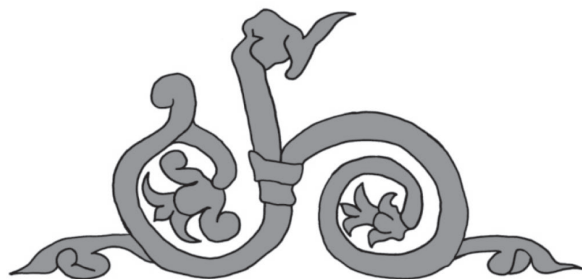


ZIRIDAVA
STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

27

2013

MUSEUM ARAD



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2013

Editura MEGA
Cluj-Napoca
2013

MUSEUM ARAD

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In Romania, the periodical can be obtained through subscription or exchange, sent as post shipment, from Museum Arad, Arad, Piata G. Enescu 1, 310131, Romania.
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ZIRIDAVA STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

Any correspondence will be sent to the editor:

Museum Arad

Piata George Enescu 1, 310131 Arad, RO

e-mail: ziridava2012@gmail.com

The content of the papers totally involve the responsibility of the authors.

Layout: Francisc Baja, Florin Mărginean, Victor Sava

ISSN: 1224-7316



EDITURA MEGA | www.edituramega.ro

e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

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A Monetary Hoard Discovered in the Settlement of Cristur (Bihor County). Aspects on the Monetary Circulation of Thalers in Crișana during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*

Corina Toma

Abstract: In 1973 a hoard consisting of 68 coins, found near Cristur/Apátkeresztúr (Bihor County), was inventoried in the registers of the museum in Oradea. The majority of these coins are of the three-groats type issued in the Polish Kingdom (34 items), the Great Duchy of Lithuania (6 items), Transylvania (3 items) and the city of Riga (10 items). The rest of the hoard consists of large coins of great value – thalers – minted in Central and Western Europe (the German and Austrian lands, the Spanish Netherlands, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands). The earliest date of the find is set by a Saxon thaler (Johann Friedrich and Moritz) minted in 1547, while the closing date is 1600 (a Polish three-groats).

Keywords: Partium, hoard, coins, 16th century, thalers, three-groats.

The numismatics collection of the museum in Oradea includes a monetary hoard discovered in the settlement of Cristur (Bihor County), but no supplementary data is available on the find. According to its present structure, the hoard from Cristur belongs to the series of treasures consisting of thalers cast in mints from Western and Central Europe (the German and Austrian lands, the Spanish Netherlands, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands) and three-groats minted according to the Polish monetary standards (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Riga, Transylvania); both categories were issued, *g rosso modo*, during the second half of the sixteenth century (1547–1600).

Coins catalog

Lower Austria (Niederösterreich)

1. Ferdinand (1526–1564)

Thaler, n. d., Vienna

Av: FERDINAND:D:G:ROM:HUNG:BOHEM:REX·

Rv:INF·HISP·ARCHID·AVST·DUX·BURG·MA·Mo

Markl 1896, 159, Davenport 1977, 8010 var.

Ag; 10; 28.46 (gr.); 40.7 × 40.6 (mm); double minting;

MȚCO, inv. no. 10/4

Bohemia

2. Rudolf (1576–1608)

Thaler, 1594, Prague, Lazar Erker von Schreckenfels (1583–1594)

Ov: RVDOLPHVS·II·D·G·R·I·S·A·G·HV·BO·REX·

Rv:ARCHI·DVX·AVSTRI·DVX·BUR·MA·MO·1594

Donebauer 1889, 1462 var.; Davenport 1977, 8075 var.

Ag; 8; 29.11; 41.3 × 41; MȚCO, inv. no. 10/5

Tyrol

3. Archduke Ferdinand (1564–1595)

Thaler, n. d., Hall

Ov:·FERDINAND:D:G:ARCHID:AUSTRIÆ·

Rv:DUX·BURGUNDIE·COMES·TIROLIS

Pohl 1973, 49; Davenport 1977, reverse 8097

Ag; 12; 28.61; 40.4 × 40.7; MȚCO, inv. no. 10/1

4. Archduke Ferdinand (1564–1595)

Thaler, n. d., Hall

Ov:·FERDINAND:D:G:ARCHID:AUSTRIÆ·

Rv:DVX·BVRGVNDIE·COMESTIROLIS

Pohl 1973, 60 var.; Davenport 1977, 8097 var.

Ag; 12; 28.54; 40.1 × 40; MȚCO, inv. no. 10/2

5. Archduke Ferdinand (1564–1595)

Thaler, n. d., Hall

Ov:·FERDINANDVS:D:G:ARCHIDVX:AVSTRIÆ·

Rv:DVXBVRGVNDIÆ·COMESTIROLIS

Ag; 12; 28.56; 40 × 40.1; MȚCO, inv. no. 10/11

Alsace

6. Archduke Ferdinand (1564–1595)

Thaler, Ensisheim

Ov:·FERDINANDVS:D:G:ARCHIDVX:AUSTRIÆ·

Rv: DUX·BU·RG·LAND·-·ALSA·COM·-·PHIRT·

* English translation: Ana M. Gruia.

Davenport 1977: obverse 8091, reverse 8088
Ag; 12; 27.99; 40 × 39.4; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/3

Saxony

7. Johann Friedrich von Sachsen (1503–1554) and
Moritz von Sachsen (1547–1553)

Thaler, 1547, Buchholz, Sebastian Funcke(T)

Ov: IOHANF-ELE·DUX-SAX·BV-R·MAG·Z

Rv: MAURI·D-VX-SAX·FI·IVS·15-47·BVC_HT

Keilitz 2002, 194

Ag; 8; 29.20; 40.2 × 40.8; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/8

8. Augustus (1553–1586)

Thaler, 1561, Dresden, Hans Biener (HB)

Ov: AVGVSTVS·D·G·DVX·SAXONIE·SA·ROMA·IM

Rv: ARCHIMARS·CHAL·ET·ELEC

Mey 1975, 994

Ag; 8; 28.67; 40.6 × 40.5; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/12

9. Augustus (1553–1586)

Thaler, 1565, Dresden, Hans Biener (HB)

Ov: AVGVSTVS·D·G·DVX·SAXONIE·SA·ROMA·IM

Rv: ARCHIMARS·CHAL·ET·ELEC

Mey 1975, 994

Ag; 3; 28.80; 40.7 × 40.5; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/9

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

10. Julius (1568–1589)

Thaler (*Sterbetal*), 1589, Goslar

Ov: IVLI9DBRELVNOMAANCIC·IC·LXXXIX·P·DEF

Rv: LV·CTV PVBlico, in câmp VIXIT·AN/
LX·MEN·X·DIES·VIII·/1589

Mey 1975, 186

Ag; 12; 29.06; 41.2 × 41.3; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/14

11. Heinrich Julius (1589–1613)

Thaler, 1593, Goslar

Ov: HENR·IVL·D·G·POST·EPS·HAL·E·D·BRVNE·LVN

Rv: HONESTVM·PRO·PATRIA

Mey 1975, 187

Ag; 11; 29.16; 40.1 × 39.9; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/10

Jülich-Kleve-Berg

12. Wilhelm V (1539–1592)

Thaler, n. d., Wessel

Ov: GVILHELMVS·D·G·IN·DEO·SPES·MEA

Rv: DUX·IVL·CLIV·ET·BERG·COM·MAR·RA

Mey 1975, 433

Ag; 12; 28.69; 40.9 × 40.5; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/13

Imperial cities of Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle (Overijssel Province)

13. Charles V (1519–1556)

Union thaler (Ecu, Daalder), 1555, Deventer, Balthasar
Wijnckens

Ov: ·MONE·NOVA·TRIVM·CIVITA·IMPERIALIVM·

Rv: 3WOLLENSIS·DAVENTRIENSIS·CAMPENSIS·

Delmonte 1967, 673

Ag; 2; 28.49; 40.5 × 41.1; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/6

United Provinces – West-Friesland

14. Thaler (Westfrisian Rijksdaalder), 1587

Ov: DEVS·FOTRITVDO·ET·SPES·NOSTRA

Rv: ·MONE·NO·ARG·DOMI·WESTFRISLÆ

Catalogus 1981, p. 16–17, Delmonte 1967, 925;

Ag; 12; 28.91; 40.2 × 40.3; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/7

Transylvania

15. Sigismund Báthory (1581–1597, 1598–1599,
1601–1602)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·D·G·TRAN·MOL·WAL·S·R·I·P·

Rv: *I·I·I*·/·15·--96·/GRO·-ARG·/TRIP·PRIN·/
TRANSYL·/VANI·/·**

Buzdugan *et alii* 1977, 555; Resch 1901, 214

Ag; 12; 2.47; 20.4; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/66

16. Sigismund Báthory (1581–1597, 1598–1599,
1601–1602)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·D·G·TRAN·MOL·WAL·S·R·I·P·

Rv: *I·I·I*·/·1·5·--9·7·/GRO·-ARG·/TRIP·PRIN·/
TRANSYL·/VANLÆ·/·**

Buzdugan *et alii* 1977, 580, Resch 1901, 236

Ag; 12; 2.46; 20.5 × 20.8; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/67

17. Sigismund Báthory (1581–1597, 1598–1599,
1601–1602)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·D·G·TRAN·MOL·WAL·S·R·I·P·

Rv: *I·I·I*·/·1·5·--9·7·/GRO·-ARG·/TRIP·PRIN·/
TRANSYL·/VANLÆ·/·**

Buzdugan *et alii* 1977, 580, Resch 1901, 236

Ag; 12; 2.22; 21 × 21.2; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/68

Poland

18. *István* Báthory (1576–1586)

Three-groats

Ov: ·STEPHAN·D·G·REX·POL·M·D·L·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG·/TRIP·REG·/POLONLÆ·/15-82

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 684, Gumowski 1960, 704

Ag; 9; 2.30; 20.8 × 20.6; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/15

19. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·III·D·G·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG·/TRIP·REG·/POLONLÆ·/✠--90·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 816, Gumowski 1960, 994

