

A FORGOTTEN 19th CENTURY FIND OF WALLACHIAN AND MOLDAVIAN COINS: “PODOLIA” 1862

To the memory of Arist A. Kunik (1814-1899)

Rezumat: Autorul reia discuția asupra identității emitenților unor monede ale Țării Românești și Moldovei și a altor emisiuni, care au făcut parte din tezaurul descoperit în jurul anului 1862, într-o localitate neprecizată din fosta gubernie imperială rusă, Podolia. Tezaurul a fost menționat într-o scurtă notă publicată de A. A. Kunik în 1863. După părerea marelui numismat și istoric rus, tezaurul se compunea din câteva sute de monede de argint emise de ultimii hani ai Hoardei de Aur, primii hani ai Hanatului Crimeei, din emisiuni genoveze din Crimeea, din groși bohemieni ai regelui „Wenzel”, monede ale voievozilor „ungro-vlahi” Ștefan și Vladislaus sau Vlad, precum și din “bracteți subțiri având pe o parte crucea genoveză” și altele.

Date suplimentare despre această descoperire au fost aduse ulterior de Ju. B. Iversen (1868) și V. Jurgevič (1873). Iversen a arătat că tezaurul conținea 80 de monede muntene de la “Vladislav V”, care corespund în sistemul actual de atribuire din numismatica românească cu Vladislav al II-lea (1447-1456), monedele moldovenești erau atribuite lui “Ștefan” (1456-1504), evident fiind vorba de Ștefan cel Mare, iar monedele bohemiene le atribuia lui Wenzel III, actualmente, Venceslas IV (1378-1419). Jurgevič a dat date importante despre așa zisii bracteți, arătând că acestea erau monede ale Hoardei de Aur “surfrapate”, având pe o parte crucea genoveză, “cu semne deosebite”.

În literatura de specialitate românească descoperirea a fost menționată de D. A. Sturdza, în 1879, în analiza critică a literaturii numismatice privind monetăria medievală și modernă românească. Sturdza a introdus o serie de distorsiuni, care nu se găseau în textul lui Kunik, cum ar fi de exemplu, plasarea locului descoperirii în *Polonia*, în loc de *Podolia*, precum și atribuirea monedelor muntene, în număr de 80, lui “Vlad al II-lea Dracul”, iar pe cele moldovenești lui “Ștefan I, Ștefan cel Mare sau Ștefăniță”. Sturdza nu menționează prezența bracteatelor cu crucea genoveză. Comentând contribuția lui Iversen la numismatica românească medievală, Sturdza omite să prezinte faptul că lui îi datorăm atât informațiile privind numărul exact al monedelor muntene din tezaur, cât și atribuirea lor “Vladislav V”, același de fapt, cu “Vlad al II-lea” din clasificarea lui, recte Vladislav al II-lea, iar pe cele moldovenești, lui Ștefan cel Mare. Ulterior, datele despre tezaurul din Podolia prezentate de Sturdza vor fi reluate de Nicolae Docan (1909-1910). Din acest moment, până în anii 2003-2005, descoperirea din Podolia nu va mai fi menționată în literatura de specialitate românească. Problema a fost reluată de autorul acestor rânduri (2003-2005), care

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considera că tezaurul conținea de fapt monede de la Ștefan cel Mare și Vladislav al II-lea și nu de la Ștefan I și Vlad I, cum credeau unii cercetători străini.

Tezaurul din Podolia va fi însă de mai multe ori menționat în literatura numismatică străină – italiană, sovietică, poloneză și basarabeană. Autorul studiului urmărește pas cu pas cum s-au distorsionat până la nerecunoaștere informațiile inițiale ale lui Kunik, astfel că după 1975 se va vorbi despre un tezaur conținând monede de la Vlad I și Ștefan, iar în cele din urmă, de la Ștefan I și Vlad I. Aceasta s-a datorat lipsei de contact direct a cercetătorilor implicați cu lucrările lui Kunik, Iversen și Jurgevč.

Restabilind adevărul despre descoperirea din Podolia, autorul arată că lotul de monede medievale românești din acesta consta din monede muntene de la Vladislav al II-lea (ducați reformați), groși din cel de al doilea tip de la Ștefan cel Mare și din aspri ai Hoardei de Aur contramarați la Cetatea Albă. Tezaurul din Podolia/1862 are evidente afinități cu tezaurele moldovenești de la Cârpiți (Victoria, jud. Iași) și Basarabia/ante 1940, precum și cu un tezaur descoperit recent, tot în Podolia, la Tul'čin (Rai. Vinica, Ucraina). Toate prezintă o puternică componentă crimeano-nord pontică, datorită implicării Moldovei în comerțul cu Caffa. După toate probabilitățile, tezaurul Podolia 1862 a fost ascuns la scurtă vreme după introducerea groșilor din tipul al doilea ai lui Ștefan cel Mare, în anii 1476-1479, cu ocazia unui atac tătar sau otoman, în Podolia.

