

## THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY HOARD DISCOVERED AT GĂLBINAȘI, CĂLĂRAȘI COUNTY

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**Keywords:** *Coin hoard, Wallachia, thaler, trojak, şahi, akçe.*

**Cuvinte cheie:** *Tezaur monetar, Țara Românească, taler, triplu gros, şahi, aspru.*

**Abstract:** *The author presents a coin hoard discovered at Gălbinași, Călărași County, held by the Bucharest Municipality Museum. It consists of European coins issued by the Holy Roman Empire, The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Transylvania and the Netherlands, and Ottoman coins, akçes and şahis. The article discusses the presence of such coins in hoards at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and their role in circulation. The most recent coin places the hoards burial around 1595.*

**Rezumat:** *Autorul prezintă un tezaur monetar descoperit la Gălbinași, județul Călărași, păstrat în colecțiile Muzeului Municipiului București. Acesta este compus din monede europene emise în Imperiul Romano-German, Polonia-Lituania, Transilvania și Țările de Jos precum și monede otomane, aspri și şahii. Se discută prezența acestor monede în tezaure de la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea și rolul acestora în circulație. Cea mai recentă monedă plasează îngroparea tezaurului în jurul anului 1595.*

The Bucharest Municipality Museum holds within its numismatic collection an interesting late sixteenth century hoard, discovered in the Romanian Plain, relatively close to Bucharest, at Gălbinași, Călărași County (then Oltenița District), a settlement located close to Dâmbovița River.

The only information kept in the inventory records of the BMM attests that forty-four silver coins entered the Museum's collection in June 1967, having been discovered by a certain Berbec Tudor, without mentioning the existence of other coins.

The hoard's first mention dates from 1981<sup>1</sup> having been subsequently referenced in literature<sup>2</sup>. However, the structure published in the 1981 note differs from the present one. Despite having been acquired in 1967, Elena Isăcescu notes that she saw it "in 1971 when it was brought for determinations at the Numismatic Cabinet of the Academy's Library in order to be bought by the Bucharest Municipality Museum"<sup>3</sup>.

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\* Bucharest Municipality Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Isăcescu 1981, p. 338, note 32.

<sup>2</sup> Maxim 1993, p. 152, note 110; Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 319; Murgescu 1994, p. 295; Murgescu 1996, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Isăcescu 1981, p. 338, note 32.

Also, she does not mention the total number of coins, mentioning only the number of Ottoman coins – in the note they are 17; 6 akçes (one from Selim II, two from Murad III and three unidentified) and 22 şahis<sup>4</sup> (six issued at Çançã and one at Amid) – which differs from the one within the Museum’s collection, i.e. 20 coins. Further, she mentions “Austrian thalers” and “Hungarian coins from the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries” – while the hoard lacks any Hungarian coins or coins from the 15<sup>th</sup> century – without any reference to the Transylvanian thaler or the Polish-Lithuanian coins.

Therefore, compared to this first publication, the structure of the hoard from Gălbinași changes. The Ottoman Empire’s coins, based on re-identifications<sup>5</sup>, were all issued under Murad III and are in fact 9 akçes and 11 şahis. The Holy Roman Empire is represented by 13 coins (10 thalers, 3 half-thalers) issued by Saxony, the Albertine line (4); Austria, Tyrol (3); Saxony, the Ernestine line (1); the Bishopric of Salzburg (1); Bohemia (1); Brandenburg-Franconia (1); Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1); Imperial cities of Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle (1). The remaining coins are issues of Poland-Lithuania (9); the Netherlands (1) and Transylvania (1). The oldest coin in the hoard was issued in 1542 at Goslar, while the most recent coin is a Bohemian thaler issued at Prague in 1594 under Rudolf II.

We chose to analyze the period between the final quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century mainly because it roughly represents the duration of the Long Turkish War (1593-1606) – extended to 1574 because coin hoards with issues from Murad III were usually given a broad end date in literature, 1574-1595 – an age when significant transformations took place in the monetary history of the West and of the Ottoman Empire with a strong impact in Wallachian circulation.

While foreigners travelling through Wallachia have noted that during the 1580s the main currencies in circulation were “Turkish and German silver money”<sup>6</sup>, the present coin hoard is only the fourth – next to Bercioiu, Vâlcea County (ending in 1595)<sup>7</sup>; Vlădila, Olt County (ending in 1599)<sup>8</sup> and Viișoara, Teleorman County<sup>9</sup> (ending in 1600<sup>10</sup>) – to contain the larger silver coins of the two issuing zones, i.e. thalers (or half-thalers) and şahis.

**The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’s coinage boom**, which began under the reign of Stephen Báthory (1576-1586), is also reflected in Wallachian hoards from

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<sup>4</sup> Also called *dirhams* (dirhemi) or *padişahi* in literature. We chose to use the term coined in Sahillioğlu 1983, p. 273 – based on the records of the Imperial Treasury.

<sup>5</sup> The identifications are based on the inventory notes made by Elena Isăcescu and revised by Eugen Nicolae (coins nos. 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 42 – previously unidentified) to whom I would like to express my appreciation for both the identifications and the insight given into Ottoman coinage.

