviv Mint

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: monety miedziane z XIV w., Ruś Halicka, mennica Lwów

The 14th-century copper coins of Galician-Ruthenia, minted in Lviv, are almost non-existent in finds. They were not deposited, like silver, and were not used in long distance trade, but were instead used for small payments on the market. Therefore, the study and dating of these coins has been based primarily on iconography, rather than hoards.

After all, these coins are not mentioned in archival documents. We do not even know what they were called in the 14th century. For this reason, different researchers have used different names to describe copper Galician-Ruthenian coins. Emeryk Hutten-Czapski called them *Denier (Pulo)*,² Antoni Ryszard called them *Denary halicko-ruskie miedziane* (Galician-Ruthenian copper deniers),³ Kaźmirz Stronczyński – *Denarki miedziane* (small copper pennies).⁴ In Russian studies, they were called *пуло (pulo)*, by analogy with copper coins minted in the Golden Horde. The name *пуло (pulo)* has been recently used by some Polish and Ukrainian researchers, but Polish scientist Borys Paszkiewicz considers it inappropriate. In his opinion, the name *denar* (denier) is also incorrect, as it seems to link copper Galician-Ruthenian coins to the Western European monetary tradition, whereas there were virtually no copper coins in Western Europe in the 14th century. For this reason, Paszkiewicz uses the neutral term *copper coins*.⁵ The author of the first specialized study of the Lviv Mint of the 14th–15th centuries, Jan Stupnicki⁶, included the following copper coins, calling them *denary miedziane*:

- Coins of Casimir III the Great (two varieties)
- Coins of Vladislaus of Opole (two varieties)
- Coins of Louis of Hungary (three varieties). In addition to the *L/crown* variant, these include the *L/L* variant, as well as what was then the only known specimen of the *K/crowned L* variety.

² Hutten-Czapski 1880, p. 10.

³ Ryszard 1886, pp. 12–13.

⁴ Stronczyński 1885, pp. 32, 41.

⁵ Paszkiewicz 2021a, pp. 91–100.

⁶ Stupnicki 1865, p. 45.

Stupnicki considered the *L/L* copper coin to be an error of the moneyer, who used two obverses when minting the coin. In the same way, in his opinion, the *K/crowned L* copper coin resulted from a random combination of Casimir's and Louis' dies. Jan Stupnicki did not mention the *crown/crown* variant as it was unknown to him at the time.

As evidence of the rarity of Galician-Ruthenian coins at that time, the following observation can be made. When Jan Stupnicki's collection was sold in 1896 after his death, there were 63 silver Lviv coins and only 15 copper coins (*Kupfer-Denare*) among the offered lots of coins of the Lviv Mint of the 14th–15th centuries.⁷

In his five-volume *Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises*, the famous numismatist Count Emeric Hutten-Czapski, owner of the largest collection of Polish coins at the time, gives copper Galician-Ruthenian coins high degrees of rarity from R4 to R8, although he was usually very meticulous while assessing the rarity of coins.

The situation with the copper coinage of Lviv has not changed much in a hundred years, and their number has not increased significantly. When compiling the 2007 catalogue of coins of the Lviv mint of the 14th–15th centuries, A. Kryzhaniv's'kyi was aware of 1,620 silver and only 124 Galician-Ruthenian copper coins of all variants.⁸ It should be noted that at that time, Lviv coins were concentrated mainly in museums, and only few of them were in private collections.

Over the next decade, discoveries made by private searchers “armed” with modern metal detectors dramatically increased the corpus of Lviv coins. The updated catalogue from 2019 includes 6,675 silver and 645 copper coins.⁹

Many metrological indicators of copper coins became available for analysis. This enabled the vast majority to not only be dated, but also to calculate their parity in relation to silver money.¹⁰ They were usually easy to attribute because they had the issuer's name on them.

The most difficult case concerned two coin variants that did not have such visible criteria. These are copper Galician-Ruthenian coins that depict crowns without ruler initials on both sides (*crown/crown* type), and coins that bear the initial K on the obverse and a crowned L on the reverse.

The vast majority of researchers and cataloguers date *crown/crown* type coins no later than 1370, i.e. the very time when Galicia was under the reign of the Polish King Casimir III the Great. Coins of this type were first published by E. Hutten-Czapski (Fig. 1). He gave this coin a very high degree of rarity, R7, and placed

⁷ Egger 1896, pp. 9–10, nos 55–56, 63–64, 71.

⁸ Kryzhaniv's'kyi 2007, pp. 169–170.

⁹ Kryzhaniv's'kyi 2019, p. 93.