Grație revenirii la sursele originale de informație, putem oferi azi mai multe date despre primul tezaur conținând și monede medievale românești care a intrat în circuitul științific european în urmă cu aproape 148 ani.

Keywords: medieval European numismatics; Islamic numismatics coin hoards; Moldavian medieval coinage; Wallachian medieval coinage; monetary circulation in Podolia; monetary circulation in Poland; monetary circulation in Lithuania; Golden Horde coinage; coinage of the Khanate of Crimea; coinage of Caffa; coinage of Asprokastron; coinage of Stephen III the Great; coinage of Vladislav II; A. A. Kunik, J. B. Iversen, V. Jurgevič; B. von Koehne; D. A. Sturdza; N. Docan; L. L. Polevoj; G. A. Fedorov-Davydov; M. Kotljar; A. Mikołajczyk; P. P. Byrnja; N. D. Russev

During the first seven decades of the 19th century, the studies regarding the medieval Romanian numismatics (Wallachian and Moldavian)¹ were only just at their first steps, thanks to the inquisitive curiosity of some few Hungarian, Austrian, German, Russian and Romanian collectors and scholars from the Romantic period. The first, so far, known descriptions of Wallachian medieval coins could be found in a Hungarian periodical, edited during the last part of 18th century in Bratislava. They appeared in 1787, in an unsigned work, quite likely belonging to Johann Seivert, printed posthumously². The first medieval Moldavian coins were identified by József Weszerle. He published also some Wallachian

¹ On the early development of the Romanian medieval numismatics see: Sturdza 1879 and Docan 1909-1910, pp. 460-464.

² Non-signed 1787, p. 96. On the first, so far known, contribution on the Medieval Romanian coinage, see also: Docan 1909-1910, p. 461; Fehér and Huszár, 1977, col. 237-238; Iliescu, 1983-1985, p. 280, footnote no 1.

issues³. Later, other contributions regarding the Romanian medieval coinage will be edited by: Franz Vincent von Eitl⁴, Bernhard von Koehne⁵, Jakob J. Reichel⁶, Leopold Welzl von Wellenheim⁷, Adolf Oberndorffer⁸, Hermann Grote⁹, Johann Friedrich Weidhaus¹⁰, Basile Boeresco¹¹, Alexis Ouvaroff¹², Cesar Bolliac¹³ and Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu¹⁴. All these early publications focused only on the identifications, descriptions and the dating of some peculiar issues. The progress made in this topic was quite impressive, so, one could mention that at the beginnings of 1860's already were known about a dozen or so of Wallachian and Moldavian monetary types, some of them in several variants of mint-marks.

However, with a remarkable exception, nothing was known then on their geographical distribution, as well as on the hoard assembling of the finds containing such issues. These information should have been very useful not only to try to map their diffusion within the Romanian principalities and in the neighbouring countries, but also to date and attribute more exactly some of the Wallachian and Moldavian coins bearing a very limited number of rulers' names: Vladislav, Radu, Dan, Mircea and Vlad in Wallachia and Peter, Stephen, Alexander and Bogdan, in Moldavia. The exception mentioned above is represented by Bernhard von Koehne, the real founder of the Romanian medieval numismatics, who stated that the groat of the Moldavian prince, Elias (1432-1447), described by him in 1841 (according to the current classification, it belongs to MBR 489-494, type, with the mint-mark **A** over the shield), was, actually, found in a hoard uncovered in 1837, in the Grand Duchy of Posen (Poznań), in Poland. Beside this Moldavian groat, this hoard consisted of coins struck by the Polish Kings: "Vladislav V", i. e. Vladislav II Jagello (1386-1434), "Vladislav VI", i. e. Vladislav III Varneńczyk (1434-1444) and Cazimir IV (1447-1492), issues of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order: Michael Kuchmeister von Sternberg (1414-1422), Paul von Rußdorf (1422-1441) "and so on, until" Martin Truchsess von

³ Weszerle 1911 Section E *Tabulae V nummorum ad veteres provincias Hungariae respicientes. V Tábla a magyar korona hajdani tartományai érmeivel*, pl. IV, nos 1-2 and 7-14. Because J. Weszerle died on 29th July 1838, see: Rádóczy n. d., p. 1, his drawings of the Wallachian and Moldavian coins published posthumously, in 1873 and 1911 should be dated, quite likely, after 1817, when he was appointed at the History Chair of the University in Pest and curator of the Coin Room. The plates of the Transylvanian coins made by Weszerle were published by János Érdy, in 1862, under his own name, without mentioning the identity of the real author, see: Érdy 1862. Weszerle's plates regarding the Hungarian, Serbian, Bosnian, Dalmatian, Bulgarian, Wallachian and Moldavian coins were published posthumously, first time, in 1873.

⁴ von Eitl 1839, p. 240, nos 20136-20156.

⁵ von Koehne 1841; von Koehne 1842.

⁶ Reichel 1843 491-493, nos 146-156.

