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M A T E R I A Ł Y**KENNETH JONSSON AND STANISŁAW SUCHODOLSKI****A NEW COIN TYPE OF BOLESŁAV THE BRAVE FOUND IN SWEDEN**

In numismatic terms the Viking-Age in Sweden can be defined as a period when coins from a large number of countries and areas were imported. Importation started about 800 and continued beyond the traditional historical close of the Viking Age *c.* 1050. On the Swedish mainland the import continued until the end of the eleventh century, in southern Sweden (which then was a part of Denmark) it was replaced in the 1060s by the growing Danish coinage. On the two islands in the Baltic it continued well into the twelfth century; on Öland until *c.* 1130, and on Gotland until the beginning of the 1140s. In this period Sweden was part of a very large North-European region (sometimes referred to as the Northern Lands) which took part in the import of coins (a total probably in excess of 800,000 coins have been found). The three major import areas were Sweden, Russia, and the West Slav region (Poland and the eastern part of today's Germany) each with 200,000–250,000 coins. In their composition overall they share many similar characteristics, but the detailed patterns differ from one area to another. It is obvious that the vast majority of the coins must be connected with trade, while plundering, danegelds etc. were not big contributors.

In Sweden some 247,200 coins from the Viking-Age have been found and each year new finds are made. The Caliphate, Germany, and England together account for 94 per cent of the material. The remainder comes from a large number of countries and areas.

One of the smallest groups consists of Polish coins from Boleslav Chrobry (the Brave) (992–1025) and his son, Mieszko. Probably about 15 specimens have been found in Sweden, but only half of them have a known hoard provenance. The hoards usually date from the 1020s and 1030s, *i.e.* not a very long time after the Polish coins had been struck (Suchodolski 2000). The small numbers suggest that economic contacts between Sweden and Poland (or the West Slav region) were relatively confined. This view is supported by the fact that the so-called Sachsenpfennige or Randpfennige, which account for a very large share of the coins found in the West Slav region, play a much more modest role in the Swedish finds (*cf.* Kilger 2000, pp. 208–227).

In 1929 a hoard was found at Kvie, Stenkyrka par., on Gotland, the island which accounts for two-thirds of the Swedish finds. The archival information provides no data about the find context (Thunmark-Nylén 2000, p. 665). The local museum, Gotlands

Fornsal, acquired only seven coins from the hoard (GF C 6984). In 2008, as part of a project to investigate the Viking-Age finds in the parish, it was possible for Majvor Östergren to locate the site where the hoard had been located, and an additional 20 coins were found. Other items found at the site suggest that the hoard had been deposited in a settlement. Majvor Östergren has shown that the hoards on Gotland were usually deposited inside a house (Östergren 1989, pp. 55–62). Since it was not possible to excavate the site it cannot be proved that the Kvie hoard had been deposited inside a house, although this was its probable context. Oral information then also revealed that the majority of the coins found in 1929 had been dispersed. The number of coins found in 1929 may have been a few dozen or more. Thus, the total number of coins in the hoard can be estimated at c. 50 or more. Table 1 shows the composition of the two known parts of the hoard.

Table 1. Composition of the known parts of the Kvie hoard

	<i>1929</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Latest</i>
Germany	6	16	22	1027–1039
England	1	3	4	c. 1023–1029
Poland	–	1	1	c. 1015–1020
<i>Total</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>1027–1039</i>

Although not more than 27 coins are known, the latest coins in the German and Anglo-Saxon parts agree very well with one another. The latest German coins were struck by emperor Conrad II 1027–1039, and the hoard was probably deposited in the early 1030s. Of the four Anglo-Saxon coins, one is Æthelred II, *Long Cross* c. 997–1003, and three are Cnut: one *Quatrefoil* c. 1017–1023 and two *Pointed Helmet* c. 1023–1029. This suggests that the composition began with a few old coins from the 990s. This is confirmed by the German coins which constitute a high proportion, 74 per cent, of all coins as the German element in hoards becomes progressively stronger during the eleventh century.



Fig. 1. Coin of Boleslav the Brave from the Kvie find (*Dux inclitus/Crux mule*).