¹⁰ Kryzhaniv's'kyi 2019, pp. 12–16.

its description among the coins of Casimir III the Great, but added: “it may also be from the era of Louis, King of Poland and Hungary”.¹¹

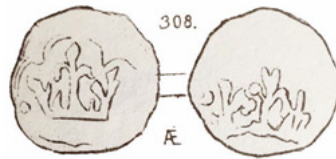


Fig. 1. Drawing of a copper coin of the *crown/crown* type from the E. Hutten-Czapski catalogue, scale 1.5:1

Since this time, the question of when copper coins with crowns on both sides were minted in Lviv – in the time of Casimir III, Louis of Hungary or, perhaps, Duke Vladislaus of Opole – has remained unanswered. Our Polish colleagues used to attribute these coins to Casimir III the Great. Most notably, this attribution was made by Edmund Kopicki in his four-volume catalogue *Ilustrowany skorowidz pieniędzy polskich i z Polską związanych*, with the note that the coin was known to him from the Hutten-Chapski collection.

Table 1. Dating of Lviv copper coins of the *crown/crown* type in specialized catalogues




Catalogue	Casimir III (by 1370)	1371–1372	Louis of Hungary 1379–1382	1382–1385
Hutten-Czapski 1880	+		+?	
Pieńkowski 1997	+			
Dutkowski 1998	+			
Kopicki 2003	+			
Kryzhanivs'kyi 2007	+			
Kryzhanivs'kyi 2019		+		+

According to another theory, cited by prof. Borys Paszkiewicz, these coins were issued during the reign of Louis of Hungary (1379–1382) and resulted from a mint error, similar to copper coins which depict the royal initials L in a quadrilobe on both sides.¹²

In the new catalogue from 2019, A. Kryzhanivs'kyi dated these coins to the transitional period of the Interregnum in Lviv between the end of 1370, the date of death of Polish King Casimir III the Great, and October 1372, when Vladislaus of Opole arrived to Lviv as a plenipotentiary royal governor of Hungarian

¹¹ Hutten-Czapski 1880, p. 10.

¹² Paszkiewicz 2010, pp. 327–356.

King Louis.¹³ In addition to the attribution of “two-crown” coins to 1370–1372, the author suggested that some of the coins might have been minted much later, in Louis’ time or even after his death, in order to gain a mint profit from copper coinage.¹⁴ The author singled out three different versions of the crown: there are two-crown coins with a standard crown on both sides (catalogue no. 51 – ) , coins that have a rectangular crown on at least one side (catalogue no. 50 – ) , and coins with a crown with outwards-twisted edges (catalogue no. 142 – ) . The latter were suggested by the author to have been minted after the death of Louis of Hungary.

Kryzhanivs’kyi noted that there are copper coins of this monarch with the initials L on the obverse and with the same crown with outwards-twisted edges on the reverse (catalogue no. 138). The author dated the two-crown coins with a rectangular crown to the time of the interregnum in Lviv. This conclusion was prompted by the discovery of a coin of Vladislaus of Opole coin bearing his initials on the obverse and the same rectangular crown on the reverse (catalogue no. 126). The author suggested that this was the first copper coin issued by Vladislaus of Opole, and its reverse die could have been used since the time of the Interregnum.

However, these are purely theoretical considerations. A study of hoards would offer the best way to verify these assumptions. Unfortunately, Galician-Ruthenian copper coins are virtually absent from hoards. The finds are mostly single accidental losses, not purposeful savings. But a happy exception happened in 2020: a hoard in the Busk Raion of Lviv Oblast’, on a tributary of the Poltva River, where a “two-crown” coin was found together with copper Galician-Ruthenian coins of the standard type of King Louis.¹⁵ One of the crowns is rectangular, which does not support the dating of coins of the *crown/crown* type to 1371–1372. Instead, the hoard confirms Borys Paszkiewicz’s thesis about the later dating of the Lviv “two-crown” copper coins in the time of Louis.

Another argument that can be used for dating the issue of *crown/crown* copper coins is a die analysis, i.e. analysis of the scheme of combining their dies with the dies of coins that have the initials of the issuer. Today, thanks to the new discoveries of copper coins of Louis of Hungary, “pairs” have been found for all of the *crown/crown* type coins (Fig. 2: 2–3; Fig. 3).

¹³ Kryzhanivs’kyi 2019, p. 33.

¹⁴ Kryzhanivs’kyi 2019, pp. 35, 60.

¹⁵ Kryzhanivs’kyi 2019–2020, pp. 11–13.



Fig. 2. Illustration of a die-links, compiled by Oleg Bazar. Coins of Louis of Hungary with crowns with outwards-twisted edges (coins 1 and 2) and a coin with a standard crown (coin 5) are die-linked along the *crown/crown* coins (coins 3 and 4). Photo of coin no. 5 from Warszawski Dom Aukcyjny (hereinafter WDA), Auction no. 15, item no. 70 (<https://onebid.pl/pl/monety-rrr-ludwik-wegierski-andegawenski-1379-1382-pulo-lwow/433623>), the remainder from Oleg Bazar's collection

Similarly, a die combination of two-crown coins, where one of the crowns is rectangular, can be found (Fig. 4; Fig. 5).