<sup>6</sup> Călători străini 1971, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 297-309.

<sup>8</sup> Rădulescu, Lică 2002, p. 35-46.

<sup>9</sup> CH 1975, p. 110; Ionescu 1975, p. 332; Mitrea 1980, p. 608 and Vilcu, Păunescu 2001, p. 169-196.

<sup>10</sup> Vilcu, Păunescu 2001, p. 170. The hoard also contains a Polish ort from 1625; however, according to the authors it was “possibly added later, by mistake” thus the end date of 1625 is considered to be “under question” the authors.

the analyzed period as they are among the most numerous – including pre-Union coins and those issued in the Polish system.

The association of Polish coins with Imperial and Ottoman ones occurs in five other hoards: Rast, Dolj County<sup>11</sup> (ending 1591-1601); Urziceni, Ialomița County<sup>12</sup> (1597); Vlădila, Olt County<sup>13</sup> (1599); Beciu, Teleorman<sup>14</sup> (1599) and Viișoara, Teleorman County<sup>15</sup> (1600).

The mint in Poznań is represented by one coin (no. 1) from the reign of Stephen Báthory, from 1586, bearing the coats of arms of Jan Dulski, Great Treasurer of the Crown and another one (no. 8) from the reign of Sigismund III, issued in 1589, with the arms of Jan Dulski and Teodor Busch. Coins no. 2-3 were issued by the Lithuanian mint in Vilnius; the former, from 1581, displays the arms of Jan Hlebowicz Lithuanian Treasurer, on the obverse, and it is a variant to the catalogue<sup>16</sup> due to the legend on the reverse; the latter was issued in 1584 and its reverse only displays the mint's mark. The mint from Riga has issued the most numerous Polish coins to be found within the hoard – nos. 4-6 dated 1584, 1585 and 1586; no. 9 dated 1589.

According to the coinage ordinance issued by Stephen Báthory in 1580, 82.6 three-groschen pieces were to be minted from one Kraków mark, resulting in a 2,44 gram coin with a silver content of 84.4%<sup>17</sup>. While most of the coins in the hoard fall within this standard, coin no. 7 – marked 1584 – stands out because of its barbarized aspect (the legend, the city's coat of arms, the *fleur-de-lis* – introduced on the city's coinage only in 1585). Also, its weight of only 1.35 g is well below the official weight. All these indicate that the coin is a fake. Other forged Polish three-groschen coins are mentioned in the hoards from Vlădila – one coin, apparently imitating an issue from Poznań from 1593<sup>18</sup> – and Cuza Vodă, Călărași<sup>19</sup> – two fakes, both imitating issues from 1596, one of them resembling those minted at Poznań.

During the Long Turkish War the ever-increasing role of Polish coins in circulation is noticeable not only in Wallachia but also in Moldavia<sup>20</sup>, Transylvania<sup>21</sup> and Upper Hungary<sup>22</sup>.

**Transylvanian coinage** during this period is mainly characterized by its scarce presence – mainly thalers – as it is found only in several hoards, each with only one coin

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<sup>11</sup> Rădulescu 1977, p. 175 and Rădulescu 1981, p. 97-108.

<sup>12</sup> Blaskó 2016, p. 222-236.

<sup>13</sup> Rădulescu, Lică 2002, p. 35-46.

<sup>14</sup> Berciu-Drăghicescu 1989, p. 35-46 and Dumitrescu, Rădulescu 2014, p. 181-195.

<sup>15</sup> CH 1975, p. 110; Ionescu 1975, p. 332; Mitrea 1980, p. 608 and Vilcu, Păunescu 2001, p. 169-196.

<sup>16</sup> Iger V.81.3b (an extra point before LIT), V.81.3c (it does not match the obverse) or V.81.4 (missing the mint mark on the reverse).

<sup>17</sup> Mikołajczak 1988, p. 50.

<sup>18</sup> Rădulescu, Lică 2002, p. 37, no. 34.

<sup>19</sup> Pîrvulescu et al 2016, p. 97-201.

<sup>20</sup> Velter 2015, p. 205 and 239.

<sup>21</sup> Toma 2016, p. 106-107.

<sup>22</sup> Kálnoki-Gyöngyössi 2015, p. 151-152. In 1598 the Hungarian Diet was informed by the Austrian *hofkammer* that monthly salaries will include Polish coinage.

– Rast, Berciou, Vlădila, Dolj County, Câmpulung Muscel<sup>23</sup>. Two other hoards contain a larger number of Transylvanian issues, first the one from Celei-Corabia, Olt County<sup>24</sup>, a compact hoard with 15 thalers; secondly the one from Târgoviște 1968<sup>25</sup> where 15 thalers are mentioned, but whose publication, composition and end date raise several questions.

The issue from 1591 (no. 10) displays no mintmark – such thalers originating from the mint at Nagybánya (Baia Mare)<sup>26</sup> – and bears the title of *Princeps Transsylvania*, in use with variants on thalers until 1597.