⁷ von Wellenheim 1845, pp. 565 and 567, nos 11955-11965 and 11993-12005.

⁸ Oberndorffer 1849 87.

⁹ Grote 1857, pp. 392-396 and Grote 1862, pp. 991-999.

¹⁰ Weidhaus 1856, p. 110, nos 617-622.

¹¹ Boeresco 1856 p. 156.

¹² Ouvaroff 1860 pp. 155-162.

¹³ Bolliac 1861 pp. 155-162.

¹⁴ Petriceicu Haşdeu 1861, p. 15.

Wetzhausen (1477-1499), as well as coins struck by other different political authorities, which are not named¹⁵.

The first important account on a hoard containing Wallachian and Moldavian medieval coins appears in 1863, in a non-signed abstract of the papers held at the meeting of 6th/18th February 1863, of the Historical-Philological Department of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg¹⁶. In spite of being not-signed, based on some contemporary witnesses¹⁷, one could establish that the author of the report on the meeting of 6th/18th February 1863 was Arist A. Kunik himself (1814-1899), a well known Russian historian and numismatist of that period, keeper of the collection of Russian coins in the Hermitage Museum and later, Head of the Coin Room of the museum and member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. Arist A. Kunik presented a hoard of silver coins found in an unprecised place located in the "guberniya of Podolia" (See the map), sent to the Academy by the Imperial Department of Mines and Salt-mines¹⁸. According to him, the hoard consisted of late Golden Horde issues, coins struck by the early khans of the Crimean Khanate, Bohemian groats of King "Wenzel", "Ougro-Wallachian" coins of Stephen and "Vladislaus" or "Wlad", small "bracteates, bearing the Genoese cross" and "many others". According to Kunik, the hoard was concealed during the first half of the 16th century¹⁹.

During the 1860's and early 1870's new information of the "Podolian hoard" were published by Ju. B. Iversen and V. N. Jurgevič. Iversen mentions that the Bohemian issues from this hoard were very badly preserved groats struck by "Wenzel III", i. e. Venceslas IV (1378-1419). The author gave some very important information on the Romanian medieval coins from the "Podolian hoard"²⁰. According to Iversen, the find contained 80 coins of bearing the name of Vladislav²¹, similar to those already published by Koehne²², Reichel²³, Grote²⁴, Ouvaroff²⁵ and by himself²⁶. Iversen asserted that these issues belong to the Wallachian ruler "Vladislav V", whose reign was dated by him between "1456-1462" and "1476-1479"²⁷. Such coins are corresponding, in the current classification, to the ducats of Vladislav II

¹⁵ von Koehne 1841, p. 333, footnote no **.

¹⁶ Non-signed 1863, p. 123.

¹⁷ Iversen 1868, pp. 243-244; Jurgevič 1872, p. 148 and Sturdza 1879, p. 49, no LXXI.

¹⁸ Because the hoard was sent to the Russian Imperial Academy by the Department for Mines and Salt-mines (Gornyj Department), I suspect that the hoard was found in an area from the Podolian guberniya where were acting local officials of this service, controlling the exploitations of mineral resources. Such a zone could be the territory between the Upper Valley of Dniester and Zbruč Rivers, or near Kameneck Podol'sk, where are located salt and gypsum deposits and other mineral resources.

¹⁹ Non-signed 1863, p. 123.

²⁰ Iversen 1868, p. 243.

²¹ Iversen 1868, p. 243.

²² Koehne 1841, pp. 339-340, pl. XI, no 2.

²³ Reichel 1843, pp. 491-492, no 149.

²⁴ Grote 1857, p. 394.

²⁵ Ouvaroff 1860, p. 160.

²⁶ Iversen 1868, pp. 240-241, pl. XLV, no 10.

²⁷ Iversen 1868, pp. 240-243.

(1447-1456)²⁸. Iversen stated also that the “Podolian hoard” contained also a few coins bearing Latin inscriptions, mentioning the name of the Moldavian woyewod Stephen²⁹. He supposed that this ruler was “Stephen VI”, reigning between “1456-1504”³⁰, i. e. Stephen III the Great (1457-1504). During the times when Iversen was writing his article, there were known only one type of Stephen's III groats, namely those belonging to the 2nd type in the current classification of the Moldavian medieval coinage (See fig. no 5 a-b)³¹.

Iversen did not agree with the dating of the concealment of the “Podolian hoard” during the first half of 16th century, as Kunik asserted, considering that it was lost during the 15th century, more precisely, during the early years of Stephen reign³² (See Annexe A, fig. nos 3-6).

Regarding the medieval Romanian coins and the Bohemian groats belonging to the “Podolian hoard”, B. Jurgevič had followed closely Kunik's ideas, asserting that they were struck by the “Ougro-Wallachian woyewods Stephen and Vladislav or Vlad”³³. However, he gave some very interesting information on the so-called “tinny bracteates, with the Genoese cross”, mentioned by the first editor of the hoard. Referring to Iversen's opinions, Jurgevič mentioned that these coins are, in fact, “overstruck” Tartar issues, bearing on one side “the Genoese cross, with a special mark”³⁴ (See Annexe A, fig. nos 7-8).