The outstanding piece in the hoard is of course the Polish coin of a new type of Boleslav the Brave (992–1025) [Fig. 1], weight 1.97 g. However, nothing in the German element suggests connections to the West Slav region or to Poland itself. The German element has a balanced geographical composition between the west, with e.g. two coins from Flanders and five Cologne and Cologne imitations, and the east with six Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige and one Magdeburg (Mauricius-Pfennig). The Polish coin

is more likely to have been acquired somewhere in northern Germany together with a mixture of other coins.

The obverse was copied from Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* type *c.* 1009–1017, Northern A style (Dolley 1958, pp. 13, 26, 31) [Fig. 2]. The reverse was copied from Æthelred II *Crux* type *c.* 991–997 [Fig. 3] and the beginning of the legend appeared to read +ÐVRSTAN M////////, *i.e.* Thurstan m(oneyer in //). Thurstan (Thorsteinn) is a well known moneyer at York in the period 978–1017 (Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, p. 119) and the legend was thus probably copied from one of his coins. We are grateful to William Lean who has kindly informed us that the die is not known from the Anglo-Saxon series in York. However, he has noted that the reverse is die-identical with a specimen in the collection of the Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool (Warhurst 1982, SCBI 29, no. 1114), weight 1.05 g giving the name of the mint as EOF, *i.e.* York [Fig. 4]. He has further tracked down the Liverpool specimen's provenance to the Lodeinoe Pole I hoard in Russia and he has noted that this specimen is die-identical with an unprovenanced specimen in the British Museum collection, weight 1.46 g (ex Elmore Jones collection). We are grateful to Gareth Williams, who has kindly supplied a photograph [Fig. 5].



Fig. 2. Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* coin, Lincoln, from the Gärestad hoard, Blekinge.

Fig. 3. Æthelred II *Crux* coin, York, from the Gärestad hoard, Blekinge.

Fig. 4. Coin of Boleslav the Brave from the hoard of Lodeinoe Pole I (Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool, SCBI 29, No. 1114).

Fig. 5. Coin of Boleslav the Brave in the collection of the British Museum.

These additional coins are of great importance for the history of the coinage of Boleslav the Brave. Not only do they supplement a set of types of his coins but they also complete one of the die-chains (E. Majkowski 1927; 1934; Zakrzewski 1954–56, pp. 202–206; Suchodolski 1985, pp. 157–163). Previously, the chain appeared as follows [Fig. 6]. Its starting point is a pair of dies with an inscription extending from the obverse to the reverse: BOLIZLAS·DVX / ·I·NCLITVS. This is accompanied by the bust of an Æthelred type on the obverse and a cross with a pellet in each angle on the reverse [Nos. I, 1–2; Fig. 7].

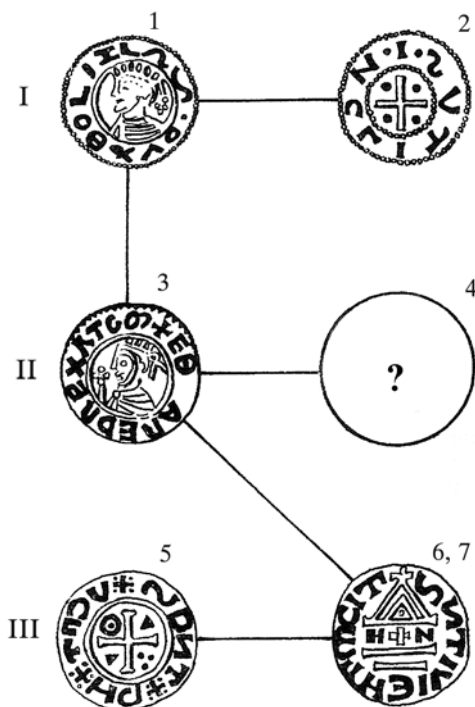


Fig. 6. Die-chain of Boleslav the Brave coins (before the discovery of the new coins).

The same die with a schematic representation of the Polish ruler [No. I, 1] is also linked with a die which imitates an Anglo-Saxon design. In this case, this is not only an inspiration, but a nearly faithful imitation of the obverse of a type of Æthelred II, with a slightly distorted name and title of the ruler: +ÆÐ[]ARÆD REX ΛTGO [No. II, 3; Fig. 8].



Fig. 7. Boleslav the Brave, *Dux inclitus* type, (Cracow).