**The Imperial coins** originate from various areas of the Empire whose coinage is also found in other Wallachian hoards. Coin no. 23 stands out not just because it is the oldest but also because of its history. A wartime coin minted in 1542 at Goslar (in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel), it tells the story of the religious wars of the German states during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The two main leaders of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League – Johann-Friedrich of the Electorate (at the time of the Ernestine Line) of Saxony (1532-1547) and Philip I of the Landgraviate of Hesse (1509-1567) – occupied Catholic Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and its mint in Goslar in 1542 and imprisoned Henry the Younger (1514-1568). In terms of coinage, the common issues of the two rulers replaced the representation of the “wild-man”, present on most of Henry’s thalers, with their own titles. It is a variant to both catalogues consulted as the obverse representation of Johann-Friedrich differs<sup>27</sup> but the legend and the reverse correspond. The coinage of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel proper – represented by coin no. 17, issued at Goslar, under Julius (1568-1589) – resumes the old iconography in the aftermath of the war and, under Julius, adds a candle to the “wild-man” as a symbol of introducing Protestantism.

The most numerous Imperial coins to be found in Wallachian hoards from the period, also the case of the hoard from Gălbinași, are the Saxon thalers of the Albertine line. The oldest among them is a half-thaler (no. 19) issued under Moritz (1547-1553) at Buchholz in 1549; it is followed by another half-thaler (no. 20) from 1567, and two thalers, one (no. 21) from 1574 and one (no. 22) from 1574, all issued at Dresden under Augustus (1553-1586). The second most numerous coins of the Holy Roman Empire are the Austrian ones, represented here by three coins (nos. 11-13), all minted in Tyrol, at Hall, under Archduke Ferdinand II (1564-1595). The remaining German coins consist of a half-thaler from the Bishopric of Salzburg (no. 14) and thalers from: Bohemia, issued at Prague (no. 15), Brandenburg-Franconia (no. 16), a common issue of the Imperial cities of Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle (no. 18). The structure of the Imperial

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<sup>23</sup> Smaranda, Trîmbaciu 1980, p. 341-348 and Dumitrache, Grecu 2011, p. 125-152.

<sup>24</sup> Kirițescu 1997, p. 96, note 3 and Iliescu 1993, p. 435 – only briefly mentioned in both.

<sup>25</sup> Secășanu 1968, p. 423-428.

<sup>26</sup> Huszár 1936, p. 516.

<sup>27</sup> In the case of Mey – places them under the “occupation of Braunschweig” – the obverse of no. 144 displays the bust corresponding to Mey 143 – minted only in 1542 – whereas Mey 144 was minted between 1542 and 1547. In the case of Davenport – places them under the Ernestine Saxony – no. 9740 displays the same bust as in Mey 144, the issues from 1542 (9737, 9738) are not accompanied by images.

coins within the hoard discovered at Gălbinași is similar with that of other hoards containing such coins; presently only one hoard – Urziceni 2016 – contains neither Austrian nor Saxon coins.

The thalers originating from the two states seem to represent the main source of Western silver influx into Wallachia, drawing alongside them similar coins from other German lands.

**Dutch thalers**, either Spanish or of the Dutch Republic, turn up only in very small numbers (2 half-thalers at Obârșia Nouă<sup>28</sup>, and one thaler at Bercioiu<sup>29</sup>, Verbița<sup>30</sup> and Dolj County – with the exception of the coin hoard from Târgoviște 1968 with 73 such pieces, but with the abovementioned reserves). In the hoard from Gălbinași, the Dutch coin (no. 24) is a Burgundian Rijksdaalder issued at Geldern in 1569 in the name of Philipp II of Spain.

**The Ottoman coins**, in terms of circulation during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, witnessed two main flows of species, one from the Western world – from the German states through Italy<sup>31</sup>, from the Netherlands through Poland<sup>32</sup> and so on – into the Empire and towards Iran, India, reaching even further, to Central Asia<sup>33</sup>; and a second one that saw silver şahis moving from the Eastern realms of the Empire into its western parts<sup>34</sup>, and also into Wallachia.

By the final quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the flow of silver from the Ottoman Empire to the East had become a serious problem for the Porte. So much so that it issued repeated interdictions on silver exports (for example in 1566 in Yemen; in 1576 in Haleb (Aleppo); in 1573, 1574, 1580 in Erzurum; but not just in the Eastern provinces, but also in Rumelia in 1583 – where lighter akçe were minted and additional coins were struck from the surplus silver, coins which were also smuggled into Iran<sup>35</sup>) to the East – where the gold to silver ratio was more favorable (1/10) than in Europe where it was 1/13<sup>36</sup>.

Throughout this period the role of Ottoman coins has also undergone significant changes in Wallachian circulation. While before this period – especially before the final decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – it was the main coin in circulation and the money of account, following the outbreak of the war its role diminished and, so far, no hoard from the first two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century contains Ottoman coins.

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<sup>28</sup> Rădulescu, Biciu 1999, p. 57-63.