Ag; 4; 2.18; 20.4 × 20.8; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/16

20. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·3·D·G·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG·/TRIP·REG·/POLONLÆ·/✠--91·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 837, Gumowski 1960, 998

Ag; 2; 2.32; 20.5; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/18

21. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGI·3·DG·REX·PO·M·D·L·
Rv: ·III·/·GROS·ARG·/·TRIP·REG·/POLONIAE/~~93~~·92·
Hutten-Czapski 1957 -, Gumowski 1960, 1003 var.
Ag; 11; 2.30; 20; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/19
22. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGI·3·DG·REX·PO·M·D·L·
Rv: ·III·/·GROS·ARG·/·TRIP·REG·/POLONIAE/~~93~~·93·
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 884, Gumowski 1960, 1010
Ag; 12; 2.08; 19.8 × 20.1; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/20
23. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGI·3·DG·REX·PO·M·D·L·
Rv: ·III·/·GROS·ARG·/·TRIP·REG·/POLONIAE/~~93~~·93·
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 884, Gumowski 1960, 1010
Ag; 7; 2.65; 19.9; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/21
24. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGIII DGREXPOLMDLIT+
Rv: III/GROS♦ARG/TRIP♦REG/POLONIAE/15–91
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 834, Gumowski 1960, 996
Ag; 1; 2.24; 21.2; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/17
25. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIG·III·DG·REX·POLON·M·DL·
Rv: *III*/GROS*ARG/·T·R·POLON/·IÆ–93
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 887, Gumowski 1960, 1006
Ag; 12; 2.33; 20.3; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/22
26. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGIIIDGREXPOLONIMDL
Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARGT/RI·RE·/POLON/IÆ–94
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 918 var., Gumowski 1960, 1015
Ag; 12; 2.08; 19.8 × 20.1; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/23
27. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIG·III·DGR·-(siglă indescifrabilă)POLON·M·D·L·
Rv: III·/GROSARG/TRRPOLO/Ni–94/I-F·
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 910 var., Gumowski 1960, 1017
Ag; 5; 2.43; 19.8; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/24
28. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGIIIDGREXPOLMDL
Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TRIP·RE·/POLONIAE/9·5·-V-I/.../·I-F
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 937 var., Gumowski 1960, 1024
Ag; 2; 2.36; 20.1 × 20.6; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/25
29. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIG·III·DG·R·POLON·I·M·D·L·
Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/Ni–95/·I-F·
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 938 var., Gumowski 1960, 1022?
Ag; 10; 2.37; 20.1 × 20; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/26
30. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGI3DGREXPOMDL×95
Rv: III/GROS·ARG/TRIP·REG·/POLONIA
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 942 var., Gumowski 1960, 1029
Ag; 2; 2.36; 20.3 × 19.9; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/27
31. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: ·SIG3DG·REX·POL·M·D·L·
Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TRIP·REG/POLONIAE/·I-F/9–5
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 955var., Gumowski 1960, 1034
Ag; 2; 2.22 × 21.1; 19.8 × 20.1; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/28
32. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIG·3·D·G·REX·POL·M·D·L·
Rv: III/GROS·ARG/TRIPREG/POLONI/I-F/–96
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 981 var., Gumowski 1960, 1052
Ag; 10; 2.38; 20.2 × 19.7; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/29
33. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGIIIDGR·POLONIMDL
Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/Ni–96·/·I-F·
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 974, Gumowski 1960, 1035
Ag; 12; 2.38; 20.4 × 19.8; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/30
34. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGIIIDGR·POLONIMDL
Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/·Ni–96·/·I-F
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 975, Gumowski 1960, 1035
Ag; 12; 2.35; 21.1 × 20.1; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/31
35. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIGIIIDGR·POLON·M·D·L·
Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/Ni–96·/·I-F·
Hutten-Czapski 1957, var 975, Gumowski 1960, 1035
Ag; 11; 2.35; 20.6 × 21.3; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/32
36. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats
Ov: SIG3DG·REXPOMDL
Rv: III/GROSARGE/TRIPR/POLONIE/97/·I-F
Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1022 var., Gumowski 1960, 1054
Ag; 6; 2.60; 20.7 × 21.1; M_TCO, inv. no. 10/33
37. Sigismund III (1587–1632)
Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDGR.....POLONMDL

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO·/·NI·-97/·I-F·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1017 var., Gumowski 1960, 1054

Ag; 5; 2.40; 20 × 20.6; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/34

38. Sigismund II (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDGR.....POLONIMDL

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO·/·NI·-97

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1014, Gumowski 1960, 1054

Ag; 6; 2.30; 19.6 × 20.5; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/35

39. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIII·D·G·-oREX·PO·M·D·L

Rv: oIIIo/GROS·ARG/TRI·R·PO·97/I·FoS·C/H·R

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1046, Gumowski 1960, 1060

Ag; 12; 2.52; 19.8 × 19.7; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/36

40. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDGREXPOMDL

Rv: ·III·/GROSARG/TRIP·REG:/POLONIÆ/I·F
H·R/9-7

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1036; Gumowski 1960, 1059
(legend on three rows)

Ag; 9; 2.08; 20.8 × 20.6; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/37

41. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDGR---POLONMDL·

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/·NI·-98·/·I-F·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1070; Gumowski 1960, 1076

Ag; 10; 2.42; 20.1 × 20.2; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/38

42. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Av: ·SIGIIIDGR---POLONIMDL·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/NI·-98·/·I-F·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1069; Gumowski 1960, 1076

Ag; 5; 2.15; 19.6 × 19.7; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/39

43. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDGR-POLONMDL·

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TR·R·POLO/NI·-98/·I-F·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1068; Gumowski 1960, 1076

Ag; 3; 2.23; 19.7 × 20.8; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/40

44. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDG-REXPMDL

Rv: III/GROS·ARG/TRIPREG/POLONI/1598

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1082 (ov.) and 1080 (rv.);
Gumowski 1960, 1092

Ag; 5; 2.36; 20 × 20.1; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/41

45. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·III·D·G·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/·TRIP·R·PO/·98-B·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1092; Gumowski 1960, 1083

Ag; 8; 2.11; 20.4 × 19.6; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/42

46. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: ·SIG·3·DG·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/TRI·R·PO/·F·-99·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1117; Gumowski 1960, 1095
Fraustadt

Ag; 5; 2.76; 19.8 × 20.4; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/43

47. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDG--REX·PO·M·DL·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TRI·R·PO/·F·-99

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1118; Gumowski 1960, 1095

Ag; 4; 2.17; 21 × 20.8; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/44

48. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIIIDGR---POLONMDL

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/·TR·R·POLO·/·NI·/-99/·I·-F

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1112 var.; Gumowski 1960, 1093

Ag; 4; 2.34; 20.2 × 20.3; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/45

49. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIGIII·D·-G·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TRIP·R·PO/·P·-99·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1125; Gumowski 1960, 1094

Ag; 2; 2.16; 20.3 × 20.1; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/46

50. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: ·SIG·III·D·-G·REX·P·M·D·L·

Rv: ·III·/GROS·ARG/·III·RE·PO·L·/·I-F·/16-00

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 1143; Gumowski 1960, 1100

Ag; 3; 2.02; 19.8 × 19.9; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/47

51. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Dreipölker, 1624

Ov: SIGIS3DG (3)REX·PMDL

Rv: MONE·NO·REG·POLO

Gumowski 1960, 974

Ag; 8; 0.97; 19.3 × 19.5; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/48

Lithuania

52. Sigismund II August (1547–1572)

Polish groat

Ov: SIGIS♣-AVG(...), in e × ergue POLO♣MAG·DVX·L·

Rv: MONETA♣MAG(...)CA♣LITW♣, in field 15–67

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 556; Gumowski 1960, 610

Ag; 7; 1.54; 22.2 × 22; MṬCO, inv. no. 10/49

53. István Báthory (1576–1586)

Three-groats

Ov: STEP·D·G·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III/15–86/GROS·ARG/TRIP·M·D/↯LIT/✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 767; Gumowski 1960, 764

Ag; 2; 2.29; 19 × 19.3; MTCO, inv. no. 10/50

54. István Báthory (1576–1586)

Three-groats

Ov: STEP·D·G·REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III/15–86/GROS·ARG/TRIP·M·D/↯LIT/✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 767; Gumowski 1960, 764

Ag; 10; 2.40; 19.9 × 19.4; MTCO, inv. no. 10/51

55. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: ·SIG·III·D·G·--REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III/15–92/GROS·ARG/TRIPMDL/↯↯↯

Hutten-Czapski1957, 875; Gumowski 1960, 1333

Ag; 2; 2.35; 20.5 × 20.9; MTCO, inv. no. 10/52

56. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·III·D·G·--REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: *III*/GROS·ARG/TRIP·M·D·L·/15↯95

Hutten-Czapski1957, 962; Gumowski 1960, 1336

Ag; 5; 2.44; 21.1; MTCO, inv. no. 10/53

57. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·III·D·G·--REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TRIP·M·D·L·/15↯95·

Hutten-Czapski1957, 963; Gumowski 1960, 1336

Ag; 9; 2.08; 21.7; MTCO, inv. no. 10/54

58. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: ·SIG·III·D·G·--REX·PO·M·D·L·

Rv: III·/GROS·ARG/TRIP·M·D·L·/15↯95·

Hutten-Czapski1957, 963; Gumowski 1960, 1336

Ag; 11; 2.39; 21.2 × 21; MTCO, inv. no. 10/55

Riga

59. István Báthory (1576–1586)

Three-groats

Ov: ·STEPoD^oG·REX^oPO^oD^oL·

Rv: *III*/·15–83·/GR·OS/ARG·TRIP/CIVI·RI/GEN·

Hutten-Czapski 1957, 712 var.; Gumowski 1960, 813

Ag; 9; 2.29; 20.4; MTCO, inv. no. 10/56

60. István Báthory (1576–1586)

Three-groats

Ov: STE[♦]DG[♦]REX[♦]P[♦]M[♦]D[♦]L

Rv: ✱III✱/15–86/GR·OS/ARG[♦]TRIP/CIVI[♦]RI[♦]/+GE+

Hutten-Czapski 1957–; Gumowski 1960, 814

Ag; 3; 1.77; 19.9 × 19.8; MTCO, inv. no. 10/57

61. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG×III×D·G·REX×PO×D×LI

Rv: ×15–92×/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 880; Gumowski 1960, 1451