Fig. 8. Boleslav the Brave, *Dux inclitus*/*Æthelred* mule, (Prague).

The die-chain is further extended based on the latter die [No. II, 3], which is linked with two reverse dies of a Bavarian type. They depict a temple with the letters H+N [No. III, 6; Fig. 9] or ENC [No. III, 7; Fig. 10] inside it, and in the margin the legend CIVITAS and a distorted name of a town, presumably Regensburg.



Fig. 9. Boleslav the Brave, *Æthelred*/Bavarian type mule from the Kinno hoard, (Berlin).

Fig. 10. Boleslav the Brave, *Æthelred*/Bavarian type mule from the Zakrzew hoard, (Cracow).

To date the last link of the chain is represented by coins with designs based on a Bavarian type on both obverse and reverse. The reverse die with the letters H+N [No. III, 7], already known, was combined with an obverse which shows traces of the name Henry [No. III, 5; Fig. 11]. According to Wolfgang Hahn, the prototypes of this coin were struck by King Henry II at the beginning of his reign (1002–1009). Interestingly enough, among his varieties the variety with the letters H+N is missing (Hahn 1976, No. 27; Hahn 2007).



Fig. 11. Boleslav the Brave, Bavarian type, from the hoard of Kraków–Nowa Huta (Cracow, Arch. Mus.).

What can be revealed by the die-chain in question? It links regular coins of Boleslav the Brave, bearing his name and representation, with coins which closely imitate foreign prototypes originating in England and Bavaria. But only in the latter case are we dealing with a complete set of coin designs, *i.e.* both obverse and reverse correspond with each other. However, the Anglo-Saxon design of the obverse was solitary and was not combined with a reverse of the same origin. This is unexpected as three die-links are recorded, once with a design with the name of Boleslav and twice with Bavarian designs. Even as far back as forty years ago, when this chain was described for the first time, it was presumed that originally there had been a complete set of Anglo-Saxon designs as well (Suchodolski 1967, p. 101; Suchodolski 1985, p. 161). A hope was also expressed that future discoveries, in collections or below the ground, would reveal the missing design of the reverse. A question mark in the die-chain marked this missing die [Fig. 6].

The question arises if the coins discovered in the hoard of Kwie on Gotland and those in the collections in Liverpool and in the British Museum allow this gap to be filled and what added knowledge they would bring to the analysed chain and generally to the coinage of Boleslav the Brave. As we already know from above, all three coins were struck using a new, previously unknown reverse die imitating a penny of *Æthelred* II (978–1016) *Crux* type, *c.* 991–997 [Figs. 1, 4–5]. The prototype was struck by the moneyer Thurstan in York [Fig. 3]. In contrast, both obverse dies were already

known. The former, on the Kvie specimen, has the image and name of Boleslav the Brave [No. I, 1; Figs. 1, 7].

The other coin die, known from two die-identical specimens from the collections in Liverpool [Fig. 4] and London [Fig. 5], also imitates a penny of Æthelred II, but of the later *Last Small Cross* type, dated to c. 1009–1017 [No. II, 3]. A detailed analysis of both the motif and the inscription makes it possible to narrow down this period slightly and obtain additional information about the origin of the prototype. In the opinion of R.H.M. Dolley, the bust belongs to the Northern A style, which is typical of mints in Lincoln, York and Stamford (Dolley 1958, p. 13, 27). In the more precise classification by Mark Blackburn this is named the Lincoln C style, and within this, later variants, which have their counterpart in York as well (Blackburn 1990, pp. 62–65, Figs. 4 c, d, e, Pl. I). The chronology of these coins was determined by the author based on the typological development and continuously falling weight and position in the die-chain. The style is supposed to have begun around 1011 and its later variants presumably in 1013 or 1014. The variant called ‘Unattached diadem’ was recognized also on the earliest coins of Cnut the Great with the title of the King of the Danes. They belong to the same *Small Cross* type and, according to Mark Blackburn, were probably struck in Lund as early as in 1014–1015, and certainly before 1018. Due to their good quality, the dies have been taken to be the product of die cutters from Lincoln (Blackburn 1990, pp. 55–61).