Though very brief, Kunik's report represents an important contribution to the history of Wallachian, Moldavian, Lithuanian and to the Genoese coinage in the Black Sea area, as well as to the study on the monetary circulation in the upper Dniester valley. It was several times discussed by later scholars dealing with these topics or just with the question of the “Podolian hoard”. However, it seems that the full content of the text edited in the 6th volume of *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg* remained unknown for most of the scholars in Romania, Italy, Poland, Soviet Union and Republic of Moldavia who dealt during the last 130 years with different questions raised by the “Podolian hoard/1862”. The Romanian numismatists dealing with this hoard relayed only on short information given by Dimitrie A. Sturdza himself, in 1879, in his review of the

²⁸ MBR nos 256-261.

²⁹ Iversen 1868, p. 243.

³⁰ His coins were published by Kohne 1842, pp. 365-366, pl. XII, no 3 and Grote 1857, p. 393, no 5, who attributed the issues just to a ruler called “Stephen” and used the same dating as Iversen, recte 1456-1504. In spite of a minor chronological mistake, it is obvious that both scholars were referring to Stephen III the Great. Only Ouvaroff 1860, pp. 157-158, pl. XXII, no 5, asserted that the coins were struck by “Stephen II (1390-1399)”.

³¹ MBR nos 630-669, 674-721, 725-728 and 730-739.

³² Iversen 1868, p. 243.

³³ Jurgevič 1872, p. 148. “... iz monet voevod ugro-valahskih Stefana i Vladislav ili Vlada ...” (The Russian spelling is up-to-dated, according to the post-Bolshevik revolution spelling reform).

³⁴ Jurgevič 1872, p. 148, footnote no a). “Ju. B. Iversen, protiv mnenija Kunika, vidit v iih monety tatarskija perečekanennyja, predstavljajuščija s odnoj storony genuezkij krest, s osobennym znakom. Sm. Bruchstücke zur Münzgeschichte Preussens p. 244, prim. 1.” (The Russian spelling is up-to-dated, according to the post-Bolshevik revolution spelling reform). Unfortunately, I did not succeed, so far, to identify the complete title of Iversen's contribution mentioned here.

previous contributions to the Romanian numismatics³⁵. Most of the Soviet, Polish, as well as the scholars from Republic of Moldavia, had followed a much distorted version of Jurgevič's statements. Because between these versions one could find a lot of important differences and taking in consideration the fact that the 6th volume of the above mentioned publication is missing in the Romanian libraries and in many other countries outside Russia, I will publish here its parts regarding the hoard containing Wallachian and Moldavian coins, as it was printed in 1863:

“... M. Kunik, chargé dans la séance du 9 janvier 1863, d'examiner un paquet d'anciennes monnaies, envoyées à l'Académie par le Département des mines et salines, lit un rapport, dans lequel il fait voir l'intérêt que ces monnaies offrent au point de vue numismatique. M. Kunik pense que ces monnaies, trouvées dans le gouvernement de *Podolie* [my underlining], ont été enfouies dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle. La trouvaille se compose de monnaies des derniers khans de la Horde d'or et de premiers khans de Crimée, de celles de Génois du temps de leur domination en Crimée, de celles des woyewods ougro-valaques Stephan et Vladislaus ou Wlad, de différents petits bractéats avec une croix, de gros frappés sous le roi Wenzel de Bohême et plusieurs autres. Le rapporteur est d'avis que ces monnaies sont intéressantes d'abord comme un témoignage des rapports commerciaux de la partie sud-ouest de la Lithuanie à l'époque de l'enfouissement de ces monnaies, ensuite elles peuvent servir à éclaircir quelques questions encore obscures; telles que des monnaies moldo-vlaques avec inscriptions latines et slavonnes, ainsi que du rapport supposé entre les armoires des Jagellons et le *janua* des Génois etc. Par suite de ces motifs, et sur la proposition de M. Kunik, le Département des mines et salines en sera informé, avec la prière d'abandonner les dites monnaies au médailleur de l'Académie, le prix du métal de ces monnaies étant tout à fait insignifiant. ...”³⁶ (See Annexe A, fig. nos 1-2).

The only major mistake did by Arist A. Kunik was the use of the inappropriate label “Oungro-Wallachian woyewods” to designate the affiliation of the Romanian minting authorities, whose coins were represented in the “Podolian hoard”. According to the medieval foreign and local terminology, the term of “Oungro-Vlachia”, was used only for naming “Wallachia” proper (in Romanian “Țara Românească” or “Muntenia”), the principality located between the Transylvanian Alps, the Danube and Milcov Rivers, meanwhile “Moldo-Vlachia” or “Rosso-Vlachia”, was used for designate Moldavia, the other Romanian medieval state, located between the slopes of the Eastern Carpathians and the Rivers Milcov, Danube, Dniester and Ceremuș (Čeremuš)³⁷.