<sup>29</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 313, coin no. 85. The coin is indeed an issue of Batenburg under Wilhelm v. Bronkhorst; however, it was not part of the Holy Roman Empire but rather of the Spanish Netherlands, identified as Davenport no. 8565/8566.

<sup>30</sup> Mitrea 1977, p. 369 and Constantinescu, Duicu 1980, p. 52-55.

<sup>31</sup> Buza, 1991, p. 90.

<sup>32</sup> Kołodziejczyk 1996, p. 109.

<sup>33</sup> Moosvi 1987, p. 80.

<sup>34</sup> Pamuk 2000, p. 93.

<sup>35</sup> Maxim 1983, p. 131, 142-143 notes 32-36.

<sup>36</sup> Sahillioğlu 1983, p. 283.

Another ban, this time on the second type of influx, was sent in 1590 to the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia prohibiting transactions with *şahis*<sup>37</sup>. One year earlier, in the Ottoman fiscal year of 1588/1589, the *haraç* payments made by both principalities saw the share of this denomination – previously non-existent in both principalities’ recorded payments – reach no less than 93.76% in Wallachia and 36.3% in Moldavia<sup>38</sup>.

The hoard from Gălbinaşi consists of both *akçes* and *şahis* all issued during the reign of Murad III (1574-1595). Thus five *akçes* were issued at Kostantiniye (Constantinople), two at Çança, and two at unidentified mints; seven *şahis* were issued at Çança, one at Amid, one at Erzurum, and two at unidentified mints.

The weights of the *akçes* from the present hoard are the lowest ones yet recorded in Wallachian finds from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>39</sup>, three of them weighing 0.25 g – one from Constantinople (no. 29), one from Çança (no. 31), and one from an unidentified mint (no. 33) – while the rest are all between 0.30 and 0.38 g. The only other hoards containing such low-weight *akçes* (0.38 g or below) are the ones from Tăriceni, Călăraşi County<sup>40</sup> (ending around 1595<sup>41</sup>), Beciu and Vlădila (both ending in 1599). Given these weights, we consider all the Ottoman *akçes* within this hoard to be dated after the monetary reform which saw a 44% weight reduction of these coins – an *akçe* weighing 0.681 g in 1565 and 0.384 between 1584 and 1586<sup>42</sup>, during the second part of Murad III’s reign. The weights of the *şahis* are also among the lightest to be discovered from the reign of Murad III – only three *şahis* from Bercioiu are lighter<sup>43</sup>. Our lightest *şahi*, issued at an unidentified mint, weighs 2.85 g (no. 44) while two more weigh 2.90 g – one issued at Çança (no. 36), one unidentified (no. 43) – with the rest being between 3.15 and 3.65 grams.

Two of the *şahis*, nos. 37-38, display similarities with a piece found at Bercioiu<sup>44</sup>, considered to originate from the second part of Murad III’s reign<sup>45</sup>. Another *şahi*, issued at Çança (no. 40) also stands out as its reverse seems to have been struck with a die prepared for gold, *altın*, coins<sup>46</sup>; with similar pieces found at Tăriceni<sup>47</sup> and Bercioiu<sup>48</sup>. The coinage of Erzurum, represented here by coin no. 42, also records

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<sup>37</sup> Maxim 1975, p. 415; Maxim 1983, p. 134.

<sup>38</sup> Maxim 1975, p. 409-410.

<sup>39</sup> Weights are mentioned in the following hoards: Radu Vodă, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Târgovişte 1992, Sihleanu (in Neamtu 1980, p. 341-355), Beciu, Vlădila, Vişoara, and, to some degree, Tăriceni.

<sup>40</sup> CCCSI 1965, p. 60-86; Isăcescu 1968, p. 258-273; Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 325, note 11.

<sup>41</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 322. Despite being initially published (Isăcescu 1965) with a broad end date, 1581-1595, based on the presence of numerous *şahis*, the authors propose 1595 as a more plausible end date.

<sup>42</sup> Maxim 1983, p. 130.

<sup>43</sup> Weighing 2.27 g, 2.58 g, and 2.90 g.

<sup>44</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 311, coin no. 35.

<sup>45</sup> Boldureanu et al 2001, p. 165, note 16. Revising the earlier opinion presented in Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 323, according to which these dies were considered to have been prepared (but not used) during the beginning of Murad III’s reign.

<sup>46</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 321; Nicolae 2012, p. 390.

<sup>47</sup> CCCSI 1965, p. 81, coins nos. 1322-1324

<sup>48</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 311, coin no. 36.

unusual activity – an unusual hybrid *şahi* is mentioned in literature<sup>49</sup>, struck on one side with a reverse die from Erzurum and on the other with a reverse die from Damascus. Such multiple instances of unusual uses of dies on *şahis* in the Eastern provinces (especially in the mints at Çança and Erzurum) seem to offer arguments in favor of the view that such pieces were struck in great haste during the later phases of the ongoing war with Safavid Persia (1578-1590) – when this area served as the launching base for the Turkish offensive in the Caucasus<sup>50</sup> – amid great monetary turmoil<sup>51</sup>.