Ag; 3; 2.28; 21.8 × 21.7; MTCO, inv. no. 10/58

62. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·III·D·G·REX·PO·D·LIV

Rv: ×15–93×/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 899; Gumowski 1960, 1452

Ag; 3; 2.35; 21.4 × 21.7; MTCO, inv. no. 10/59

63. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG×III×D×G×REX×PO×D×LIV:

Rv: ×III×/15–93/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/×GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 898; Gumowski 1960, 1452

Ag; 3; 2.07; 21.2; MTCO, inv. no. 10/60

64. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG·III·D·G×REX×PO×D·LI

Rv: ×III×/15–94/GR·OS/ARG·TRIP/CIVI×RI·/·GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 932; Gumowski 1960, 1453

Ag; 3; 2.38; 21.7 × 22; MTCO, inv. no. 10/61

65. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG×III×D×G×REX×PO×D×LI

Rv: ×III×/15–94/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/×GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 931; Gumowski 1960, 1453

Ag; 4; 2.12; 21.5 × 21.6; MTCO, inv. no. 10/62

66. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG×III×D×G×REX×PO×D×LI

Rv: ×III×/15–94/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/×GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 931; Gumowski 1960, 1453

Ag; 3; 2.36; 21.8 × 21.7; MTCO, inv. no. 10/63

67. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG×III×D·G×REX×PO×D×LI·

Rv: ×III×/15–95/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/×GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 967; Gumowski 1960, 1454

Ag; 3; 2.46; 21.7 × 21.5; MTCO, inv. no. 10/64

68. Sigismund III (1587–1632)

Three-groats

Ov: SIG×III·D·G×REX×PO×D×LI

Rv: ×III×/15–97/GR·OS/ARG×TRIP/CIVI×RI/×GE✱

Hutten-Czapski1957, 1065; Gumowski 1960, 1454

Ag; 3; 2.18; 21.3 × 21; MTCO, inv. no. 10/65

Data on the coins included in the hoard

The hoard discovered in Cristur is among the few in Transylvania that were buried in the end of the sixteenth century and that included thalers, all but one minted in the imperial mints (*Münzkreise*)¹.

A first category consists of imperial thalers minted in the hereditary territories of the Habsburgs (Lower Austria and Tyrol), included in the monetary circle of Austria. One of the thalers was issued by *Lower Austria* in the name of Emperor Ferdinand I (1526–1564), in the mint of Vienna (no. 1). The thaler lacks a millesim, but Ferdinand's titulature is an indication for the dating of the emission to the period between 1531 and 1558².

The other three Austrian thalers are emissions of Archduke Ferdinand, son of Emperor Ferdinand I, owner of the county of *Tyrol* since 1566. Tyrolean thalers (nos. 3, 4, 5) were minted without a millesim in the mints of Hall³, inaugurated by Archduke Sigismund in 1450, after the discovery of a silver mine in Schwatz. These coins display a unitary iconography⁴, with slight variations of the legend that renders the archduke's titulature.

In 1564 Archduke Ferdinand also inherited the landgraviate of *Alsace* together with the county of Pfirdt (Ferrette), possessions of the Habsburg Family that were included in the monetary circle of the Upper Rhine. The early years of the Alsatian mint are connected to Archduke Ferdinand's monetary emissions. He issued thalers in the mint of Ensisheim (no. 6)⁵, inaugurated in 1584.

One thaler issued in 1594 in the name of Rudolf II in the mint of Prague⁶ can be included in the monetary circle of Bohemia created by Ferdinand I (no. 2). Unlike the classical iconography of Bohemian thalers, established under the reign of Ferdinand I, the thalers issued in Prague between 1587 and 1597 and between 1599 and 1600 display on the obverse the depiction of the emperor standing, holding the scepter and the orb, flanked by shields with crests consisting of the crown of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary.

A distinct category includes thalers emitted by German princes according to different monetary standards, typical to each region; most of the thalers in the hoard under discussion were minted in the Saxon monetary circles (Upper and Lower Saxony).

After the division of 1485, the monetary history of the *Duchy of Upper Saxony* became more complicated since Friedrich II's heirs Ernest (1464–1486) and Albert (1464–1500) divided between them both the duchy's territory and the mines and the right to mint coin⁷. The electoral function passed on to Ernest's line of the House of Wettin that would preserve it until 1547, when Johann Friedrich gave up the title of elector in favor of his cousin on the Albertian line, Duke Moritz⁸. Initially, Duke Moritz

¹ Engel, Serrure 1897, 119, 118–365. The area of the ten monetary regions, that reunited political entities that enjoyed the *jus monetae*, was fixed even since the time of Wenceslas and Albert II; they were rigorously set by Emperor Maximilian I (1486, 1493, 1508–1519): The Lower Rhine, The Upper Rhine, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Upper Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, Burgundy, and Austria. Each of these regions had particular traits as for the monetary types and minting standards and the official monetary correspondences were established through imperial ordinances with little relevance for Transylvania.

² Ferdinand I successively gained the titles of Archduke of Austria (1521), King of Hungary and Bohemia (1527), Roman king (1531) and emperor (1556). The title of *Infans Hispaniarum* is also his, as son of King Philip I and Queen Johanna of Spain, while the title of *Dux Burgundiae* is attributed to the archdukes of Austria after Maximilian I's marriage to Mary, the daughter of the king of Burgundy, Charles the Bold (1477). Engel, Serrure 1897, 354, 359, 366, 371, 488.

³ Pohl 1973, 15, 60–61. The frequent inclusion of Tyrolean thalers in hoards is due to the intense activity of the mint in Hall; production gained new impetus after the introduction of the hydraulic machine drum in 1567.

⁴ For a description of both obverse and reverse see Bratu, Vestale 1971, 38.

⁵ Similar to the Tyrolean thalers, the Alsatian thaler displays the same iconography on the obverse, but the main differences can be found on the reverse that includes the coats of arms of the counties of Pfirdt and of Alsace (Rentzmann 1876, Taf. 11/11, 30/212).

⁶ Ferdinand I kept the mint in Prague active; he only issued gold coins there. During the reign of Maximilian II, the mint was moved from Prague to Budweis due to an outbreak of plague. It was reopened under the reign of Emperor Rudolf II (Engel, Serrure 1897, 367).

⁷ Krug 1974, 91.

⁸ In 1531 Johann Friedrich, together with Philip, landgrave of Hesse, The Schmalkalden League (Thuringia), in the attempt to defend his political and religious interests against Emperor Charles V. In April 1547, after the battle of Mühlberg, the emperor captured the two princes. In order to escape the death penalty, Johann Friedrich accepted, in May 1547, according to the Treaty of Wittenberg, to renounce his title of elector that was taken over, together with some of the Saxon territories of the Ernestine Branch, by Duke Moritz of Saxony, leader of the Albertine Branch of the House of Wettin (since 1541), ally of the imperial policy. TRE 1994, 303–305.

joined the league of the Protestant princes Johann Friedrich and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, issuing together with them, starting with 1542, a series of thalers in the mints of Annaberg, Freiberg, and Buchholz⁹. The series ended after the 1547 events. The hoard from Cristur includes a thaler issued in 1547 in the mint of Buchholz, marked with the sign *T* of mint-master Sebastian Funcke (no. 7). The legend on the reverse is interrupted by Moritz's coats of arms as Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Meissen, Count Palatine of Saxony, and Landgrave of Thuringia. Starting with 1547, Moritz held the title of Elector of Saxony that his brother Augustus inherited after his death (1553).

At first, the new elector minted coin in the old mints of Freiberg, Annaberg, and Schneeberg, which he gradually closed, under various pretexts, between 1556 and 1570. In fact, the activity of these mints was merged into the new mint opened in 1556 in Dresden, where Augustus appointed Hans Biener (1556–1604) as chief mint-master¹⁰. The latter's initials feature on the reverse of the two thalers preserved in the hoard (nos. 8, 9).

The monetary region of Lower Saxony is represented by thalers issued by the Duchy of *Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* that had an intense monetary activity due to the rich silver mines in Harz. From the original emissions, the hoard under discussion preserves a "mortuary" ducat (no. 10), called *Sterbetheraler*¹¹, rarely found in hoards¹², issued in the mint in Goslar by Duke Heinrich Julius (1589–1613) in order to commemorate his father's death (Duke Julius: 1568–1589)¹³; the legend on the reverse and the elements in field announce the public mourning period (LVCTV PVBLICO). One thaler issued by the mint in Goslar in 1593 renders on the obverse the titulature of Duke Heinrich Julius¹⁴ (no. 11); two thalers of this type were also identified in the hoard from Oradea-Dealul Viilor¹⁵.

Other thalers originated in the monetary region of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, more precisely in one of the mints in the *Jülich-Cleve-Berg Duchies*, a personal union with complicated monetary history. Despite its territorial dimensions¹⁶, this political entity did not have a unified monetary system during the sixteenth century; each of the component territories had its own mints¹⁷ and monetary typologies. The thaler in our hoard, a first of its kind in the already published material¹⁸, was issued by the Duchy of Kleve¹⁹ in the mint from Vessel, in the name of Wilhelm V (no. 12).

A special category is represented by the union thaler (*daalder*) issued in the name of Charles V in 1555 by the cities of *Deventer*, *Kampen*, and *Zwolle* in the province of Overijssel, placed under the monetary jurisdiction of the region of Westphalia (no. 13). The three cities under the authority of the Spanish Crown issued thalers and their sub-divisions between 1534 and 1586 exclusively in the mint of Deventer²⁰.