Here is the English translation of the review of Kunik's report, made 13 years later, by Dimitrie A. Sturdza:

“Mr. Kunik talk about a monetary hoard found in *Poland* [my underlining] and which seems to be concealed during the first half of the 16th century. That hoard consisted of coins of the last khans of the Golden Horde; of the first Crimean khans;

³⁵ Sturdza 1879, p. 49, no LXXI.

³⁶ Non-signed 1863, p. 126.

³⁷ Coman 2008, pp. 407-422.

from the times of the Genoese rule in Crimea; from the Bohemian king Venzeslau [sic!], and, finally, 80 coins of Vlad II of Wallachia, and a few deniers, of a prince [called] Stephen from Moldavia. Mr. Kunik said that the last one has Latin inscriptions, and accordingly, they must be of Stephen I, Stephen the Great or Ștefăniță Vodă”³⁸. Sturdza knew also Ju. B. Iversen’s opinions on the make-up of the “Podolian hoard”, but he did not commented them³⁹ (See Annexe A, fig. nos 9-10).

Sturdza did a lot of confusions and alterations in the presentation of Kunik’s statements. Unlike Kunik, who mentioned clearly, that the find was uncovered in “Podolia”, Sturdza spoke about a hoard found either in “Poland” or “Podolia”. Sturdza mentioned that the Wallachian parcel of the hoard consisted of 80 coins of Vladislav, information which was not to be found in Kunik’s original statement, but in Iversen’s comments and additions. Sturdza ignored the existence in the hoard of the so-called “tinny bracteates, with Genoese cross”.

Instead, Dimitrie A. Sturdza put in Kunik’s paper review, his own considerations regarding the attribution of these coins. He attributed the coins bearing the name of Vladislav to Vlad II the Evil⁴⁰, which corresponds in the current classification of the Wallachian issues also to the coinage of Vladislav II (1447-1456)⁴¹. However, the well known Romanian numismatist was very elusive in offering a new and more precise identification for the Moldavian coin, bearing the name “Stephen”, ignoring Iversen’s remarks. According to Sturdza, this coin with Latin inscription should have been an issue of Stephen I, Stephen the Great or Stephen IV (Ștefăniță). Or, one could emphasize that, two of the possible attributions proposed by Sturdza himself, regarded also the coinage of Stephen III the Great. There is about the groats of 2nd type, already mentioned and the groats of 1st type (See fig. no 4 a-b), published later by Sturdza and attributed by him to Ștefăniță Vodă (1517-1527)⁴².

30 years later after the publication of Sturdza’s review, the question of the “Podolian hoard” was discussed once again by Nicolae Docan, in his critical bibliography of the literature regarding the medieval Wallachian coinage. Basically, Docan repeated the ideas contained in Sturdza’s contribution from 1879.

³⁸ Sturdza 1879, p. 49, no LXXI, “D. Kunik relatează despre un tezaur de monede descoperit în *Polonia* [sublinierea noastră] și care pare a fi fost îngropat în întâia jumătate a secolului al șasesprezecelea. Acel tezaur conținea monete de la cei din urmă hani ai Hoardei de Aur; de la cei dintâi hani ai Crimeei; din timpul dominațiunii genoveze în Crimeea; de la regele Venzeslau [sic!] al Boemiei, și în fine 80 de bani de la Vlad II al Țării Muntenești, și câțiva denari de la un domn Ștefan din Moldova. D. Kunik zice că aceștia din urmă au legende latinești, încât ei trebuie să fie de la Ștefan I, de la Ștefan cel Mare, sau de la Ștefăniță Vodă”. (The Romanian spelling was up-to-dated, according to the last spelling reform from 1996).

³⁹ Sturdza 1879, pp. 52-53, no LXXIX, “Iversen amintește și despre descoperirea de monete românești din tezaurul din *Podolia* [sublinierea noastră], de care se vorbește în Buletinul Academiei Științelor din St Petersburg (vezi Kunik). (The Romanian spelling was up-to-dated, according to the last spelling reform from 1996).

⁴⁰ Sturdza 1872/4, p. 101, nos 47-48, pl. III, nos 4-5.

⁴¹ MBR nos 256-261.

⁴² Sturdza 1872/4, p. 70, no 29, pl. V, no 5. According to our current classification, they correspond to MBR nos 604-607 and 610-623.

However, if the first author had some “hesitations” to don’t say confusions in locating exactly the finding place (i. e. *Poland* or *Podolia*), Docan retained that the hoard was found in “Poland”, though in a footnote he is asking himself if the hoard was not found may be in “Podolia”. The author accepted also the attribution of the 80 Wallachian coins to “Vlad II”, which correspond to Vladislav II, in our current classification⁴³.