The obverse of the Polish coin with the name and portrait of Æthelred [No. II, 1] has features typical of later varieties, from the mints in both Lincoln and York. Referring again to Mark Blackburn’s studies, the drawing of the face (an oval line running from the brows to the chin), lack of hair below the diadem, and square ends of the diadem ties, instead of pellets, can be counted among distinctive features of the former. The longer titles (ANGLO, ANGLOR), as those on the coin of Boleslav the Brave, are typical of coins from York, while on coins from Lincoln the legend usually ends with ANG or ANGL. However, here too, every third coin has a longer title. Thus it seems more likely that coins from Lincoln provided the pattern for the Polish die cutter. The observation that on these pennies, as on the Polish coins, the name of Æthelred II contains two ligated Æ, while in York it is normally replaced by the letter E (Blackburn 1990, pp. 62–65), can additionally support such a conjecture.

On the Polish coin, however, there are also some elements which are missing from the above-mentioned coins from Lincoln. First of all, this concerns a trefoil-headed sceptre in the form of a cross standing in front of the bust. This is typical of the *Cruz* type (991–997) and even earlier types. However, they have another type of bust. The coat’s foldings, which fan out and are not divided into horizontal and vertical directions, constitute other characteristics of the Polish coin. This feature too appears on earlier coins, occasionally in the *Cruz* type and more often in even earlier types. One may get an impression that the Polish die-cutter adopted a Lincoln coin of the *Last Small Cross* type of c. 1013–1017 as the prototype. He imitated it with great talent; however, he purposely introduced some changes. To do this, he employed his knowledge of other Anglo-Saxon coins.

From the above, it appears that the prototype of the obverse of the familiar coin of Boleslav the Brave [No. II, 3] was struck at least 16 years later than the prototype of the reverse of the newly discovered coins [No. II, 4]. Actually, the difference was certainly greater and exceeded 20 years. Both prototypes presumably originated from

different mints, namely from Lincoln and York respectively, and in addition some other prototypes were used as well. Did both dies constitute a set, which then was separated, and the dies used in different sets? Or are we dealing with the remains of two different sets of imitations of Anglo-Saxon pennies? The first option, *i.e.* that we are dealing with an original set, is more likely, since the specimens from Liverpool and London suggest it. Various imitations made in the Baltic region are known, which link prototypes which are remote from each other in respect of time and space. The majority of such mules, though probably not all of them, appeared as a result of a secondary die-link. In our case, the addition of a sceptre terminating in a cross, *i.e.* an element of the *Cruz* type, to the bust of the *Last Small Cross* type, could indicate that the designs were intended for each other. Thus, the die cutter, or his principal, acknowledged that this was an important detail, and the opposite side of the imitated coin provided the pattern. The question why in that case both obverse and reverse designs of the *Cruz* type penny were not used remains open.

Neither do we know who was the die-cutter of this imitation of Anglo-Saxon types. We do know, however, that he knew of several Anglo-Saxon types. He was proficient at his art, and his product — leaving aside the slightly distorted legend — does not diverge from the level of good Scandinavian imitations, and even of some less well made Anglo-Saxon originals. This still does not imply that he was an Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian moneyer who ventured to the south coast of the Baltic. So far, such cases have not been recorded. If this were the case, one should expect that the same craftsman was employed to make other dies as well. Nevertheless, his hand cannot be recognized on the other coins struck in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Poland which were made by less skilled engravers. In the case of contemporary Bohemian coins of Boleslav II and Jaromir, on which the name of Æthelred II and even the names of his moneyers appear too, it has been supposed that Hiberno-Scottish monks were the carriers of Anglo-Saxon elements. Their stay in cloisters in nearby Bavaria is well documented (Suchodolski 1985, p. 165 f.).

Let us return to the die-chain of coins of Boleslav the Brave [Fig. 12]. If our previous deliberations are correct, this chain was composed of a pair of dies with the name of Boleslav the Brave, a pair of dies with the name of Æthelred II and a set of three dies of a Bavarian type with the name of King Henry II. These dies were linked with one another many times, most often the die with the name of Æthelred (four times) and the die with the name of Boleslav (three times). It appears that links between dies imitating coins from various countries were created not only due to the wear of dies in primary sets. Another reason could be purposeful linking of foreign, commonly known coin designs with the new, native ones in order to promote them on the market. We should not forget that the reason why Boleslav the Brave imitated foreign prototypes which were most widely spread, not only Anglo-Saxon and Bavarian, but also Saxon and Bohemian, was more of an economic than of a political nature. However, it cannot be ruled out that dies were mixed up by accident. One way or another, these links indicate that the dies were used in the same workshop and at approximately the same time.