Based on these die combinations, the hypothesis of a “posthumous” coinage of Casimir III was not confirmed, suggesting that all coins of the type *crown/crown* should be attributed to the era of Louis of Hungary (1379–1382).

What of the coins of type *L/L*?

The die-chain (Fig. 7) demonstrates that the dies with a standard crown are linked with those of the outwards-twisted edges. Thus, *L/L* type coins should also be definitely attributed to the era of Louis of Hungary.

Now let us consider the number of dies used to strike copper coins of *L/L* type. To do this, we need to compare their dies shown in Fig. 6 with the dies of other similar coins that were found on the Internet (Fig. 8).

Studying the dies of type *L/L* copper coins from Fig. 8 we can conclude that coins nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8 were minted with an identical pair of dies. One side of coin no. 5 (left side in the Fig. 8: 5) also coincides with one of the dies of the above coins. Coin no. 7 is struck from different dies, which have no analogies among the above. Similarly, the right side of coin no. 5 from Fig. 8 is minted with a different die (it differs from the other with three pellets under the initial).

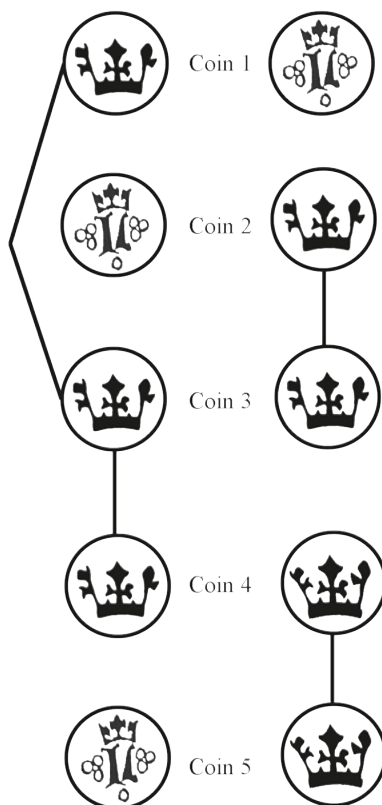


Fig 3. Die-chain of coins from Fig. 2

Thus, for minting seven copper coins of *L/L* type, five different dies with the initials were used, which somewhat undermines the thesis of their random combination instead of using a die with a crown.

And what about the *crown/crown* type coins? One can easily see that even more dies were used to strike them (Fig. 9).

An analysis of the six *crown/crown* coins from Fig. 9 shows that three different dies with rectangular crowns, three with standard crowns, and two with outwards-twisted edges were used.

If the time of issue of Galician-Ruthenian *crown/crown* copper coins can be considered fixed – all of them were minted in the era of Galician subordination to the Hungarian crown – the large number of dies used requires explanation. After all, in case of the accidental error, this number should be minimal. Let us first consider five dies for minting eight pieces of *L/L* type coins.



Fig. 4. Illustration of die-links, compiled by Oleg Bazar. Coins of Louis of Hungary with standard crowns (coins 1 and 2) and coins with a rectangular crown (coin 9) are die-linked along the *crown/crown* coins (coins 3–8). Photos of all the coins are from Oleg Bazar's collection

Seven coins of the *L/L* type, namely coins nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 from Fig. 8 were minted using probably a common lower die (pictured left). Six of them (nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8) were also struck with a common upper die, and only one, no. 5, was minted using another upper die. Instead, the coin no. 7 is distinguished by another pair of dies. It turns out that *L/L* type coins appeared twice and separately, when instead of the lower die, which should have been engraved with the image

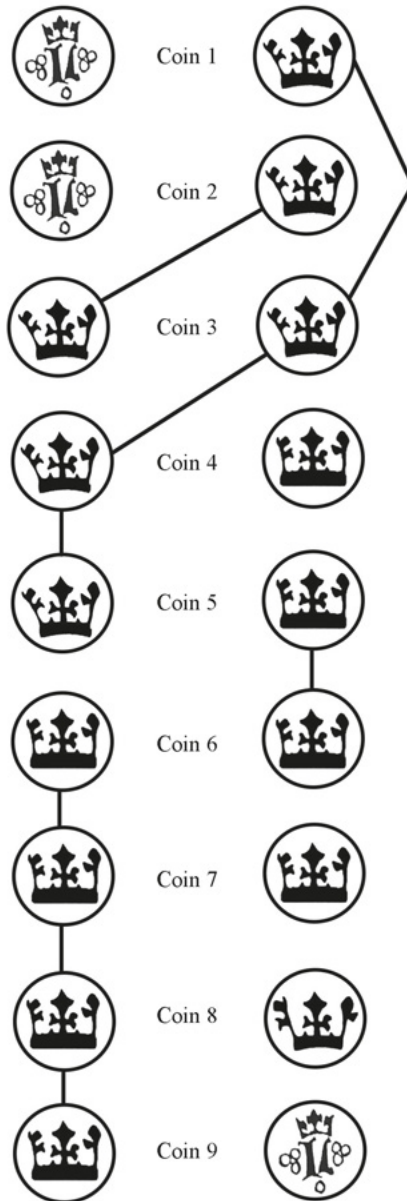


Fig. 5. Die-chain of coins from Fig. 4

of the crown, a die with the initial was used too. As for the *crown/crown* coins, there were at least three such cases, which seems rather strange. For example, coins no. 1, 2 and 3 were minted with different pairs of dies, coins no. 4 and 5 can be assigned to one of the dies used to strike coin no. 2, and coin no. 6 – to coin no. 3.