After the comments made by Docan, in 1909-1910, for more than one century, the very existence of the “Podolian” hoard was ignored by the Romanian numismatists. It was not mentioned neither by Constantin Moisil⁴⁴, nor Octavian Iliescu⁴⁵, in their works regarding the diffusion of the Romanian medieval coins, or dealing with the coinage of Vlad I. It will be once again mentioned in a Romanian archaeological and numismatic periodical, only in 1988, by the Polish numismatist Andrzej Mikołajczyk. The “Podolian” hoard 1862 is not mentioned either in the very comprehensive repertory of coin finds found in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom edited in 1998 by Stanisława Kubiak and Borys Paszkiewicz⁴⁶.

The history of the echoes left in the numismatic literature by the questions raised by the “Podolian hoard” 1862 contains also some funny pages too. Quite likely, writing only by rumours, the anonymous author/s who wrote the *Bibliografia numismatica delle zecche italiane*⁴⁷, invented even an article of B. von Köhne, which actually was never written by the supposed author. In this, otherwise very useful publication, one could read about: “KÖHNE (DE) B. *Monete colla croce genovese scoperte in Podolia nel 1863 e conservate nell'Accademia di Scienze di Berlino. Berliner Blätter für Münzkunde*, vol. IV, pagg. 243 e 244. Berlino, 1868” (See Annexe A, fig. nos 11-12). It is an obvious confusion with Iversen’s article already mentioned, which ends with a small note signed by B. von Köhne, on the controversial reading of the inscription of a Lithuanian silver issue, with a blundered Cyrillic inscription, described by Iversen in his article⁴⁸.

No doubts, at the beginnings of 20th century, slowly, slowly, the original meanings of Kunik’s report started to fade, Iversen was transmuted to Köhne, the finding year became precisely 1863 and the Russian Academy of Science in St Petersburg was metamorphosed to Berlin... However, the process of the deepening of the distortion of the information once transmitted by Kunik and his contemporary fellow Russian scholars was not continuous during the first part of

⁴³ Docan 1909-1910, pp. 462-463 and footnote no 1.

⁴⁴ Moisil 1915 a pp. 12-29; Moisil 1924, pp. 1-54.

⁴⁵ Iliescu 1964 pp. 59-110 and 346-396; Iliescu 1970; Iliescu 1988, pp. 73-105.

⁴⁶ Kubiak and Paszkiewicz 1998.

⁴⁷ Non-signed 1920, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Iversen presented an unknown type of silver coin, resembling, in his opinion, to the Golden Horde issues from the time of Toktamys Khan, but bearing a Cyrillic inscription, reading ДВТБТВД and a cross, Iversen 1868, p. 244, pl. XLV, no 8. B. In his post-note, von Köhne read the same inscription as: КОРНБТВД, and attributed the coin to the Lithuanian duke of Novgorod on Dnieper, Dimitrij-Korybut.

the 20th century. For example, Lev L. Polevoj⁴⁹ and German A. Fedorov-Davydov⁵⁰, though writing almost a century after the publication of the report in the 6th volume of *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg*, have used data collected from direct sources. Polevoj just mentioned the existence of the hoard in an unprecised location, in Podolia, without any further considerations about its content. Fedorov-Davydov, the author of an excellent repertory of the hoards and single finds of Golden Horde coins, mentioned only that the “Podolian” hoard contained also coins of the „Ougro-Wallachian woywod Stephan and Vladislav (Vlad)”. Describing the content of this hoard, Fedorov-Davydov relayed also on the information given by Jurgevič.

Quite likely, the breacking point in the process of the separation of the original level of genuine information contained in Kunik's, Iversen's and Jurgevič's contributions regarding the “Podolian” hoard, from later interpretations and additions is represented by Mikola Kotljar's book on the 14th-17th century coins finds in the Ukrainian territories, published in a Polish translation, in 1975. On that occasion, Kotljar stated that the “Podolian” hoard contained also coins of the “Ougro-Wallachian woywods Stephen and Vlad I”⁵¹. In a footnote, the author mention as sources of information for his assertions the works of Jurgevič and Fedorov-Davydov, but as I already wrote, neither Jurgevič nor Fedorov-Davydov had ever stated that the coins belong to a ruler called Vlad I (!!!). To make the situation even worse, the Polish editor of the book, J. S., added his own editorial note, trying to help the modern Polish readers, unfamiliar with the arcane of the Romanian medieval history, that “Ougro-Wallachian woywods Stephen and Vlad I” were, in fact ... “Moldavian rulers” (“hospodarów moldawskich”), which is completely wrong. A simple lecture of any basic handbooks of Moldavian history should have been enough to confirm that no ruler named “Vlad” ever existed in this country since 1359 until 1859, to do not stress the basic historical fact, that Moldavia was never called “Oungro-Vlachia”, during the Middle Age...