During this period the structure of Ottoman coins – more exactly of their issuing mints – seems to shift towards the eastern mints. The presence of Ottoman coins minted exclusively in the eastern parts is attested in four hoards<sup>52</sup>, all of them apparently ending during the 16<sup>th</sup> century's final decade – Râmnicu Vâlcea<sup>53</sup>, Vâlcea County<sup>54</sup>, Târgovişte 1992, Dâmboviţa County<sup>55</sup>, Bercioiu (also with one *şahi* from Trablus<sup>56</sup>), Viişoara. Despite the fact that the capital city's coinage is also present in other hoards, this is the first one to contain such coins alongside solely eastern ones.

In coin hoards buried after the onset of the war<sup>57</sup> the number of identified coins struck in Rumelia and Western Anatolia is very low, 41 coins representing 5.7%<sup>58</sup>; furthermore, in the case of coins issued during the reign of Murad III, only three were issued in Rumelia – two at Novabirda (Novo Brdo) and one at Üsküp (Skopje); all three found in the hoard from Vlădila. The shift and emergence of eastern minted coins seems more obvious when we look at earlier hoards (Bistreţ, Dolj County<sup>59</sup> and Radu Vodă, Giurgiu County<sup>60</sup>) where the share of such coins is just 9.4% and that of those issued in Rumelia and Western Anatolia is 51.5% (39% unidentified). This shift in the structure of Ottoman coins – without any coins from the Rumelian and Western Anatolian mints, noticeable only in hoards ending during the 1590s<sup>61</sup> – could be explained by the movement of troops from the Eastern Ottoman territories into Europe as part of the military campaigns.

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<sup>49</sup> Nicolae 2001, p. 157-159.

<sup>50</sup> Guliyev 2016, p. 4

<sup>51</sup> Maxim 1983, p. 131 and p. 141-142, notes 27-31. Presenting the increasing coin production beginning with 1578 and the opening of mints in the Eastern provinces.

<sup>52</sup> In the case of some hoards no issuing mints are mentioned: Ilfov County, Sihleanu, Rast.

<sup>53</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 322. The authors consider the hoard's end date to be 1595 rather than the wider timespan of 1574-1595.

<sup>54</sup> Isăcescu 1981, pp. 331-339; Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 325, note 14.

<sup>55</sup> Poenaru Bordea, Mitrea 1992, p. 206.

<sup>56</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 313, coin no. 83 – initially identified as minted at Trablusgarb (Tripoli, present-day Lybia) is in fact, according to Nicolae 2012, p. 391 an issue of Trablus (Tripoli, present-day Lebanon).

<sup>57</sup> The hoards from: Tăriceni, Rast, Bercioiu, Urziceni 2016, Beciu, Vlădila, Viişoara.

<sup>58</sup> Coins from the Eastern mints represent 61,3% and the unidentified mints represent 32,9%.

<sup>59</sup> Stan, Rădulescu 1976, p. 48-51.

<sup>60</sup> Poenaru Bordea, Mitrea 1992, p. 205 and Nicolae, Păunescu 1993, p. 109-135.

<sup>61</sup> Râmnicu Vâlcea, Târgovişte 1992, Bercioiu and Viişoara.

## Conclusions

The overall value of the hoard<sup>62</sup> is 1231 akçes, the equivalent of 15.3 thalers or around 205 three-groschens, to refer to the denominations within the hoard; and the overall weight is 446.29 grams. As prices changed often and significantly during the 1590s it is difficult to establish the treasure's clear worth. Such an amount would have represented the wage of an infantry soldier for five months<sup>63</sup> or that of a cavalry soldier for three months<sup>64</sup>; between 1592 and 1594 it represented the price of ten bushels of wheat<sup>65</sup>; for the years 1594/1595 – 1596/1597 fifteen thalers represented the household tax for three years<sup>66</sup>.

Wallachian documents record the use of thalers in transactions as early as 1567<sup>67</sup> and Ottoman documents attest that parts of Wallachia's *haraç* were paid in this denomination, with a share of 1.68% in 1569/1570 and 6.08% in 1588/1589 (while in the case of neighboring Moldavia these shares reached as high as 67.29% in 1564/1565)<sup>68</sup>.

Despite all these, thalers are missing from hoards ending before the final decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (to date, the earliest coin hoard to contain thalers is the one from Videle 1, Teleorman County<sup>69</sup>, ending between 1587 and 1595). A similar situation can be witnessed in neighboring Transylvania where the earliest coin hoard containing such pieces dates from 1596/1597<sup>70</sup>, but also in Moldavia were the first such hoard ends in 1588<sup>71</sup>.

The main observations regarding the Ottoman coins from the present hoard relate to several aspects. The metrological data shows that almost all of the akçes are the lightest yet recorded in Wallachian finds<sup>72</sup> (three have a weight of 0.25 g, the lowest in all hoards from the period – however, their wear should also be noted – the heaviest weighing 0.38 g). The same applies for the şahis, three having a weight of under 3 g and the heaviest weighing 3.65 g.