Fig. 6. Illustration of die-links, compiled by Oleg Bazar. King Louis' coins of the type *L/L* (coins 1, 3 and 4) are die-linked with standard coins of Louis (coins 2 and 7), with crown with outwards-twisted edges Louis coin (coin 6) and coins *crown/crown* with different types of crowns (coins 5 and 8). Photo of coin no. 3 from WCN, online Auction no. 100823, the remainder from Oleg Bazar's collection

From this it can be concluded that such a possible incidence of connecting two reverse dies on one coin (instead of the traditional pairing the obverse and reverse dies) occurred three times. Except that then there was a fairly simple form of the lower and upper dies, which allowed them to be easily confused. This is, of course, not impossible. Obviously, in order to verify such an explanation, it is necessary to more carefully test the technology with which these coins were minted. One can suppose that this combination was intentional when the mass issue of copper coins lacked different obverse and reverse dies, and “at hand” were only the same type of dies.

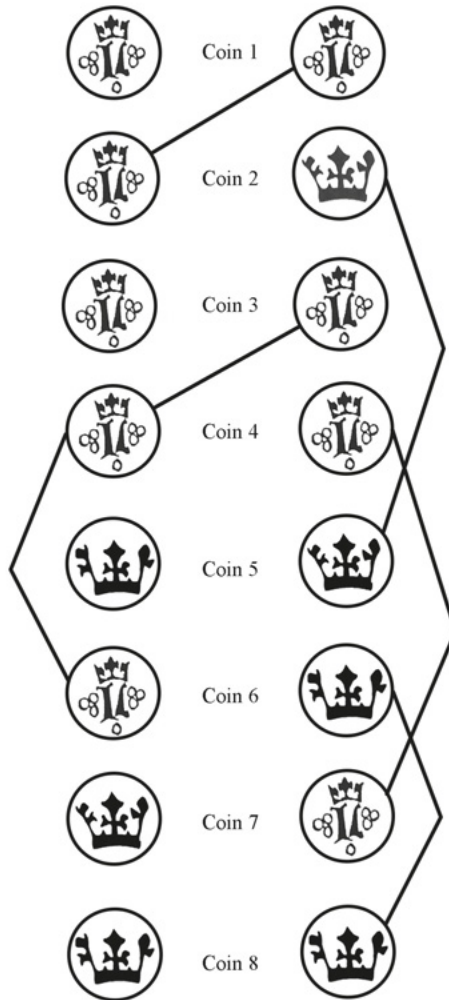


Fig. 7. Die-chain of coins from Fig. 6

We need to pay attention to one more thing. *Crown/crown* type coins with crowns with outwards-twisted edges are significantly heavier (average weight 1.14 g for four known coins) than coins with other crown variants (0.93 g for 13 studied coins). It can be assumed that they were minted in different periods. When could this be? The average weight of Louis' of Hungary standard type coins (with the king's initials on the obverse), minted in 1379–1382, is also 0.93 g. This suggests that these coins were struck at the same time as Louis' of Hungary standard type coins.



Fig. 8. Coins 1–4 and 8 are copper coins of the *L/L* type, chosen from the Internet by Vasyl Pavliv, coins 5–7 from Fig. 6 by Oleg Bazar



Fig. 9. Variants of *crown/crown* type coins

The issue of Galician-Ruthenian copper coins after the reign of Louis of Hungary took place during the rule of Vladislaus of Opole in Lviv in 1386. It will be recalled that Vladislaus was the ruler in Galicia in 1372–1378 and in 1386. Vladislaus's of Opole copper coins of 1386 differed noticeably from his earlier copper coins struck in 1372–1378, and had a much higher weight (1.05 g vs. 0.86 g). One

might suggest that by increasing the weight of copper coins in 1386, attempts were made to strengthen the circulation of copper coins in the daily market, allowing for the release of precious silver for important transactions, including international trade. This was more important than getting income from minting copper coins. The situation was different during the reign of Casimir III and in the first period of Vladislaus of Opole reign (1372–1378), when the Lviv mint could generate considerable income from copper coinage.¹⁶

We can assess whether or not the increase in the weight of Galician-Ruthenian copper coins occurred before 1386, i.e. in the time of Louis of Hungary, by means of a histogram representing the number of these coins at a gradation of 0.1 g (Fig. 10). We clearly see two peaks on the histogram. The first peak is between 0.8 g and 1.0 g, which also corresponds to the weight of the main group of the copper *crown/crown* type coins with the standard and rectangular crowns. Another peak appears between 1.1 g and 1.2 g, and corresponds with the weight of the copper *crown/crown* type coins with a crown with twisted edges.