From this moment the situation became hectic and it should be compared with a snow ball rolling on a slope. The Polish numismatist Andrzej Mikołajczyk, otherwise a very respected scholar, whose contributions on the medieval and early modern Polish monetary affairs, I appreciate very much, writing, in 1988, about the Moldavian coins finds in Poland (i. e. the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom), asserted that the “Podolian” hoard contained: „... Moldavian coins of Stephen /1394-1400/, and Wlad I /1394-1395/, not attributed precisely.”⁵² The author pretended to own this information from Kotljar's book, which, is once again, not (entirely) true, because the Ukrainian numismatist did not identified the Moldavian prince “Stephen”, with “Stephen I” (1394-1399).

The last phase of the post-factual “elaboration” of the information regarding the “Podolian” hoard was made by the Moldavian scholars Pavel P. Byrnja

⁴⁹ Polevoj 1956, p. 96, footnote no 1.

⁵⁰ Fedorov-Davydov 1960, p. 177, no 242, „ugro-valahskih vovod Stefana i Vladislava (Vlada)”.

⁵¹ Kotljar 1975, p. 50, no 154, „województw węgiersko-wołoskich Stefana i Włada I”.

⁵² Mikołajczyk 1988, p. 268 no 7.

(Bârnea) and Nikolaj D. Russev, in 1999. Presenting the make-up of the this find, uncovered in 1862, in an unknown place in the former guberniya of Podolia, on the left bank of the Middle Dniester River, the two authors stated, that it consisted of:

„ **Moldavia**

Stephen, groats, silver, ? sp.

Czech

Vaclav (IV?), groats, silver, ? sp.

Golden Horde

Unknown issuers belonging to the last Juchids, dirhams, silver, ? sp.

Crimean Khanate

Unknown issuers belonging to the early Girayids, dirhams, silver, ? sp.

Wallachia

Vlad the Usurper (1395-1396), ducat, silver, ? sp.

Non-identified coins

Unknown issuers, tinny bracteates (?) with cross, silver

? sp.”⁵³. Byrnja and Russev supposed to find such data in the works of German A. Fedorov-Davydov and Andrzej Mikołajczyk.

Some years ago, writing on the coinage of the Moldavian prince Stephen III, I put under question the attributions of the Wallachian and Moldavian coins from the “Podolian” hoard proposed by Byrnja and Russev, Mikołajczyk and Kotljar. That time, I had no access to the entire “dossier” of the “Podolian” hoard, but knowing well how difficult is the palaeography of the Moldavian and Wallachian coins of Stephen I⁵⁴ (See fig. no 1 a-b) and Vlad I⁵⁵ (See fig. no 2 a-b) I and how careless they are struck, I expressed strong doubts that any 19th century foreign scholars should have been cope with such issues, at the first glimpse. On the other hand, as a consequence of the radical reformation of the Moldavian coinage during the first decade of Alexander’s I reign (cca 1409), there is a quite strong evidence that no issues prior of 1410 should have been remained in circulation until the second half of 15th century, during the time when the “Podolian” hoard was concealed.

Instead, based also by the presence in the find of the coins struck by the first khans of the Crimean Khanate, I asserted, that, quite likely, the coins should have been issues of the Wallachian prince Vladislav II (1447-1456) and the Moldavian prince Stephen III the Great (1457-1504)⁵⁶.

⁵³ Byrnja and Russev 1999, p. 202, no 4.

⁵⁴ The first issues of Stephen I were correctly attributed and described by Sturdza 1872/4, p. 57. On this coinage, see more recently: MBR nos 351, 351a-b, Bieltz 1996, pp. 155-157, Pârvan 1997, pp. 204-240 and Pârvan and Constantinescu 2003-2005, pp. 225-286.

⁵⁵ The first coins of Vlad I were briefly described, but correctly attributed by Docan 1909-1910, p. 509. Two years later, in 1911, Moisil gave a more precise description of a ducat of Vlad I from the Niculițel-Bădila hoard/1906 (Comm. of Niculițel, Tulcea County), Moisil 1911, p. 377, no 1 = Moisil 1915 b, p. 73, no 30. On this coinage see also: Severeanu 1933, pp. 1-4, MBR nos 92-97 and Iliescu 1988, pp. 73-105.

⁵⁶ Oberländer-Tâmboveanu 2003-2005, p. 347.

The direct contact with most of the original contributions of Kunik, Iversen and Jurgevič on the “Podolian” hoard/1862, as well as with the entire 19th century foreign and Romanian numismatic literature confirms my suppositions. The Wallachian coins from this find were, in fact, ducats of Vladislav II (MBR 256-261 type) (See fig. no 3 a-b). Quite likely, as Iversen stated, the hoard contained 80 specimens, which is a quite considerable number, almost the same as the amount of those existing to day in the major Romanian public collections. The Moldavian coins were 2nd type groats of Stephen III the Great (MBR nos 630-669, 674-721, 725-728 and 730-739 type) (See fig. no 5 a-b). Unfortunately, their number is now mentioned, but no doubts, they were very few.