The hoard from Gălbinași seems to reinforce earlier hypotheses mentioned in literature, specifically the one pertaining to the hoard from Bercioiu, according to which şahis arrive in Wallachia during the second part of Murad III's reign (taking into account that light akçes are found only in hoards from 1595 and 1599<sup>73</sup>) having been most probably minted after the reform, during the latter phases of the Ottoman-Safavid War

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<sup>62</sup> Taking into account the following exchange rate: 1 thaler = 80 akçes; 1 trojak = 6 akçes; 1 şahi = 8 akçes. Based on figures presented in Murgescu 1996, p. 50-60.

<sup>63</sup> Călători străini 1972, p. 62.

<sup>64</sup> Călători străini 1972, p. 75.

<sup>65</sup> Mioc 1962, p. 163.

<sup>66</sup> Mioc 1962, p. 155.

<sup>67</sup> DRH 1985, doc. 22, p. 32-33.

<sup>68</sup> Maxim 1975, p. 415.

<sup>69</sup> Surdu 2012, p. 139-146.

<sup>70</sup> Toma 2016, p. 196.

<sup>71</sup> Butnariu 1997, p. 162 and Butnariu, Vilcu 2013, p. 14.

<sup>72</sup> See note 39.

<sup>73</sup> 1595: Tăricești; 1599: Beciu and Vlădila.

of 1578-1590<sup>74</sup>. Whether the *şahis* reached Wallachia as a result of Wallachian exports<sup>75</sup> or if an influx existed later as a result of the movement of troops with the onset of the war<sup>76</sup> can still be subject to debate. However, this association of *şahis* from the eastern mints with only light *akçes* minted at Constantinople and in the East; the ban on monetary operations in *şahis* imposed on Wallachia in 1590, and the numerous attempts made by the Ottomans to ban its use within the Empire<sup>77</sup>; the apparent shift of the structure of mints in hoards from the 1590s; and the presence of European thalers from as late as 1594 seem to support the latter argument.

The hoard from Gălbinaşi also falls in line with the two wave<sup>78</sup> thaler influx into Wallachia, the first one, during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, involving coins of German origin – arriving through commercial and later military enterprises – and a second one occurring later and dominated by the Dutch thalers. The remaining coins offer a structure similar to that of other contemporary hoards, illustrating the increasing role of Polish-Lithuanian coinage and the still scarce presence of thalers from Transylvania and the Netherlands.

Foreign agents in the service of the Emperor have recorded several large military payments made or promised by the Habsburgs during the Long Turkish War – 18,000 thalers in 1597 for enrolling soldiers in Wallachia<sup>79</sup>; 25,000 thalers in 1599 to be paid to Michael the Brave<sup>80</sup>, etc. Parts of the Ottoman war payments were also made in thalers, whose share was approximately 10%<sup>81</sup>. Therefore, the value of both the thalers and the hoard altogether seems rather small, possibly representing the savings made in a few months by either a Christian or an Ottoman soldier or, given its mixed nature, the savings of a merchant or a local.

Considering that the anti-Ottoman war broke out in 1595 on Wallachian soil and that other contemporary hoards were discovered along the route between the Danube and Târgovişte (among them Tăriceni; Ilfov County; Potigrafu), but also taking into account the presence of the Bohemian thaler issued in 1594, which would have needed some time to reach Wallachia, we consider the burial of this treasure to have occurred during or soon after 1595.

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<sup>74</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 324; Nicolae 2012, p. 390-391; Maxim 1983, p. 134.

<sup>75</sup> Murgescu 1994, p. 300.

<sup>76</sup> Nicolae, Custurea 1985, p. 323-324.

<sup>77</sup> Sahillioğlu 1983, p. 278.

<sup>78</sup> Ştirbu et al 1990, p. 163.

<sup>79</sup> Călători străini 1972, p. 65.

<sup>80</sup> Călători străini 1972, p. 168.

<sup>81</sup> Pamuk 2000, p. 95.

## Catalogue

### THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

Stephen Báthory (1576-1586)

Poland

Trojak

Poznań

1586

Av. .STEP.D:G\*RE.X.POLO.

Rv. III / GROS.ARG / TRIP:REG. / POLONIA / 86

Iger P.86.2e; Kopicki 538

1. AR ↑ 2,05 g; 21,6 mm. Inv. 96556

Lithuania

Trojak

Wilno

1581

Av. STEP.D.G.REX - PO.M.D.L.

Rv. III / 15 - 81 / GROS.ARG. / TRIP.M.D / LIT.

Iger V.81.3b var / V.81.3e var / V.81.4 var; Kopicki 3357.

2. AR ↓ 2,45 g; 20,5 mm. Inv. 96557

1584

Av. STEP.D.G.REX.PO.M.D.L.

Rv. III / 15 - 84 / GROS.ARG. / TRIP.M.D / LIT

Iger V.84.1a; Kopicki 3373.

3. AR ↘ 2,40 g; 21,4 mm. Inv. 96558

Ryga

1584

Av. STEP:D:G:REX:PO:D:L.