After having escaped Spanish jurisdiction (1581), the seven provinces of the United Provinces Federation continued to issue coin under their own authority. The first attempts at regulating the activity of their workshops and at establishing the types they used were made in 1586²¹ when the

⁹ Keilitz 2002, 171–185.

¹⁰ Haupt 1978, 120–121.

¹¹ Frey 1917, 33.

¹² Butnariu *et al.* 1994, 40–42, 78; Velter, Știrbu 2002, 285, 296.

¹³ Parkes Weber 1918, 505; Engel, Serrure 1897, 263.

¹⁴ Rentzmann 1978, 74.

¹⁵ Bratu, Vestale 1971, 50–51. The thalers were minted in 1591 and 1592.

¹⁶ The unification of the territories took place after the marriage between Johann III, Duke of Kleve and Mark, with Mary, heiress of the Duchies of Jülich and Berg (united in 1423) and of the County of Ravensberg; the latter units became his after the death of his father-in-law (1511), and the other two territories after the death of his father, Johann II (1521). Engel, Serrure 1897, 227–228.

¹⁷ The thalers were coined in the mints of Jülich (Jülich), Mülheim, Rodenkirchen and, probably, Bielefeld (Berg), Herford (Ravensberg) and Kleve and Wessel (Kleve). Mey 1975, 124.

¹⁸ One thaler, emitted in the name of Wilhelm V, undated, has been noted in the hoard from Dimitrovka (Ukraine). Velter, Știrbu 2002, 285.

¹⁹ The Duchy of Kleve received the right to mint coin even since 1298, while Johann II (1481–1437), Wilhelm V's grandfather, initiated the emission of thalers (Engel, Serrure 1894, 1196–1197).

²⁰ The cities of Deventer, Zwolle, and Kampen decided to mint coin together ever since 1488, right after Emperor Friedrich III granted them this right (Engel, Serrure 1897, 254–255).

²¹ Attempts of regulating the monetary activity of "Netherlandish" workshops were made in 1586, by establishing the obligation of having only one workshop in each province. In the province of West-Friesland, in the absence of private workshops, the chosen solution was a mobile workshop located, successively, in Hoorn, Enkhuisen, and Medemblik, at first for a period of three years, then for seven years, and in the end for then. Engel, Serrure 1897, 88–89.

iconography of the thaler was also established (*écu* or *rijksdaalder*): the staathouder's bust (on the obverse) and the coats of arms of the provinces that have accepted English governing (on the reverse). Despite the official regulations, provincial workshops continued to mint their own monetary types, such as the *Westfrisian Rijksdaalder* issued by the province of *West-Friesland* in 1587 in one of its mobile workshops (no. 14)²².

Beyond the details, the distribution of the thalers in the hoard from Cristur according to years and can be synthetically presented in the table below that also includes coins of small to average value:

	Issuing state		Issuing sovereign		Nominal												Total					
	Transylvania		Sigismund Báthory		3-groats																	
			István Báthory		3-groats																	
	Poland		Sigismund III		3-groats																	
			Sigismund August		groat																	
	Lithuania		István Báthory		3-groats																	
	Riga		István Báthory		3-groats																	
			Ferdinand		thaler																	
	Austria		Rudolf		thaler																	
	Tyrol		Archduke Ferdinand		thaler																	
	Alsace		Archduke Ferdinand		thaler																	
	Oversyssel		Charles V		thaler																	
	West Friesland				thaler																	
			Johann Friedrich and Moritz		thaler																	
	Saxony		Augustus		thaler																	
			Julius		thaler																	
	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel		Heinrich Julius		thaler																	
	Jülich-Cleve -Berg		Wilhelm V		thaler																	
1547							1548–1554										1					
1555							1556–1560										1					
1561							1562–1564										1					
1565							1566										1					
1567			1														1					
1582			1														1					
1583					1												1					
1586					2		1		1584–1585										3			
1587							1										1					
1589							1588										1					
1590			1														1					
1591			2														2					
1592			1		1		1												3			
1593			3				2												6			
1594			2				3		1												6	
1595			4		3		1												8			
1596	3		4														7					
1597			5				1												6			
1598			5														5					
1599			4														4					
1600			1														1					
Total	3	1	32	1	6	10	+1	1	+3	+1	1	1	1	2	1	1	+1	63+5				

Table 1. Distribution of the coins in the hoard from Cristur according to date and issuer

²² Related to the thalers of the *gehelmde rijksdaalders* type minted in the province of Holland in 1583–1584, the *Westfrisian Rijksdaalder*-type thaler replaces, on the obverse, the bust of Wilhelm of Orania with the depiction of a layman wearing a bonnet, while on the reverse it features the coat of arms of the province of West-Friesland surmounted by a crowned crest and decorated with lambrequins; on the crest one finds again the two lions depicted on the shield. Rentzmann 1876, Taf. 22/102.

From the perspective of their nominal distribution, one notes the three-groats that predominate in the structure of the hoard (77.9%), plus one *Polish groat* issued by Sigismund II Augustus in 1567 in one of the Lithuanian mints (no. 52)²³. The groat in this hoard, minted before the enactment of the monetary union by the sejm of Lublin (in 1569), follows the Polish standards (2.05 g and a fineness of 5½ loţi, with 0.710 g of fine silver), being smaller than the Lithuanian groat (ca. 2.52 g and a fineness of 5½ loţi, but with 0.868 g of fine silver)²⁴. The responsibility of enacting the Polish-Lithuanian monetary unification fell to *István Báthory* (1576–1586), who, in April 1578, through a first ordinance, established that the three-groats should weight 2.42 g and have a fineness of 14 loţi (2.12 g of fine silver); these specifications were reduced through a new ordinance, in January 1580, to 2.37 g and a fineness of 13 ½ loţi (2.05 g of fine silver)²⁵.

The series of Polish three-groats preserved in the hoard starts with a coin issued in 1582 in the name of *István Báthory*, the mark  on the reverse belonging to the new treasurer Johann Dulski (no. 18). The same mark can be found on the three-groats issued in the name of Sigismund III in 1590 (no. 19). Besides the treasurer's mark one can find the mark of Dietrich/Theodor Busch () , tenant of the mint in Posen. Busch illegally opened a mint in the city of Fraustadt, where he employed the same mark used in the mint of Posen, thus one cannot separate his emissions according to workshop. The mark of tenant Busch also features on a three-groats issued in 1591 (no. 20), besides the coat of arms  and the initials of the new treasurer Johannn Firlej (1590).

After Busch's death (1592), the mints were rented by his brother in law, Valentin Jahns. The three-groats issued in 1592 (no. 21) bears a mark  significantly different to that of Busch, which I attribute to the new tenant, Jahns, also taking into consideration the die of the obverse. One can easily distinguish the mark of mint-master Jahns () on the reverse of three-groats coins issued in the subsequent year (nos. 22, 23), due to the adding of certain new elements and its location in the area of the reverse. For year 1595, Jahns's mark is flanked by his initials  (no. 28).

After Jahns's departure (1595), the mints in Posen and Fraustadt were rented and reorganized by Herman Rüdiger, whose mark  features on the reverse of a three-groats issued in 1595, besides the mark of master Andreas Lauffert  and the signs of treasurer Firlej (no. 39). Herman Rüdiger's mark, accompanied by the signs of the new master Johann Dittmar , appears again on a three-groats issued in 1597 (no. 40). As in the case of Busch and Jahns, the identification of coins minted in Posen and Fraustadt remains problematic since they had the same tenant and, in most cases, the same masters. After Jahns left, Herman Rüdiger also took over the mint in Bromberg, opened in 1594 by Stanislaw Cikowski, provisions master of Krakow. The reverse of three-groats coin minted there in 1597 (no. 39) features the coats of arms and the initials of the treasurer, Stanislaw Cikowski  and those of the mint tenant . The difficulty in identifying the coins issued in the three workshops only disappears in 1598, when the initial of the issuing mint was included on the reverse: B for Bromberg (no. 45), F for Fraustadt (nos. 46, 47), P for Posen (no. 49).

A series of three-groats, bearing only the mark of treasurer Johannn Firlej are minted in the mint of Olkusz. In the case of a three-groats emitted in 1591 there is but a single indication () , on the obverse, for attributing it to the mint in Olkusz (no. 24). One knows that starting with 1592 the mint in Olkusz was under Kaspar Rytliers's leadership, but the three-groats issued in 1593 bears no distinctive sign, neither on the obverse nor on the reverse (no. 25). The three-groats issued in 1594 displays on the obverse one monetary mark that M. Gumowski attributes to an unknown mint-master that was active in Olkusz between 1593 and 1594 (no. 26). The three-groats issued in 1594 (no. 27), 1595 (no. 29), 1596 (nos. 33, 34, 35), 1597 (nos. 36, 37, 38), 1598 (nos. 41, 42, 43), 1599 (no. 48), and 1600 (no. 50) can only by hypothetically attributed to the mint in Olkusz, since on the reverse they only display the coat of arms and initials of treasurer Firlej.

²³ Sigismund II Augustus' monetary policy, that aimed at unifying Poland and Lithuania from a monetary perspective, proved unsuccessful; the mint in Krakow was closed, and the Lithuanian mints (Vilnius, Tykocin) and the urban ones (Danzig, Elbing, and Fraustadt) reduced their activity (Gumowski 1960, 37).

²⁴ Gumowski 1960, 206, 207.

²⁵ Information on the Polish monetary system and on the activity of mints and mint-masters is taken from Gumowski 1960, 40, 46–50, 124, 195–197, 208.

The mint in Lublin opened in 1595, under the control of treasurer Firlej. The three-groats coin issued there during the first year of activity has on the reverse the mark of the treasurer and of the mint's first tenant, Daniel Koste  (no. 31). The same mark also features on the three-groats issued in 1596 (no. 32); in that year tenant Koste moved to the mint in Vilna and was replaced in Lublin by Hans Eck. The three-groats coins issued in 1598, lacking monetary marks, were attributed by M. Gumowski to the mint in Lublin (no. 44).