The time of production can be roughly estimated by comparing the chronology of particular coin designs. The starting point is a coin design with the name of Boleslav [I, 1] resembling, as we know from the beginning above, the coins of Æthelred II *Last Small Cross* type (*c.* 1009–1017). However, here we are not dealing with an imitation

but an inspiration, since the pattern was simplified and transformed. This can be observed most clearly in the shape of a decorative pendant of the diadem at the back of the head. It is represented by four pellets arranged in a diamond, while on the Anglo-Saxon originals there are two pendants, each of which ends with one pellet or, exceptionally, in the form of a rectangle.

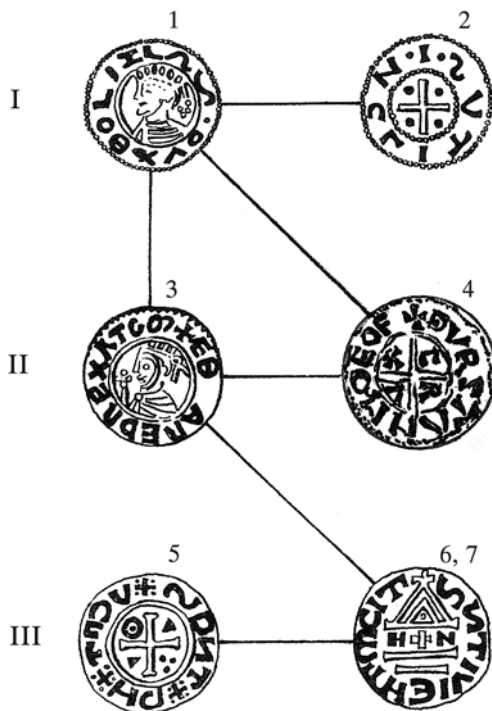


Fig. 12. Die-chain of Boleslav the Brave coins (after the modification).

The obverse of the coin of Anglo-Saxon character [II, 3] refers to the same type of Æthelred II. As we can see, the chronology of the prototype of this design can be narrowed down to approximately 1013–1017. Thus, it is the latest element in the entire die-chain; while the reverse, *Cruz* type [II,4], imitates the earliest prototype, dated to c. 991–997. The prototypes of the coin of the Bavarian type [III, 5–7] occupy an intermediate position — they existed in 1002–1009. Wolfgang Hahn dates the Polish imitation to c. 1005 (Hahn 1976, pp. 15 f.). We do not know whether the Polish Bavarian type really has such an early date. If so, following the destruction of the obverse die, the two reverse dies would have had to lie somewhere for at least 10 years to be combined with the dies of other types. Their set started to be used after 1013. In fact, this date must have been even later, since a passage of time was necessary for the Anglo-Saxon prototypes to circulate in the Baltic, and then to undergo alteration. As a result, it is better to suggest the period 1015–1020. Coins of the Bavarian type may have appeared earlier.

This chronology, based on typology, could be verified through the dates of deposit of the hoards which contain the relevant coins. Unfortunately not all of the coins can be connected with hoards. And these are few, particularly those which are well dated.

Type I (Polish), BOLIZLAS DVX INCLITVS:	Great Poland, unknown site, <i>tpq</i> 1018? (PSW I, 141) Mazovia, Wyszogród, <i>tpq</i> 1046 (PSW III, 128)
Type II (Anglo-Saxon), ÆTHELRAED REX ATGO (and mules):	Mazovia, Zakrzew, <i>tpq</i> 1011? (PSW III, 129) Great Poland, Kinno, <i>tpq</i> 1021 (PSW I, 47) Gotland, Kvie, <i>tpq</i> 1027 Norway, Årstad (Egersund), <i>tpq</i> 1029 Russia, Lodeinoe Pole I, <i>tpq</i> 1105 (Potin 1967, no. 218)
Type III Bavarian:	Little Poland, Kraków-Nowa Huta, <i>tpq</i> 1034 (PSW IVA, 27) Pomerania, Mózgowo?, <i>tpq</i> 1006? (PSW II, 107?) Russia, Vikhmiaz?, <i>tpq</i> 1095 (Potin 1967, no. 228)