Rv. √\* III \*√ / 15 - 84 / GR - OS / ARG:TRIP / CIVI:RI / .GE\*

Iger R.84.1b; Kopicki 8093

4. AR ← 2,15 g; 20,4 mm. Inv. 96559

1585

Av. STEP.D.G.REX.P.D.L.

Rv. + III + / 15 - 85 / GR - OS / ARG.TRIP / CIVI.RI. / .GE.

Iger R.85.2a; Kopicki 8096b

5. AR ← 2,15 g; 20,4 mm. Inv. 96560

- 1586  
Av. STEP•D•G•REX•P•D•L•  
Rv. √\* III \*√/ 15 - 86 / GR - OS/ ARG•TRIP / CIVI•RI• / +GE+  
Iger R.86.1a; Kopicki 8097  
6. AR ← 2,50 g; 20,1 mm. Inv. 96562

Fake  
Trojak  
Ryga

- 1584  
Av. STEP:D:G:REX.PO M:D:L.  
Rv. √\* III \*√/ 15 - 84 / GR - OS/ ARG◊TRIP / CIVI RI / .GE.  
7. AR ↙ 1,35 g; 19,5 mm. Inv. 96561

**Sigismund III (1587-1632)**

Poland  
Trojak  
Poznań

- 1589  
Av. SIG.III.D:G:REX.PO.M.D.L.  
Rv. .III. / GROS.ARG / TRIP.REG: / .POLONIÆ / I-D 89  
Iger P.89.1b; Kopicki 923  
8. AR ↙ 2,30 g; 20,6 mm. Inv. 96563

Ryga

- 1588  
Av. .SIG.(II)I.D:G:REX+PO:D:LI+  
Rv. + III + / .15 - 88. / GR - OS / ARG.TRIP / .CIVI:RI / (G)E . √ .  
Iger R.88.1a; Kopicki 8177  
9. AR → 2,30 g; 21,2 mm. Inv. 96564

**THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA**  
**Sigismund Báthory (1581–1597, 1598–1599, 1601–1602)**

Thaler  
Baia Mare (Nagybánya / Neustadt)

- 1591  
Av. ❖SIGISM(VN)DVS. - .BATHORI.  
Rv. ❖ PRINCEPS.TRANSYLVANIA. 1591  
Resch 76  
10. AR ↑ 28,80 g; 40,8 mm. Inv. 96544

**THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE**  
**Austria - Tyrol**  
**Archduke Ferdinand II (1564-1595)**

Thaler  
Hall

Undated (1577-1595)

Av. FERDINAND:D:G:ARCHID:AVSTRIÆ

Rv. DVX.BVRGVNDIE - COMES.TIROLIS

Davenport 8097

11. AR ↑ 28,65 g; 39,8 mm. Inv. 96535

Av. ☉FERDINANDVS:D:G:ARCHIDVX:AVSTRIE

Rv. DVX.BVRGVND - IE:CO:TIROLIS

Davenport 8095

12. AR ↑ 27,45 g; 39,7 mm. Inv. 96536

13. AR ↑ 28,55 g; 40,5 mm. Inv. 96537

**Bishopric of Salzburg**  
**Johann Jakob Khuen von Belasi (1560-1586)**

Half-thaler  
Salzburg

1563

Av. IOAN.IAC.D.G.AR.EPS.SALZ.SELEG / 1563

Rv. S.RVDBERTVS - EPVS.SALZBVRGN

Zöttl 652-658

14. AR → 14,30 g; 34,3 mm. Inv. 96542

**Bohemia**  
**Rudolf II (1575–1611)**

Thaler  
Prague

1594

Av. ♦RVDOLPHVS.II.D:G:RO. - .IM.S.AV.G.HV.B.R.E.

Rv. ARCHIDVX.AVSTRI.DVX.BVR.MA.MOR.1594.

Davenport 8075

15. AR ↘ 29,15 g; 41,7 mm. Inv. 96538

**Brandenburg-Franconia**  
**Georg Friedrich (1543-1603)**

Thaler  
Schwabach

- 1558  
Av. +MO:NO:ARG.GEO:F.MAR.BRA.Z.SL.DVCI / 1558  
Rv. +SI.DEVS.PRONOBIS.QVIS.CONTRA.NOS.  
Mey 65  
16. AR ↘ 28,25 g; 41,7 mm. Inv. 96540

**Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel  
Julius (1568-1589)**

Thaler  
Goslar

- 1586  
Av. .ALIIS.INSERVIENDO:CONSVMOR  
Rv. M - G.IVLIVS.D. - G.D.BR.E.L.G.V. / 15 - 86  
Davenport 9064  
17. AR ↗ 28,80 g; 40,6 mm. Inv. 96541

**Imperial cities of Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle**

Ecu  
Deventer

- 1555  
Av. MONE:NOVA:TRIVM:CIVITA:IMPERIALIVM / 15-55  
Rv. DAVENTRIENSIS:CAMPENSIS:ZWOLLENSIS:  
Davenport 8534  
18. AR ↑ 28,45 g; 40,9 mm. Inv. 96530