The mint in Vilna followed the new monetary regulations implemented by the treasurer of Lithuania. For the Lithuanian three-groats issued in 1586 in the name of *István* Báthory, one only finds a general mark of the mint in Vilna ; the coins were issued after the death of treasurer Johann Hlebowicz, probably during the period when vice-councilor Leo Sapieha took control over the Lithuanian mint (nos. 39, 40). The Lithuanian mint in Vilna continued to issue three-groats during the reign of Sigismund; the coins from 1592 (no. 55) and 1595 (no. 56–58), displayed on the reverse the mark  of Dimitri Chalecki, treasurer of Lithuania. On the reverse of three-groats issued in 1595, one notes under the treasurer's coat of arms another mark, , presumably belonging to his second in command during the period when Chalecki traveled to Moscow.

In 1581 the city of Riga submitted to *István* Báthory who imposed the introduction of the Polish monetary system in the detriment of the Livonian one. A series of three-groats coins were issued in the town's mint, rented to Herman Wulf and Otto von Meppen, during the reign of *István* Báthory (nos. 59, 60) and Sigismund III (nos. 61–68). The marks cast on the reverse of these coins are rare and stereotypical; they usually feature just the fleur-de-lys , interpreted as either the mark of tenant Wulf, or as the mark of the mint.

Transylvania three-groats were issued by prince Sigismund Báthory, who attempted to cover the increasing need for coin by issuing coins cast according to the Polish system (shillings and three-groats). The three-groats from the hoard in Cristur were issued in 1596 (no. 15) and 1597 (nos. 16, 17), in the mint from Baia Mare, that the Transylvanian prince received after the death of *István* Báthory²⁶. The mint worked for Sigismund Báthory between 1586 and 1598; the prince extended Felician de Herberstein's rent contract until December 1590²⁷, when the mint was rented out to Raimund Herbersteinnek.²⁸

Analysis of the hoard's structure

Hoards that include coins relatively recently introduced on the market – three-groats²⁹ and thalers³⁰ – provide a nuanced image of monetary circulation in the second half of the sixteenth century³¹. There are surprisingly few sixteenth-century Transylvanian hoards to include thalers, at least to the present state of research, and their structure is diverse: hoards consisting of thalers (Caraşova, Richişdorf), hoards in which thalers are associated with coins from the groat system (Oradea, Cristur),

²⁶ In 1585 *István* Báthory received the city and the mint of Baia Mare after a territorial exchange with Emperor Maximilian II who had taken over the mint in 1570 from Báthory's predecessor, John II Sigismund. In 1598, Sigismund lost the city to Emperor Rudolf II (Țabrea 1938, 3, 6).

²⁷ Maximilian II entrusted the mint to Herberstein in 1580 (Țabrea 1938, 4. For data on Herberstein's activity in Transylvania see Veress 1931, 58–65; Călători 1971, 186–197).

²⁸ Huszár 1995, 23.

²⁹ The first Transylvanian hoard to include three-groats was found in Hotoan; a three-groats coin minted in 1590 provides the *terminus post quem* for the hiding of the coins, thus indicating the rapid distribution of Polish coins (Chirilă, Némethi 1968, 62, 76), that can be connected to the intensification of the Polish-Transylvanian commercial traffic (Dan 1974, 151–168).

³⁰ Specialists disagree on when the thalers were introduced: A. M. Velter believes that the early thalers entered the actual circulation in the Romanian countries earlier than the end date of the hoards that include them (Velter, Știrbu 2002, 274), while B. Murgescu supports the idea that they only became available during the second half of the sixteenth century (Murgescu 1996, 138, 168). Beyond such hypotheses, thalers feature at the earliest in hoards hidden in/after 1564 in Moldavia, 1565 in Transylvania, 1577 in Banat and 1594 in Walachia (See those hoards in Velter, Știrbu 2002, 283–284; Pap 2002, 120).

³¹ Besides the hoards that include thalers, one also finds a series of hoards consisting of various combinations of Hungarian and Polish coins: (1) Hoards that only include Hungarian coins of little value: Lechința de Mureș, Radna, Zau de Câmpie (Pap 2002, 99, 131, 193). (2) Coins that include Hungarian and Polish coins of little value: Răstolțul Mare, Semlac, Sâniacob, Mănău (Pap 2002, 104, 132, 143, 148). (3) Hoards that include small-value coins and divisions of the thaler: Petrinzel, Moldovenești (Pap 2002, 110, 127).

with Hungarian denarii (Oroiu), or with multiples/submultiples of groats and denarii (Sintești, Bod, Slătinița)³².

An initial calculation of the number of thalers in the ten repertoried hoards indicate a slightly higher number than that enounced by Fr. Pap over a decade and a half ago³³, but the restricted lot of hoards renders the result relative; I am aware of the fact that there is as yet no complete image on the role of thalers in monetary circulation and that the only pertinent observation is that the number of hoards that include thalers has increased over the last decade, even if the number of thalers in each hoard varies:

No. crt.	Hoards	Period of accumulation	No. of thalers	%
1	Oroiu/Mureș	1514–1565	1	0,02%
2	Carașova/Caraș Severin	1549–1577	18	100%
3	Bod/Brașov	1526–1591	1	1,16%
4	Richșdorf/Sibiu	1549–1591	30	96,7%
5	Apateu/Arad	(1440–1444)–1592	1	0,06%
6	Sintești/Timiș	1527–1592	2	0,99%
7	Slătinița/Bistrița	(1458–1490)–1595	3	0,77%
8	Oradea/Bihor	1536–1598	30	12,39%
9	Cristur/Bihor	1547–1600	14	20,58%
10	Abrud/Alba	1531–1601	2	0,41%
Total no. of thalers			102	

Table 2. List of sixteenth-century hoards from Transylvania, Crișana, and Banat that include thalers

As for the origin of the thalers in the repertoried hoards, one can note their diversity according to the activity of mints and the political and economical context. There are few issuers during the 1530s and 1540s (Saxony, Stolberg-Königstein, the Palatinate), but their number significantly increases during the subsequent decade (Saxony, Austria, Hamburg, Nijmegen, Lüttich, Overijssel); the diversity of issuers seems to decrease until 1580 (Saxony, Thoren, Lübeck), but the origin of thalers becomes once again heterogeneous during the final two decades of the sixteenth century in the context of the Fifteen Years War (Saxony, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania, Geldern, Braunschweig, West-Friesland, Hohenlohe, Halberstadt)³⁴.

	Oroiu	Carașova	Apateu	Bod	Richșdorf	Sintești	Slătinița	Oradea	Cristur	Abrud	Total
Tyrol		8				1	1	11	3		24
Saxony	1	2		1	5			3	3		15
Austria					2	1		1	2		6
Geldern			1		3			1			5
Hungary					3		1	1			5
Overijssel					3				1		4
Bohemia		1			2			1			4
Berg or Julich-Kleve-Berg		1						1	1		3
Lübeck					2			1			3
Transylvania					2						2

³² Chirilă, Dănilă 1976, 195–205; Pap 2002, 28, 42, 49, 110, 116, 120, 136.

³³ Pap 1994, 68, footnote 14. At that time, out of a number of 606+x thalers inventoried by Fr. Pap in Transylvanian hoards, just 53+x thalers were dated to the sixteenth century.

³⁴ The restricted lot of published hoards (Oradea, Cristur, Slătinița) included in the analysis and the fact that a number of thalers lack the millesim, thus dated to a wider period, renders the observations relative and hypothetical.

Moravia	2									2
Alsace							1	1		2
Salzburg		1					1			2
Halberstadt							2			2
Lüttich				1			1			2
Nijmegen				1			1			2
Mansfeld		1		1						2
Nürnberg									2	2
Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel								2		2
Braunschweig Lüneburg		1								1
Stolberg-Königstein							1			1
Hamburg							1			1
Thoren							1			1
Hohenlohe							1			1
West-Friesland								1		1
Brabant				1						1
Magdeburg				1						1
Brandenburg		1								1
The Palatinate						1				1
Sweden				1						1
Utrecht				1						1
Neuss				1						1

Table 3. The origin of thalers in sixteenth-century hoards from Transylvania, Crișana and Banat

The table detailing the distribution of thalers according to their issuers indicates that the 202 thalers from the ten inventoried hoards were minted by 32 issuers, some present in two or more hoards, other being unique (37.5%). Recurrent issuers (featuring in at least three hoards: Tyrol, Saxony, Austria, Bohemia, Geldern) represent 9.37% of the total number of issuers and their coins represent 52.9% of the total number of thalers. The clear prevalence of Tyrolese and Saxon thalers is not unique to Transylvanian hoards; their supremacy was also noted in the case of hoards from Walachia³⁵ and Eastern Hungary³⁶. In the given situation, the geographical location of the issuers and their distance to where the hoards were discovered seem not to influence the structure of the hoards; this can be explained through the direction of commercial routes and also the economic³⁷ and political relations between the different regions³⁸.

On the other hand, one does not know to what degree where the owners interested in the origin of the thalers; in a world in which small coins continuously lost in value, people were interested in the quantity of silver in coins and their buying power; the principle was known and applied by the owner of the hoard in Cristur. At a first glance, one can presume that the owner of the coins enjoyed a privileged economic status since he/she managed to accumulate and hide only good coins, excluding small-value coins (half-groats, groats, weisspfennigs and denarii); in fact „it is only rich people who use or keep gold and silver coins, while common people only touch billon or brass money”³⁹. One cannot know how rich was the owner of the hoard since the coins probably did not represent his/her entire fortune⁴⁰, but, by calculating the value of the hoard one can form an idea on the monetary capital available at a certain point to the owner of these coins.

³⁵ Știrbu *et al.* 1991, 165–167; Velter, Știrbu 2002, 275; Murgescu 1996, 170–171.

³⁶ Székely György 1998, 20.

³⁷ Iorga 1925, 195–196. *Westerners from the German parts* were among those traveling to Moldavia for the commerce in oxen; thus, Andrei Papa, who lent money to Petru-Vodă when requested, was “German from the territories of the city of Hamburg”.