The above figures suggest that the date of deposit of the hoards in most cases occurred during the 1030s or even later. The Mózgowo hoard appears to be the earliest. But its hiding date is vague and we are not sure whether it contained the Bavarian type imitation indeed. Two more hoards might be regarded as earlier: that of an unknown site in Great Poland and that of Zakrzew, but, unfortunately, this is due to the incomplete records of the material. In fact, both hoards were hidden slightly later. One may come to the conclusion that the dates of the hoards is not contrary to the suggested dating of the die-chain presented above. On the other hand, neither of the hoards allows the coins to be dated too late and moved to the very end of the reign of Boleslav the Brave.

The weight of the coins belonging to the die-chain discussed here is remarkably varied, ranging from 1.05 to 1.97 g. Three coins of the first die-pair with the name and titles of Boleslav the Brave on average weigh 1.485 g. The coins with the name of Æthelred II (including mules) are heavier — 1.64 g (7 specimens), while two coins with an Anglo-Saxon obverse and reverse [II, 3–4] weigh only 1.05 and 1.46 g. The mean weight of coins of the Bavarian type is 1.36 g (8 specimens)¹. In sum, the weights of all coins in this group are relatively heavy. Compared to other coins of Boleslav the Brave, they represent a higher or medium standard. In terms of metrology, they resemble coins of two other varieties of the BOLIZLAVS DVX INCLITVS type, with which, however, they are not die-linked (a mean weight of 1.4 g). The similarity applies also to coins with the distorted legend PRINCES POLONIE (1.53 g), with the title REX (1.34 g) and with the name of Mieszko, the son of Boleslav the Brave, who struck coins as the heir to the throne (type 1 — 1.50 g, type 2 — 1.57 g, type 3 — 1.38 g). These are coins issued in the mid-reign of the Polish ruler.

¹ Weights of three specimens were kindly provided by Professor Wolfgang Hahn from Vienna.

None of the coins which constitute the die-chain has either the true name of a mint or any information about the place of minting. The distribution of the finds indicates only that Great Poland and possibly north Mazovia can be considered, as in the case of all the other Polish coins of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. The main centres of the Piast state must be considered, namely: Poznań, Gniezno, Ostrów Lednicki, Giecz and Płock (Suchodolski 1967, pp. 129 ff., 160 and maps 1–10).

List of coins (cf. Suchodolski 1967, pp. 172f., 176)

Type I (Polish), dies 1–2, BOLIZLAS·DVX / ·I·NCLITVS

1. Cracow, 1.75 g, ex Czapski col.
2. Berlin, 1.195 g, ex K. Beyer col.
3. Former collection of Zamoyski Family, 1.50 g

Type II (Anglo-Saxon), dies 3–4, +ÆÐ///ARED REX ATGO / ÐVRSTAN M-O EOF

4. British Museum, 1.46 g, ex Elmore Jones col.
5. Liverpool, 1.05 g, ex Lodeinoe Pole hoard

Type I/II mule, dies 1–3

6. Prague, 1.82 g, ex E. Fiala col.
7. Oslo, 1.965 g, ex Årstad hoard

Type I/II mule, dies 1–4

8. Stockholm, 1.97 g, ex Kvie hoard

Type II/III mule, dies 3–6 and 3–7

9. Berlin, 1.74 g, ex Kinno hoard
10. Cracow, 1.49 g, ex Zakrzew hoard

Type III (Bavarian), dies 5–6, +HCI+TNDS+VCGT / TICEGA CIVITNS

11. Cracow, Archaeological Museum, 1.601 g, ex Kraków–Nowa Huta hoard
12. As above, 1.52 g
13. As above, 1.383 g
14. As above, 1.276 g
15. Warsaw, Royal Castle, 1.49 g
16. St. Petersburg, Ermitage, 1.15 g, ex Vikhmiaz' hoard
17. Braunschweig, 1.25 g, ex Mózgowo hoard?
18. Wien, collection of Professor Wolfgang Hahn, 1.22 g

ABBREVIATIONS

GF C: Gotlands Fornsal, Visby, inventory number, C-series

PSW I–IV Polskie skarby wczesnośredniowieczne:

- I: Slaski J., Tabaczyński S. *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne Wielkopolski. Materiały*, Warszawa–Wrocław, 1959.
- II: Kiersnowscy T. and R., *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza. Materiały*, Warszawa–Wrocław, 1959.
- III: Gupieniec A., Kiersnowscy T. and R., *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Polski Środkowej, Mazowsza i Podlasia. Materiały*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1965.