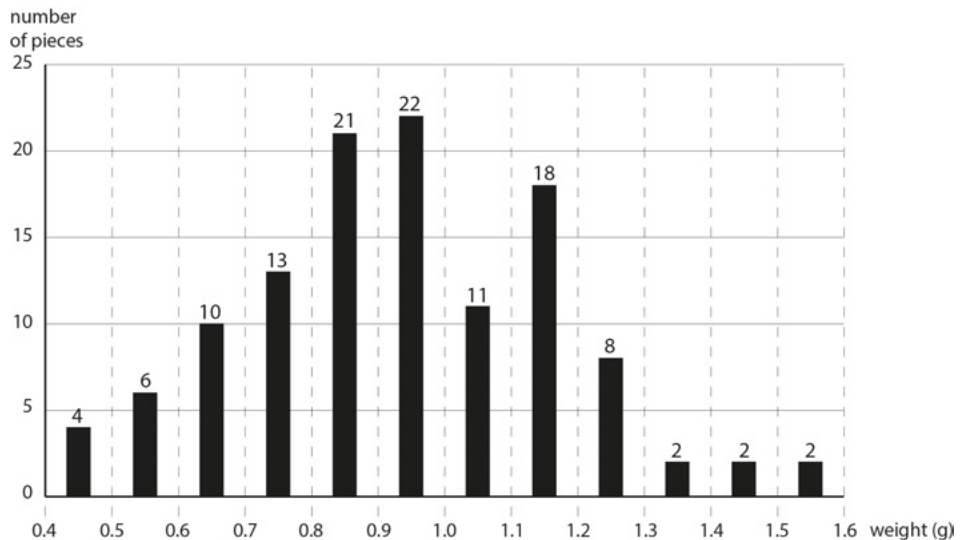


Fig. 10. Histogram of the weight of copper Galician-Ruthenian coins of Louis of Hungary (0.1 g gradations)

The second peak – between 1.1 g and 1.2 g – may suggest that the transition to the minting of heavier copper coins at the Lviv mint occurred in the last 1–1.5 years of Louis of Hungary’s reign.¹⁷

It is also possible that some standard type Louis’ copper coins (with the initial), as well as two-crown with outwards-twisted edges coins continued to be minted

¹⁶ Kryzhaniv’skyi 2019, pp. 31–34.

¹⁷ Kryzhaniv’skyi 2019, p. 35.

after the death of Louis of Hungary. The reason for this could be a great income generated by base metal coinage.

Another type of Galician-Ruthenian coins requires detailed study: a coin with a large embossed initial K on the obverse and a small letter, possibly L, under a large crown on the reverse. This coin was known to Jan Stupnicki in 1865, who believed that it was minted in the time of Louis of Hungary.¹⁸ On the same coin, Hutten-Czapski read the letter R instead of L under the crown, and attributed it to the Casimir III.¹⁹

In the collection of the National Museum in Krakow (MNK), where E. Hutten-Czapski bequeathed his collection, this copper coin was also attributed to Casimir III, but it is written that there is a small letter L under a large crown (inventory number MNK VII-P-2617).

Robert Pieńkowski attributed the copper coin with the small letter L to Louis era (Table 2). This concerns the same coin: in addition to the inventory number MNK, R. Pieńkowski also submitted a number from the Hutten-Czapski catalogue (no. 6989), and the two coincide.²⁰ For this reason, more recent catalogues have attributed this coin to Louis of Hungary. Only A. Kryzhanivs'kyi, in the second edition of his *Catalogue of coins of the Lviv mint in the 14th–15th centuries*, dated this type of copper coin to the transitional period of the Lviv interregnum between the end of 1370 and October 1372.

Table 2. Dating of copper coins of Lviv type *K/crowned L* in specialist catalogues

Catalogue name	Casimir III (before 1370)	1371–1372	Louis of Hungary 1379–1382
Hutten-Czapski 1880	+ (R ?)		
Pieńkowski 1997			+
Dutkowski 1998			+
Kopicki 2003			+
Kryzhanivs'kyi 2007			+
Kryzhanivs'kyi 2019		+	

Once again, another hoard containing Galician-Ruthenian coins (Fig. 11) found in a village in the Busk Raion of Lviv Oblast' (a specific place could not be determined) in 2021, helps to resolve theoretical disputes.

One coin has the initial K on the obverse and a crown on the reverse. Its weight is 1.47 g and, according to the catalogue of coins of the Lviv mint, it is a coin of

¹⁸ Stupnicki 1865, p. 77

¹⁹ Hutten-Czapski 1891, no. 6989.

²⁰ Pieńkowski 1997, p. 19, No. 25.