³⁸ Pohl 1973, 15, 61. The thalers found after the archduke’s death (1595) were used, as the imperial decision stated, to finance the fights against the Ottomans; this explains the large number of such discoveries made on the territory of Hungary and Transylvania.

³⁹ Braudel 1985, 71.

⁴⁰ Pap1978, 93–98.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the value of one thaler, indifferent of the issuer⁴¹, constantly increased from 90–95 to 100 denarii, thus reaching the value of the cameralist florin, in order to reach, in the end of the century, in the context of the modified ratio between gold and silver and the de-valorization of the denarii, an exchange value of 100–120 denarii, while one gold florin equaled 160–180 denarii⁴². In order to complete the estimative value of the hoard one must also take into consideration the exchange rate of 10 denarii in the case of three-groat coins⁴³. In theory, the equivalent of the hoard reaches 18.44–19.33 thalers or 10.6–13.8 gold florins (1,933–2,213 denarii).

Returning to the owner of the hoard, though it has been believed that the accumulation of big and middle-value coins was restricted to inhabitants of the cities⁴⁴, the estimated value of the hoard in Cristur nuances the previous observation. By comparison to other hoards from Bihor hidden in the end of the sixteenth century⁴⁵, the hoard in Cristur indicates a relatively small capital but preserved in good-value coins; this makes me exclude the possibility that the owner of the hoard was some merchant placed on the lower ranks of guild hierarchy. One can presume that the small money capital was the result of some commercial transaction, that might have also been concluded by a wealthy peasant⁴⁶, who was able to sell at some point, considering the prices in 1600 on the market of Cluj, 80–90 sheep or one ox and two calves⁴⁷, or who might have been engaged in commercial or crafts activities that allowed him to accumulate this small capital.

Beyond the social and economic status of the hoard's owner, I admit that he/she might have been an individual transiting the area who was forced to hide his small capital due to military activities that took place in the area; in July 1601 the troops of Mihai Viteazul and general Basta were stationed east of Carei (Moftinu Mic), and the Transylvanian troops under the command of generals Sigismund Báthory, István Csáki, and Moise Secuicul, were stationed in Șimleu⁴⁸. As harassment expeditions took place in Moftin⁴⁹ and then the imperial troops moved to Guruslău, the roads in northern Bihor⁵⁰ had become unsafe and thus one can hypothetically explain the hiding of the coins in the close proximity of the road that connected the settlements of Marghita and Săcuieni, more precisely the segment that connected the Oradea-Sătmar road and the "salt road", that came from Porțile Meseșului.

Corina Toma

Țării Crișurilor Museum Oradea
Oradea, ROU
corinatoma00@yahoo.com

⁴¹ It is possible that during the sixteenth century, when there were less thalers on the market and the differences in their weight and quality of contained metal were less rigorously perceived, people believed that the value of the different emissions was identical (Huszár 1975, 49). Differences in the calculation of thaler value start during the seventeenth century, when it has been noted that the era's documents record certain local terms for thalers, related to their monetary iconography or aspect; there were small differences among the exchange rates of certain types of thalers. In the same time, it has been noted that thalers with the same name were exchanged differently and variably. The practice of certain exchange rate differences for thalers cannot be taken out of context nor generalized (Buza 1977, 78–80).

⁴² With the observation that coin exchange is a particular issue, with local variations that can only be hypothetically generalized; the calculation of the hoard's value is based, in the absence of local documents, on exchange rates employed on the territory of Hungary: Horváth 1961–1962, 29–30; Huszár 1975, 48–50; Pap 1978, 94, footnote 2.

⁴³ Huszár 1969–1970, 59.

⁴⁴ Hoards consisting of average and large-value coins were described as urban hoards or hoards accumulated in urban contexts (Chirilă, Dănilă 1976, 202–204; Chirilă 1981, 349). As for the issue of urban or rural monetary circulation, one must take into consideration the question of how to define a city, of what differentiates a town from a rural settlement beyond its juridical status and demographic size, since the supposition that only the urban population engaged in non-agricultural activities proved unfounded as urban dwellers were (also) involved in agriculture and the inhabitants of the rural areas were also involved in non-agricultural activities (Murgescu 2010, 57–60, footnote 145).

⁴⁵ See the estimated value of the hoards discovered in Oradea-Dealul Viilor (8,875 denarii), Marghita (2,894 denarii), Oradea-Ioșia (1,584 denarii). Bratu, Vestale 1971, 55; Toma, Lakatos 2009, 103; Toma 2010, 242.

⁴⁶ The idea remains hypothetical, since one talks, in general, of the precarious economic and social situation of the peasantry and it is unclear to what degree some of them managed to own money capital, accumulated or exchanged later on in large-value coins, in the era's "foreign currency".

⁴⁷ See those prices in Goldenberg 1958, 322–324, 358.

⁴⁸ Borcea 2005, 247–248.

⁴⁹ The raids might have envisaged even the lands of Mihai's, István Csáki's, and István Bocskai's enemies, located close to where the coins were hidden (Lukinich 1918, 145; Borcea 2005, 237).

⁵⁰ Borcea 2005, 51–53.

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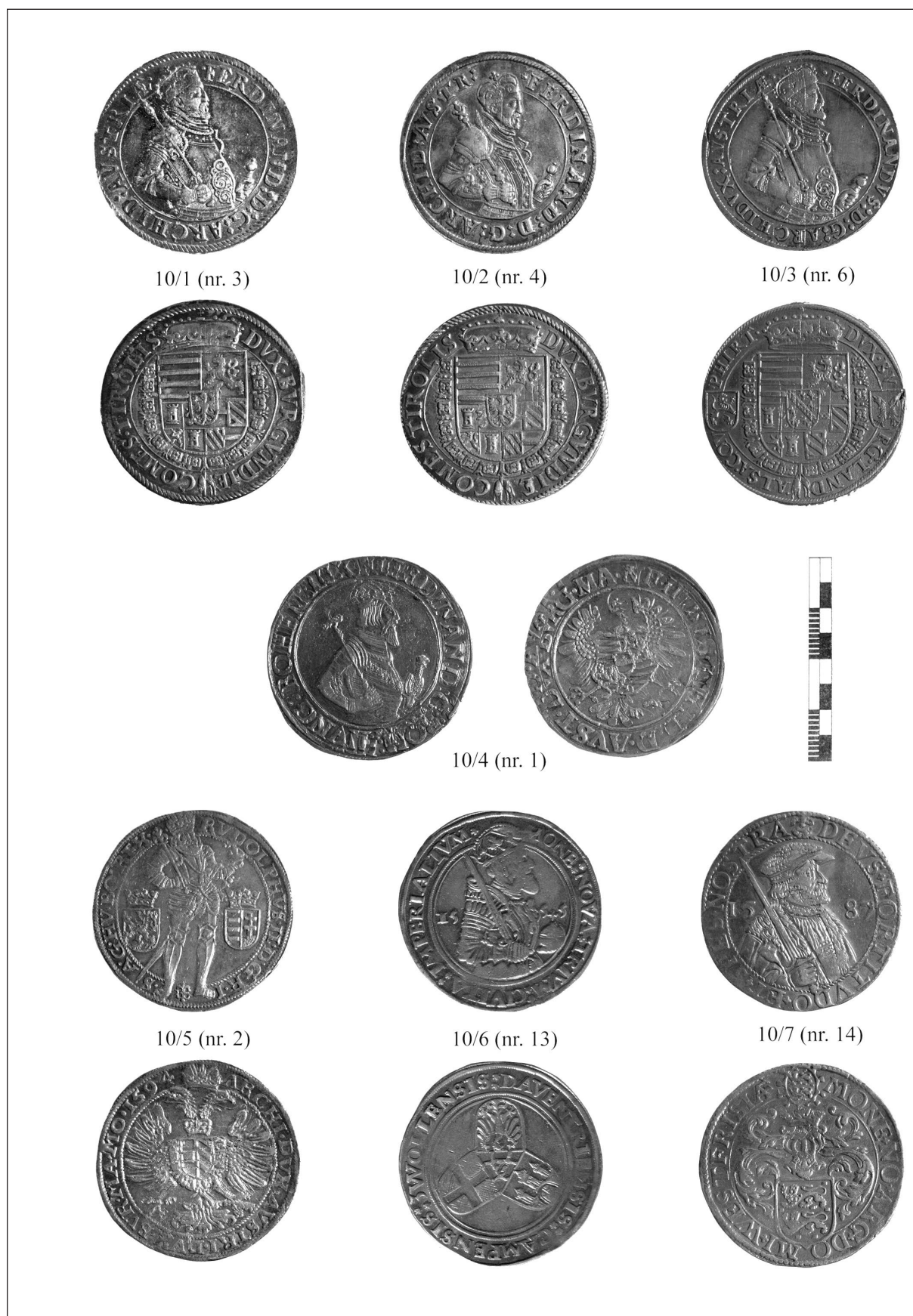


Plate 1. Thalers from the hoard in Cristur (inv. nos. 10/1–7). Photo: Ovidiu Pascu.