- IVA: Reyman J., Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Małopolski. Haisig M., Kiersnowski R., Reyman J., *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Małopolski, Śląska, Warmii i Mazur. Materiały*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1966.

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KENNETH JONSSON, STANISŁAW SUCHODOLSKI

MONETA BOLESŁAWA CHROBREGO NOWEGO TYPU ODKRYTA W SZWECJI

(Streszczenie)

W 2008 r. w miejscowości Kwie na Gotlandii odkryto dalszych 20 monet ze skarbu ujawnionego już w 1929 roku (tpq 1027). Wśród nowych okazów rozpoznano denar Bolesława Chrobrego (992–1025) (Ryc. 1). Awers został wybity już znanym stemplem awersu typu *Dux inclitus*, rewers natomiast nowym stemplem naśladowującym rewers pensa Etelreda II (978–1016) typu *Cruz* (991–997). Monetę służącą wzorem wybił w Yorku mincerz o imieniu Thurstan (Ryc. 3).

Dwie dalsze monety Bolesława Chrobrego wybite tym samym stemplem rewersu udało się odszukać przy pomocy Williama Leana w zbiorach brytyjskich: w British Museum (kolekcja Elmore Jonesa; ryc. 5) i w Merseyside County Museums w Liverpool (ryc. 4). Awersy tych monet, również identyczne, noszą znane już naśladownictwo stempla Etelreda II typu *Last Small Cross* (1009–1017).

Odkrycia te wzbogacają uzupełniany już blisko od stulecia (E. Majkowski, Z. Zakrzewski, S. Suchodolski; ryc. 6) łańcuch połączeń stempli monet Chrobrego trzech typów: I polskiego z napisem BOLIZAS DVX — INCLITVS (ryc. 7), II anglosaskiego z imieniem króla Etelreda (ryc. 4 i 5) i III bawarskiego ze zniekształconym imieniem króla Henryka II (1002–1014) (ryc. 10). Typ anglosaski dotychczas był znany tylko z awersu, obecnie poznaliśmy również stronę odwrotną. Interesujące jest jednak, że wzorce tych stempli mają różną chronologię. Awers naśladuje monetę z Lincoln z lat ok. 1013–1017 (ryc. 2), rewers natomiast monetę z Yorku około 20 lat starszą (ryc. 3). Wykonawcą stempli był człowiek o dużych umiejętnościach, który nie został jednak wykorzystany do dalszej produkcji menniczej w Polsce.

W obrębie wspomnianej grupy stemple wielokrotnie łączą się ze sobą (Ryc. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11). Świadczy to o tym, że były używane w tym samym miejscu, w zbliżonym czasie i zapewne też w zbliżonym czasie zostały wytworzone (ok. 1015–1020). Na początku tego okresu — lub może nawet parę lat wcześniej — powstał typ bawarski. Przyczyny połączeń były różnorodne: zarówno techniczne (chęć maksymalnego wykorzystania stempli), jak też ekonomiczne (chęć zarekomendowania własnych monet), a pewną rolę mógł odegrać również przypadek.

Wagi monet tej grupy są mocno zróżnicowane (1,05–1,97 g), a ich wagi średnie stosunkowo wysokie (1,485, 1,64, 1,36 g) i zbliżają się do wagi innych monet Bolesława Chrobrego z drugiej połowy panowania.

Znaleziska zawierające te monety mają stosunkowo duży rozrzut (Wielkopolska, Mazowsze, Małopolska, Pomorze, Gotlandia, Norwegia, Rosja). Bite były zapewne, tak jak i inne monety Bolesława Chrobrego, w Wielkopolsce lub na północnym Mazowszu, w jednym z głównych centrów jego państwa.