**Saxony (Albertine line)  
Moritz (1547-1553)**

Half-thaler  
Buchholz

- 1549  
Av. MAVRICIVS.D:G:DV:SAX:SA:RO:IMP:  
Rv. ARCHIMARSCHAL:ET:ELECTOR:1549 T  
Keilitz/Kahnt 15  
19. AR ↘ 14,40 g; 33,9 mm. Inv. 96543

**Augustus (1553-1586)**

Half-thaler  
Dresden

- 1567  
Av. +AVGVSTVS.D:G:DVX. - SAXONIAE.SAC.ROM / 15-67  
Rv. +IMP.ARCHIMARSCALCVS.ET.ELECTOR+ HB  
Keilitz/Kahnt 85  
20. AR ↙ 14,40 g; 35,0 mm. Inv. 96534

Thaler  
Dresden

1574

Av. .AVGVSTVS.D:G.DVX.SAXO.SA.ROMA.-IMP. / 15-74  
Rv. ARCHIMARS - CHAL:ET:ELEC HB  
Mey 1002

21. AR → 29,15 g; 39,5 mm. Inv. 96532

1575

Av. .AVGVSTVS.D:G.DVX.SAXO.SA.ROMA.-IMP. / 15-75  
Rv. ARCHIMARS - CHAL:ET:ELEC HB  
Mey 1002

22. AR ← 29,10 g; 40,3 mm. Inv. 96533

**Saxony (Ernestine Line) / Hesse  
(Occupation of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel)  
Johann Friedrich I and Philipp I von Hessen (1542-1547)**

Guldengroschen  
Goslar

1542

Av. IOHAN. F – REDERIC – D.SAC.B. – MAGDE  
Rv. PHILIP – D:G.LAN – G – HASSIE – CKDZN / 15-4Z  
Davenport 9740 var; Mey 144 var

23. AR ↑ 28,80 g; 40,3 mm. Inv. 96539

**SPANISH NETHERLANDS**

**Guelders**

**Philipp II (1555-1581)**

Burgundian Rijksdaalder  
Geldern

1569

Av. +PHS.DEI.G.HISP.Z.REX.DVX.GEL / 15-69  
Rv. .DOMINVS.MI - HL.ADIVTOR.  
Davenport 8497

24. AR ↗ 29,20 g; 40,1 mm. Inv. 96531

**THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

**Murad III (1574-1595)**

Akçe  
Kostantiniye

Srećković Av. Group A; Rv. Group II

25. AR 0,38 g; 10,2 mm. Inv. 96571

26. AR 0,37 g; 9,9 mm. Inv. 96573

27. AR 0,37 g; 11,6 x 8,3 mm. Inv. 96567  
28. AR 0,35 g; 10,2 mm. Inv. 96570  
29. AR 0,25 g; 11,7 x 10,4 mm. Inv. 96565

Çança

Srećković Av. Group A; Rv. Group II

30. AR 0,37 g; 11,4 mm. Inv. 96566  
31. AR 0,25 g; 11,1 x 9,8 mm. Inv. 96569

Unidentified mints

32. AR 0,30 g; 10,2 mm. Inv. 96572  
33. AR 0,25 g; 11,8 x 10,5 mm. Inv. 96568. Double strike

Şahi

Çança

Nicolae, Custurea 1985: Çança Ba, cf. 32-34.

34. AR 3,40 g; 20,5 mm. Inv. 96551  
35. AR 3,15 g; 18,3 mm. Inv. 96548  
The central ornament on the obverse seems to be different.  
36. AR 2,90 g; 21 x 19,6 mm. Inv. 96545

Nicolae, Custurea 1985: Çança Bb, cf. 35.

37. AR 3,55 g; 18,8 mm. Inv. 96554  
38. AR 3,30 g; 19 mm. Inv. 96553

Nicolae, Custurea 1985: Çança Ba or Bb, cf. 32-34 or 35.

39. AR 3,55 g; 19,5 x 17,5 mm. Inv. 96549  
Decentered reverse, partially imprinted.

Nicolae, Custurea 1985: Çança C. With gold (altın) patterns, cf. 36.

40. AR 3,45 g; 19,8 x 17,9 mm. Inv. 96546

Amid

Nicolae, Custurea 1985: Amid Ab, cf. 20-21.

41. AR 3,40 g; 19,7 x 16,6 mm. Inv. 96555

Erzurum

Nicolae, Custurea 1985: Erzurum Ac, cf. 53-55.

42. AR 3,65 g; 22,5 x 19,4 mm. Inv. 96550

Unidentified mints

43. AR 2,90 g; 19,3 mm. Inv. 96552  
44. AR 2,85 g; 20,6 mm. Inv. 96547

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Plate I. The coins of the hoard from Gălbinași.



Plate II. The coins of the hoard from Gălbinași.



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Plate III. The coins of the hoard from Gälbinași.



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Plate IV. The coins of the hoard from Gălbinași.



Plate V. The coins of the hoard from Gălbinași.