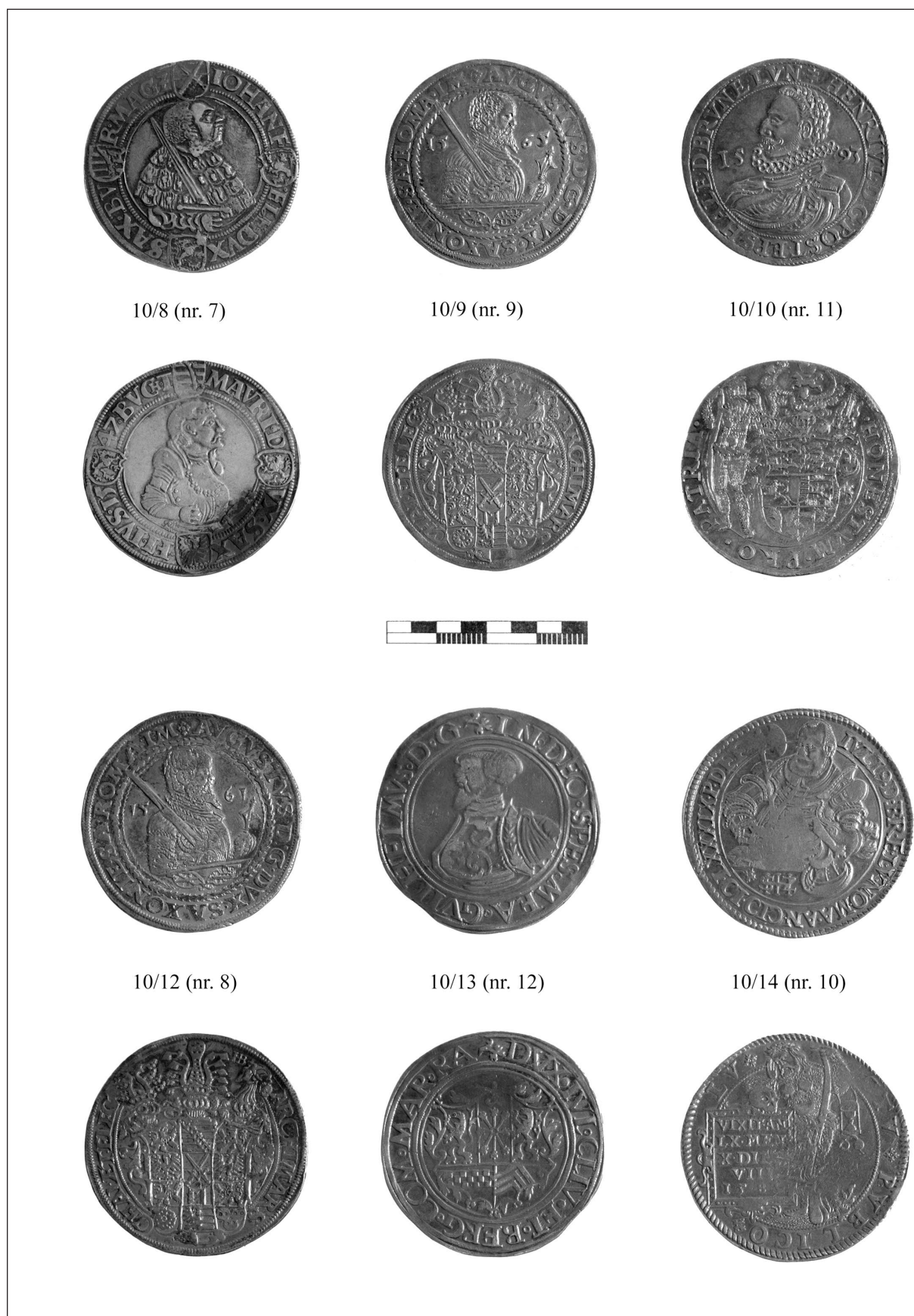


Plate 2. Thalers from the hoard in Cristur (inv. nos. 10/8–10, 12–14). Photo: Ovidiu Pascu.

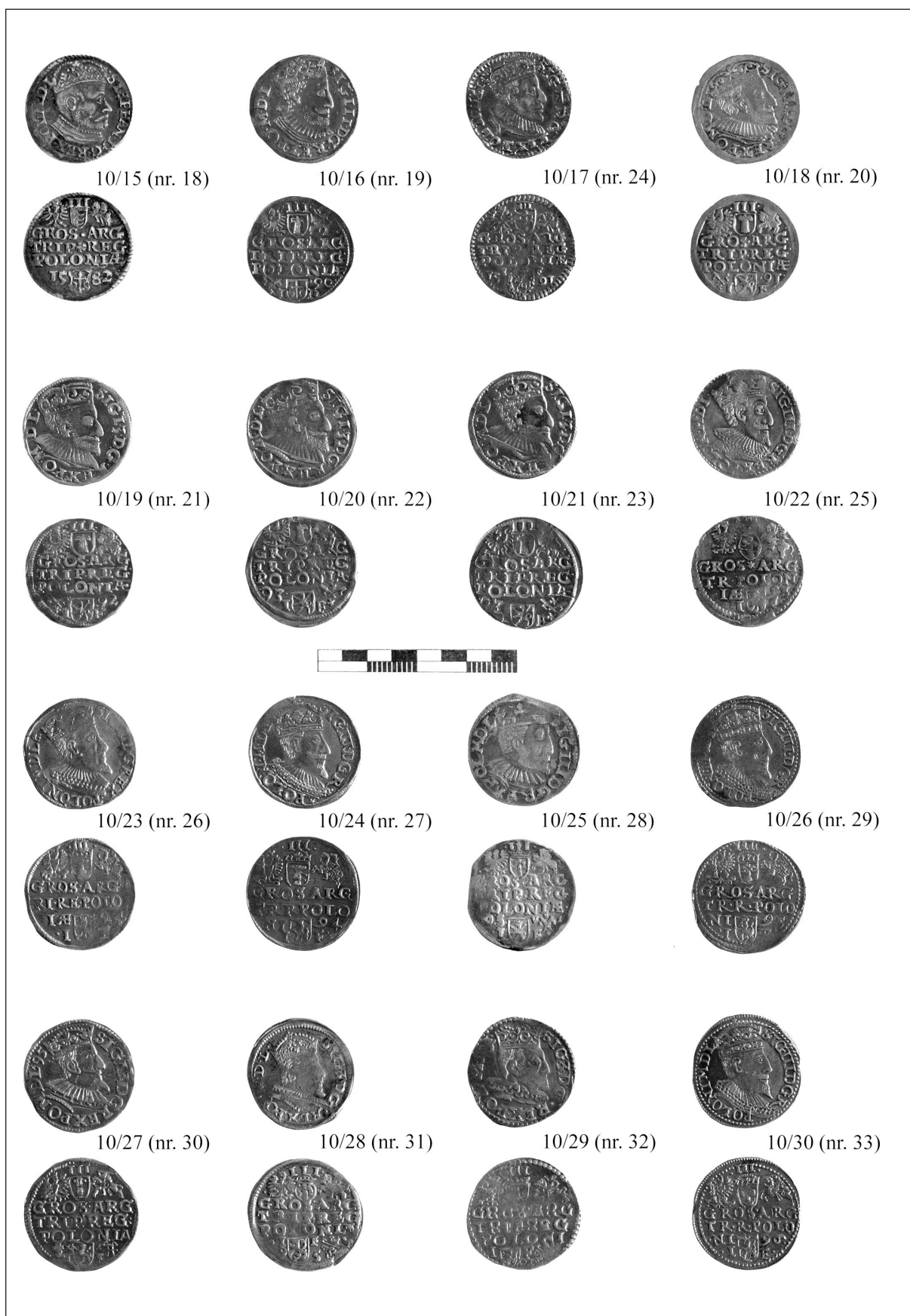


Plate 3. Three-groats from the hoard in Cristur (inv. nos. 10/15–30). Photo: Ovidiu Pascu.

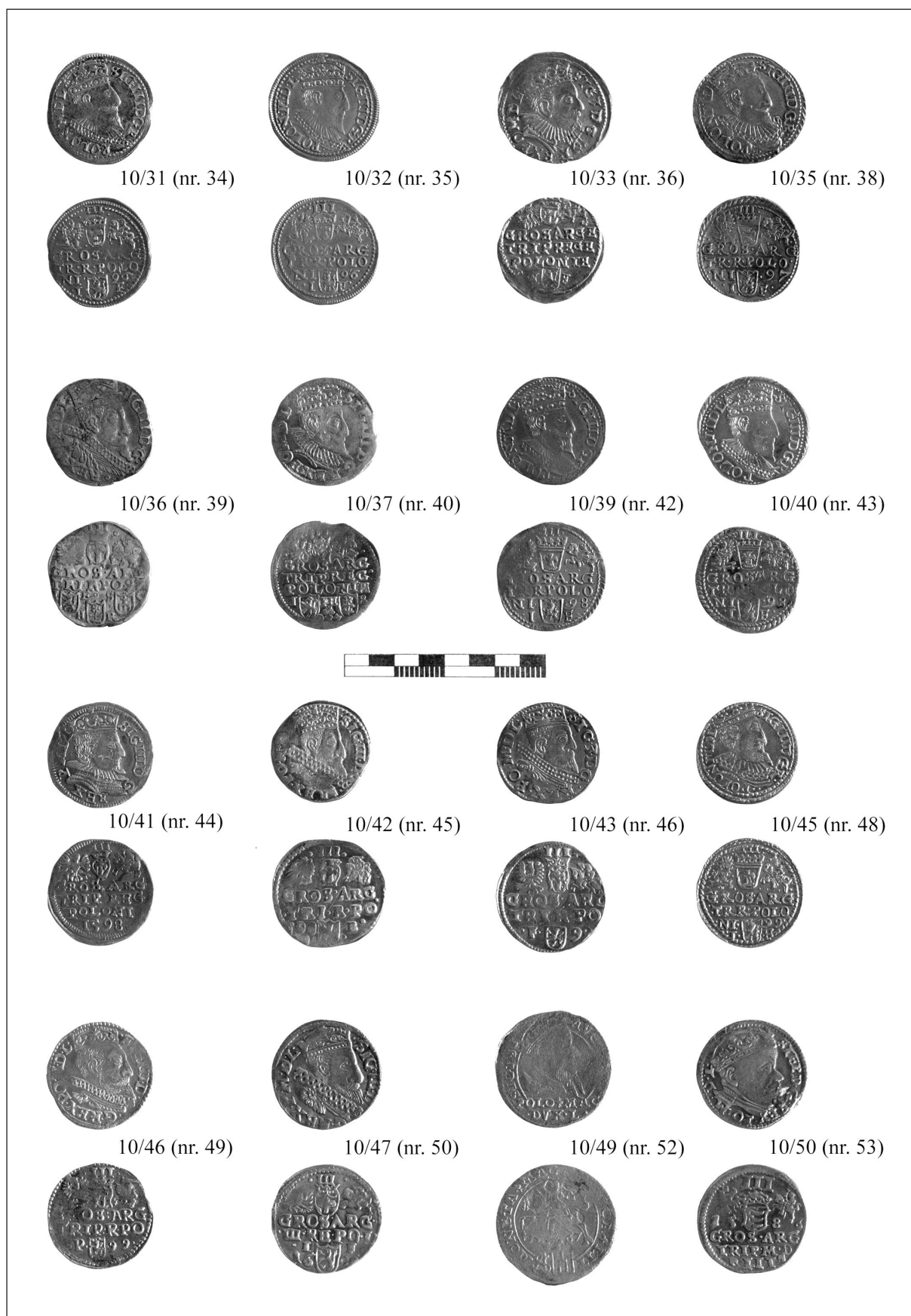


Plate 4. Three-groats from the hoard in Cristur (inv. nos. 10/31–33, 35–37, 39–43, 45–47, 49–50). Photo: Ovidiu Pascu.