Casimir III struck in 1363–1370, no. 46, a fairly common variant 2b.²¹ Another coin also has the initial of Casimir III (K) on the obverse, but on the reverse under the crown there is a small letter, either K or L – respectively the initials of Polish King Casimir III, or Hungarian-Polish King Louis of Hungary – or even the letter R. The weight of this coin is 1.17 g. Unfortunately, the coin is poorly preserved which does not allow us to determine definitely which letter it is.



Fig. 11. Copper coins from the Busk hoard (2021). On the right is a type of coin with the initial K on the obverse and the probable letter L under the crown on the reverse, scale 1.5:1

It is unlikely that this letter is an R. The letter R appears on the copper coins of Casimir III the Great, but only in combination with the letters k, R and P for *Kazimiri Regis Polonie*, and never separately. The letters P and R are also never separate on the Galician-Ruthenian coins. If we consider it the letter k, then it is a coin no. 48 of variant 2r from Kryzhanivs'kyi's catalogue. If we assume that this is the letter L for the Hungarian and Polish King Louis, then A. Kryzhanivs'kyi believes that this coin (type 2д, no. 49 in the catalogue) was made in 1371, after the death of Casimir III the Great in 1370. At that time, Poland and Galicia came under the rule of King Louis of Hungary. At the same time, Galicia, which under Casimir III the Great was the personal possession ("dominion" of the king), became part of the personal possessions of King Louis of Hungary. To govern Galicia, Louis of Hungary appointed his plenipotentiary governor, Duke Vladislaus of Opole, who arrived in Lviv only in October 1372 and began minting coins with his initial W. During this time, the Lviv mint could issue copper coins with two initials. And the reason for this was again a great income generated by base metal coinage.²²

Comparison of the dies of the newly found coin with similar ones from the collection of the Lviv Historical Museum (inventory number H-35) and from the collection of the National Museum in Krakow (inventory number MNK VII-P-2617) (Fig. 12; Fig. 13), both being relatively well preserved, suggests that the reverses of all three coins are die-identical.

²¹ Kryzhanivs'kyi 2019, pp. 105–106.

²² Kryzhanivs'kyi 2019, pp. 29–30.



Fig. 12. Galician-Ruthenian copper coin from the Lviv Historical Museum (inventory number H-35), scale 1.5:1



Fig. 13. Galician-Ruthenian copper coin from the National Museum in Krakow (inventory number MNK VII-P-2617), scale 1.5:1

The letter on the reverse of the coins from the collection of the Lviv Historical Museum and the National Museum in Krakow can be confidently read as the letter L. A similar form – with a curved right letter stem (actually a serif), thinner at the top – can be found on Central European coins in the late Middle Ages, such as the Hungarian coins of King Louis I (Fig. 14, 15). The punches of this letter are especially similar on Silesian coins (Fig. 16), on which the curved right stem of the letter also has various protrusions (including the third and sixth versions in the upper and lower rows), quite similar to coins from the Lviv and Krakow museums.²³

Unfortunately, other coins of this type, offered at auctions, are poorly preserved which does not allow us to state definitely which letter it is (photo of eight reverses was chosen from the Internet by Vasyl Pavliv):

In Fig. 17:1–2 the letter resembles L, the same as in the coins from the Krakow and Lviv museums, in Fig. 17:4 – clearly the letter κ, in Fig. 17:3, 5, 6 and 7 probably L, but not so clearly as in Fig. 17:1–2. In the case of Fig. 17:8, it is difficult to say anything.

Comparing the dies of copper coins of this type, we can be left with two options. Either the die with the clear letter K was degraded during the minting to such a vague shape that it resembles the letter L, as we can clearly observe on coins from the Lviv and Krakow museums, or there are two different dies.

²³ The authors express their sincere gratitude to Prof. Borys Paszkiewicz for information and providing scanned copies.



Fig. 14. Golden florin of Louis I of the indefinite mint, 1353–1375
(Lengyel 2013, pp. 50–51, no. 5/5), scale 1.5:1



Fig. 15. Silver coin of Louis from the Mint of Buda, 1366–1382
(Lengyel 2020, pp. 122–123, no. 25/45/3), scale 1.5:1



Fig. 16. Punches of the letter L from the inscription M O L on the obverse of the hellers of the Oleśnica Duchy, minted in Oleśnica, ca. 1430–1449 (Paszkievicz 2021b, p. 33, Ryc. 1–7)

The only thing that can be confirmed at present is that this version of the coin cannot be attributed to the era of Louis of Hungary. Moreover, there is no reason to consider it a random combination of two dies with the initials of Casimir III the Great and Louis of Hungary. First of all, there is no known variant of the Galician-Ruthenian copper coin of Louis of Hungary, displaying a small initial under a large crown. What then can the small letter L mean? An interesting observation and a new look at this issue was expressed by prof. B. Paszkiewicz: in this case, a small letter does not represent the name of Louis, but something else – maybe



Fig. 17. Photo of reverses of copper coins with the letter L or K under the crown, selected from the Internet

even the name of the city of Lviv.²⁴ The final attribution of Galician-Ruthenian copper coins with K and the crown with small L below should be postponed until more such coins in good condition are found.