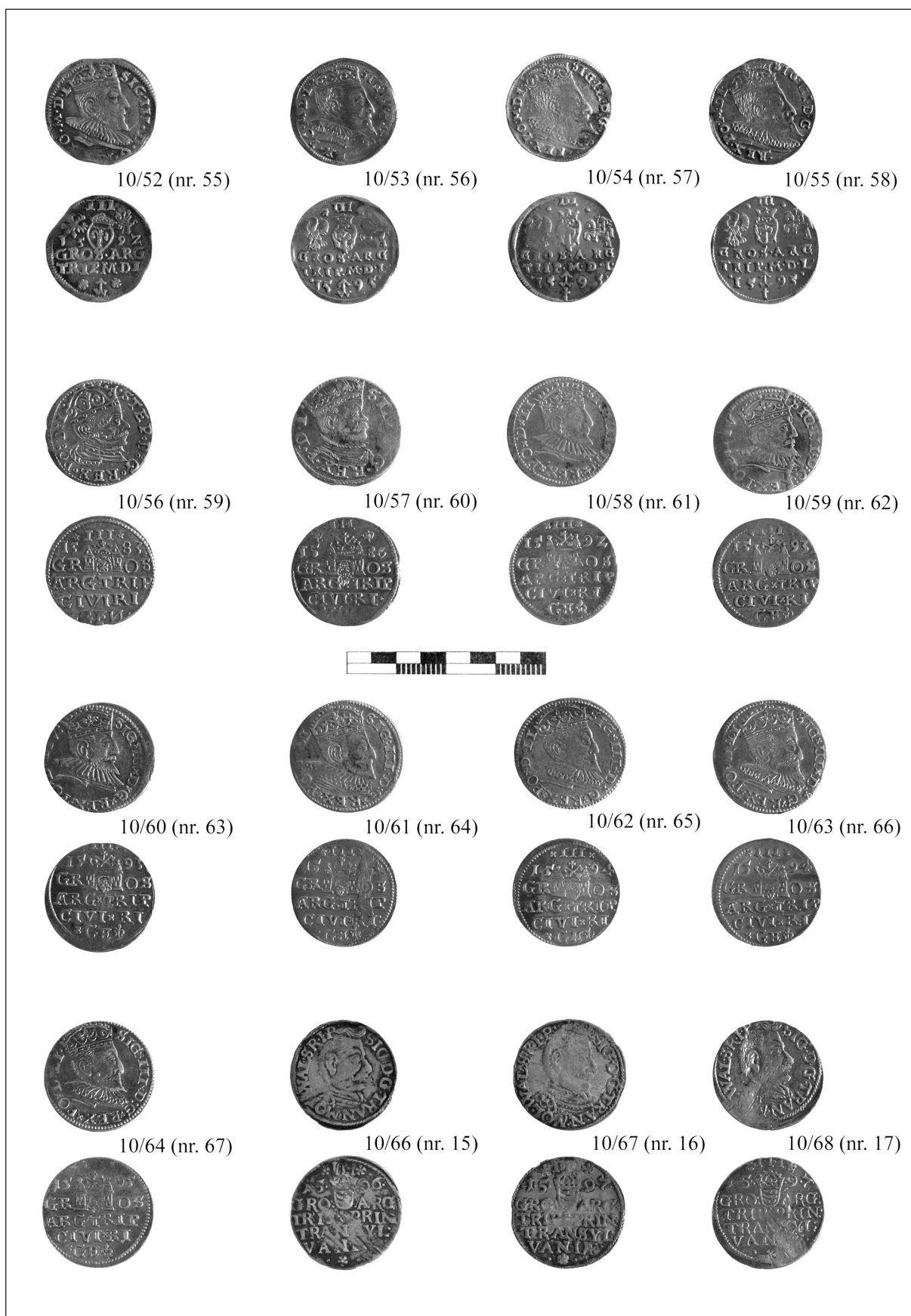


Plate 5. Three-groats from the hoard in Cristur (inv. nos. 10/52–64, 66–68). Photo: Ovidiu Pascu.

Abbreviations

AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Cracovia.
AARMSI	Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. București.
ACSSTU	Annals. Computer Science Series Tibiscus University. Timișoara.
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AÉ	Archaeologiai Értesítő. Budapest.
AGGH	Acta Geodaetica et Geophysica Hungarica. Budapest.
AIINC	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională Cluj. Cluj-Napoca.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice. Sibiu.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology. New York.
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis. Az István Király Múzeum Közleményei. Székesfehérvár.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău. Zalău.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului, Serie nouă. Timișoara.
Analele ANTIM	Analele Asociației Naționale ale Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova. Chișinău.
Apulum	Apulum. Alba-Iulia.
ArchKorrbl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Urgeschichte, Römerzeit, Frühmittelalter. Mainz.
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală. Brăila, Reșița, Cluj-Napoca.
AS	Acta Siculica. Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septencastrensis. Sibiu.
AUVT	Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Târgoviște.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR International Series	British Archaeological Reports, International Series. Oxford.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan. Reșița.
BĂMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve. Szekszárd.
BCȘS	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Istorie-Arheologie-Muzeologie. Alba Iulia.
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. M. - Berlin.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române. Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
Caietele CIVA	Caietele CIVA. Cercul de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Alba Iulia.
CCA	Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. București.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Muzeul Dunării de Jos. Călărași.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
CNA	Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
Corviniana	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis. Hunedoara.
Crisia	Crisia, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
Cumania	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezetének Évkönyve. Kecskemét.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Recherches et Découvertes Archéologiques en Roumanie, București; seria nouă (N.S.): Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne. București.
DMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgKolozsvar	Dolgozatok az Erdély Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából (Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie). Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.

DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből. Szeged.
Drobeta	Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier. Drobeta Turnu-Severin.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület. Cluj-Napoca.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek – Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
Fdi	File de istorie, Muzeul de Istorie. Bistrița.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Budapest.
Germania	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
História	História – történelmi folyóirat. Budapest.
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények. Budapest.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei. Brăila.
JAHC	Journal for the Association of History and Computing. Michigan University.
JahrbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
JAMÉ	Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve. Pécs.
KL	Kartografické listy. Bratislava.
Korall	<i>Korall Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat</i> . Budapest.
Közl	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
Lucrări	Lucrări Științifice. Istorie-Științe-Pedagogie, Institutul Pedagogic. Oradea.
GT	Geographia Technica. International Journal of Technical Geography. Cluj-Napoca.
Marisia	Marisia. Marisia. Studii și materiale. Arheologie – Istorie – Etnografie. Târgu-Mureș.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MEKSB	A Miskolci Egyetem Közleménye. A sorozat, Bányászat. Miskolc.
MFMÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MFMÉ MonArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Monumenta Archaeologica. Szeged.
MHB	Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia. Budapest.
MIM	Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie a Municipiului București. București.
MSW	Materialy Starozytne Wczesnosredniowieczne. Kraków.
MW	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne. Kraków-Wrocław-Warsawa.
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat. Budapest.
NNT	Norsk Numismatisk Tidsskrift.
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift, herausgegeben von der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Wien.
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology, Oxford.
OpHung	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde.
Potaissa	Potaissa. Studii și comunicări. Turda.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Régészeti Füzetek	Régészeti Füzetek. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum. Budapest.
RÉSÉE	Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes de l'Académie Roumaine. București.
RI	Revista de Istorie, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”. București.
RM	Revista Muzeelor. Centrul pentru Formare, Educație Permanentă și Management în Domeniul Culturii. București.
RRH	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Academia Română. București.
Sargetia	Sargetia, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.

Savaria	Savaria – a Vas megyei múzeumok értesítője. Pars historico-naturalis. Szombathely.
SCIIVA	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”. București.
SCȘI	Studii și Cercetări Științifice. Istorie.
SIB	Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea de Vest Timișoara.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Bratislava.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”. București.
SMK	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Kaposvár.
SSCR	<i>Social Science Computer Review. North Carolina State University.</i>
Speculum	Speculum. Cambridge Journals Online. Cambridge.
StComCaransebeș	Studii și Comunicări. Etnografie. Istorie. Caransebeș.
StComSatuMare	Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare.
Stratum plus	Stratum plus Journal. High Anthropological School University. Cultural Anthropology & Archaeology.
Studia Caroliensia	Studia Caroliensia. A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem szakfolyóirata. Budapest.
Studia Comitatus	Studia Comitatus. Tanulmányok Pest Megye Múzeumaiból. Szentendre.
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata. Budapest.
Terra Sebus	Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabasiensis. Sebeș.
Thraco-Dacia	Thraco-Dacia. București.
Transilvanian Review	Transilvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie. Cluj-Napoca.
TS	Történelmi Szemle. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetének Értesítője. Budapest.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorische Archäologie. Bonn.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.
VMMK	Veszprémi Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Veszprém.
World Archaeology	World Archaeology. London.
ZfA	Zeitschrift für Archäologie. Berlin.
Ziridava	Ziridava, Complexul Muzeal Arad. Arad.
ZMSW	Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde. Berlin.