As for the coins of the *crown/crown* type, the die links presented in the article allow us to confidently attribute them to the era of the Hungarian reign in Galicia – the period of Louis I's reign and, perhaps, in a certain period after his death.

In summary, Lviv copper coins can be considered as an exceptional phenomenon in coinage. Copper coins were not minted in other mints that operated in the 14th century on the territory of Ukraine – Kyïv, Lutsk or Podolia. This is despite the fact that they were in close proximity to the area of the Golden Horde, where there was a powerful tradition of copper coinage in monetary circulation.²⁵

The sole exceptions are copper coins with the legend ЮРЪЇСВЪ, the minting of which, according to most researchers, took place in Belz. According to B. Paszkiewicz, the issue of copper coins in Belz should be considered as a response to the needs of the local small coin market after the cessation of copper coins in Lviv during the reign of Władysław II Jagiełło. In his opinion, copper coinage of Galicia and Volhynia might have been influenced by the Byzantine monetary system. Given the aforementioned absence of copper minting in Kyïv and Podolia, one can agree that the idea of copper coinage was borrowed from the Byzantine Empire.

²⁴ Borys Paszkiewicz, personal communication.

²⁵ Paszkiewicz 2021a, pp. 97–98.

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KROPKA NAD I W BADANIACH MONET MIEDZIANYCH RUSI HALICKIEJ Z XIV WIEKU

(Streszczenie)

Miedziane monety Rusi Halickiej wybijane we Lwowie w XIV w., niemal nie występują w znaleziskach. Dlatego też studia i datowanie tych monet opierają się przede wszystkim na ikonografii, a nie na analizie skarbów.

Autor pierwszego specjalistycznego opracowania mennicy lwowskiej XIV–XV w., Jan Stupnicki zamieścił opisy monet miedzianych, przypisując większość z nich poprawnie do kolejnych emitentów, tj. Kazimierza Wielkiego, Władysława Opolczyka i Ludwika Węgierskiego. Wśród nich wymienił znaną wówczas w jednym egzemplarzu monetę typu *K/L pod koroną*. Uznał ją za powstałą w wyniku błędu mincerza, który przypadkowo połączył stemple monet Kazimierza i Ludwika.

Jan Stupnicki nie wspomina o typie *korona/korona*, który był wówczas jeszcze nieznanym. Po raz pierwszy taka moneta została opublikowana przez E. Hutten-Czapskiego, który nadał jej bardzo wysoki stopień rzadkości R7, a opis umieścił wśród monet Kazimierza Wielkiego, dodając jednak: „może również sięgać czasów Ludwika, króla Polski i Węgier”.

Od tego czasu właściwie bez odpowiedzi pozostaje pytanie, kiedy we Lwowie bito miedziane monety z przedstawieniem korony na obu stronach (typ *korona/korona*) – za Kazimierza Wielkiego, Ludwika Węgierskiego czy może księcia Władysława Opolczyka? Badacze zazwyczaj przypisują te monety Kazimierzowi Wielkiemu. Według innej wersji, cytowanej przez polskiego uczonego prof. Borysa Paszkiewicza, zostały one wyemitowane za panowania Ludwika Węgierskiego w latach 1379–1382 i emisja ta była defektem menniczym, to znaczy przypadkowym połączeniem dwóch stempli rewersów (podobnie jak monety miedziane, które po obu stronach przedstawiają inicjały króla L w czterolukowej obwódce, czyli sparowanie stempli dwóch awersów).

Są to jednak rozważania czysto teoretyczne. Wszystkie założenia najlepiej weryfikuje analiza skarbów. Niestety, miedzianych monet halicko-ruskich w skarbach praktycznie nie ma. W większości występują one jako znaleziska przypadkowe, zapewne zguby, a nie jako celowo zgromadzone pieniądze.

W 2020 r. doszło jednak do odkrycia skarbu w rejonie buskim obwodu lwowskiego, w dopływie rzeki Pełtwi. W jego składzie zarejestrowano monetę z wyobrażeniem dwóch koron wraz z miedzianymi halicko-ruskimi monetami Ludwika standardowego typu (z inicjałem). Zdezaktualizowało to datowanie monet typu *korona/korona* na lata panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego. Zamiast tego skład skarbu potwierdził tezę prof. B. Paszkiewicza

o późniejszym datowaniu emisji we Lwowie w czasach Ludwika Węgierskiego miedzianych monet z dwoma koronami.

Innym argumentem przemawiającym za takim datowaniem może być analiza połączeń stempli monet typu *korona/korona* ze stemplami monet, które z jednej strony posiadają inicjały emitenta. Takie łańcuchy, sporządzone przez autorów, wyraźnie umieszczają monety z dwoma koronami w latach 1378–1382: wszystkie łączą się bowiem ze standardowymi monetami Ludwika Węgierskiego.

Na histogramie wagi standardowych monet Ludwika Węgierskiego o rozstępie 0,1 g wyraźnie widać dwa piki. Jeden pomiędzy 0,8 g a 1,0 g, co odpowiada również wadze głównej grupy miedzianych monet typu *korona/korona*. Kolejny szczyt mieści się między 1,1 a 1,2 g i odpowiada już wadze miedzianych monet typu *korona/korona* z innym przedstawieniem korony, a mianowicie z koroną o wywiniętych na zewnątrz krawędziach. Możliwe, że po śmierci Ludwika Węgierskiego, nadal wybijano pod jego stemplem niektóre miedziane monety typu standardowego (z inicjałem), a także monety typu *korona/korona* z koroną o wywiniętych krawędziach.

Szczegółowych analiz wymagają również miedziane monety Rusi Halickiej innego typu, charakteryzującego się dużym ukoronowanym inicjałem K na awersie i małą literą L pod dużą koroną na rewersie (nadal typ *K/L pod koroną*).

Taka moneta była znana Janowi Stupnickiemu, który podał, że została ona wybita za czasów Ludwika Węgierskiego. Na tej samej monecie Emeryk Hutten-Czapski odczytał pod koroną literę R zamiast litery L i przypisał ją Kazimierzowi III.

I znów na ratunek przychodzi odkrycie w 2021 r. w jednej ze wsi obwodu lwowskiego (dokładnej lokalizacji nie udało się ustalić) miedzianych monet Rusi Halickiej, z których jedna to standardowa moneta Kazimierza Wielkiego, a inna reprezentuje typ *K/L pod koroną*.

Niestety stan zachowania interesującej nas monety jest fatalny, co nie pozwala jednoznacznie określić, o jaką literę chodzi. Wersja, że to litera R jest mało prawdopodobna. Litery takie znajdują się bowiem na miedzianych monetach Kazimierza Wielkiego, ale tylko w kombinacjach liter *k*, *r* i *p*, tj. *Kazimiri Regis Polonie*, a osobno litery *p* lub *r* na żadnym z wariantów miedzianych monet halicko-ruskich nie występują.

Porównanie nowo odnalezionej monety z podobnymi ze zbiorów Lwowskiego Muzeum Historycznego (nr. inw. H-35) oraz ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (nr. inw. MNK VII-P-2617), które są w stosunkowo dobrym stanie, sugeruje, że rewersy wszystkich trzech monet są identyczne. Z dużym prawdopodobieństwem literę na rewersie monet ze zbiorów Lwowskiego Muzeum Historycznego i Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie można uznać za literę L. Podobną formę, o zakrzywionej prawej nóżce, cieńszej u góry – znajdujemy na monetach środkowoeuropejskich późnego średniowiecza, takich jak węgierskie monety króla Ludwika. A szczególnie podobieństwo wykazuje do liter ze stempli monet śląskich, na których zakrzywiona prawa nóżka również ma różne występy, podobnie jak monety z lwowskiego i z krakowskiego muzeów.

Niestety inne monety tego typu, które wystawiono na aukcjach są w niezadowolającym stanie zachowania, co nie pozwala na jednoznaczną identyfikację litery. Na niektórych przypomina ona L, tak samo jak na monetach z muzeów krakowskiego i lwowskiego, na innych prawdopodobnie L, ale nie tak wyraźnie, w jednym przypadku literę *k*, a jeszcze w kolejnym w ogóle trudno o jakikolwiek odczyt.

Porównując stemple monet miedzianych, możemy przyjąć dwie możliwości. Albo w czasie bicia stempel z wyraźną literą K zdegradował do takiego stopnia, że odczyt jest niejasny i tylko przypomina literę L, jak na monetach z muzeów lwowskiego i krakowskiego, albo są to dwa różne stemple.

Jedynie co można teraz powiedzieć – monet tego typu nie można przypisać panowaniu Ludwika Węgierskiego. Co więcej, nie ma powodów, aby uważać je za przypadkową kombinację dwóch stempli z inicjałami: Kazimierza Wielkiego i Ludwika Węgierskiego. Nie ma przecież znanej odmiany miedzianej halicko-ruskiej monety Ludwika Węgierskiego, na której widniałby mały inicjał pod dużą koroną.

Co zatem może oznaczać mała litera L? Ciekawą obserwację i nowe spojrzenie na ten problem wyraził prof. B. Paszkiewicz: w tym przypadku mała litera nie oznacza imienia Ludwika, a coś innego – może nawet nazwę miasta Lwowa. Ostateczne przypisanie miedzianych halicko-ruskich monet typu *K/L pod koroną* należy odłożyć do czasu, gdy poznamy więcej takich monet w dobrym stanie zachowania.

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