The same direct contact with the original contributions of Kunik, Iversen and Jurgevič on the “Podolian” hoard/1862, combined with my experience as “field” numismatist stimulates me to try to solve the century long numismatic riddle of the so-called “tinny bracteates, with Genoese cross”. Their most complete and clear description was given by Iversen, who had supposed that they were “overstruck” Tartar issues, bearing on one side “the Genoese cross, with a special mark”⁵⁷. In fact, Iversen was wrong only in one peculiar detail. The coins were not “overstruck”, but “countermarked”. Such an amended description match perfectly to that of the late Tartar silver dirhams countermarked by the medieval Moldavian town of Asprokastron (Moncastru, Cetatea Albă). The existence of the countermarked coinage of Asprokastron was identified by Octavian Iliescu and Marin Dinu, in 1957, in the hoard uncovered in the village of Cârpiți (now-a-day Victoria, Iassy County)⁵⁸, though some specimens of these kind were already edited since the end of 19th century by Otto von Retowski⁵⁹ and Aleksej K. Markov⁶⁰, but, later, Marian Gumowski asserted that they were Lithuanian issues⁶¹. During the last two decades, an entire literature was devoted to this topic⁶². The countermarked silver coinage of Asprokastron consists of worn Golden Horde and Great Horde dirhams, as well as of aspers of Caffa, bearing on one side a small round countermark, representing a Greek cross (with equal arms), with bezants (pellets) in each quarter (See fig. 6 a-b). This kind of cross was long time, wrongly, considered as being „Genoese cross”⁶³. The pellets represented in the quarters of the cross are what Iversen was calling “osobennym znakom”, “distinctive mark”. Almost all the countermarked coins of Asprokastron-Cetatea Albă are much worn and some times, the operation of countermarking led to severe alterations of their

⁵⁷ Apud Jurgevič 1872, p. 148, footnote no a). “Ju. B. Iversen, protiv mnenija Kunika, vidit v iih monety tatarskija perečekanennija, predstavljajuščija s odnoj storony genuezkij krest, s osobennym znakom”.

⁵⁸ Iliescu and Dinu 1957, pp. 342-345.

⁵⁹ Retovskij 1898, p. 50, no 2, applied of an asper of Caffa.

⁶⁰ Markov 1896, p. 530, no 5 and p. 531, no 17-20.

⁶¹ Gumowski 1920, pp. 47-52, pp. 57-58 and pp. 60-61.

⁶² Kočievskij 1990, , pp. 156-165; Polevoj 1990, pp. 165-179; Iliescu 1991, pp. 151-164; Gorodenco 2000, pp. 8-13; Gorodenco and Kurciatov 2003, pp. 45-47; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2003-2005, pp. 338-341; Travkin and Jankova 2004 Travkin and Jankova 2004, pp. 109-110.

⁶³ Iliescu 1991, pp. 151-164.

original shape, giving them a “cup-like” shape that could explain why Kunik called them “tinny bracteates”.

Based on the analyses of a large number of monetary finds from Moldavia and on the general trends of the evolution of the local coinage and economic situation during the reign of Stephen III, I asserted that the countermarked coinage of Asprokastron should be dated during the 1460's and the early 1470's⁶⁴.

At the end of my attempt to reconsider and to recover, as much as possible from the information regarding the find presented by Arist A. Kunik, Iversen and Jurgevič, the composition of the hoard found in 1862 in an unknown place in the former Podolian guberniya appears to present a lot of common features with some Moldavian hoards, such as Cârpiți (Victoria, Iassy County) or unknown place in Bessarabia, before 1940⁶⁵. With the Cârpiți find it has in common the presence of much worn Bohemian groats of Venceslas IV, the Wallachian ducats of Vladislav II, the aspers of Caffa, the last issues of the Golden Horde and the early coins of the khans of the Crimean Khanate, as well as that of the countermarked issues of Asprokastron-Cetatea Albă. With the hoard found in Bessarabia/before 1940, it shares the presence of the coins of Caffa, of the Crimean Khanate and the countermarked coinage of Asprokastron-Cetatea Albă. All these issues, including the old Bohemian groats should be put in connexion with the thriving trade undergoing through Moldavia, between Central Europe and the Black Sea area, as a main gate to the Eastern and Western commodities alike. Located in the Zbruč, Dniester and Bug Valleys, Podolia was one of the main meeting places of the merchants travelling from Cetatea Albă to Lwow, Krakow, Danzig or Breslau. From this point of view, the “Podolian” hoard/1862 could be considered as a typical “traveller’s hoard”, emphasizing more close affinities with the Moldavian and the Genoese- Crimean monetary milieu, rather than the local currency realities of the 15th century Polish Crown territories, to which belonged from administrative point of view since 1430.

However, the “Podolian” hoard 1862 has also a very distinctive feature, given by the presence of the 2nd type groats of Stephen III. So far, it should be considered the earlier well dated find containing such kind of Moldavian issues. Recently, the beginning of coinage of the 2nd type groats of Stephen III was dated circa 1476-1479⁶⁶, so that the date of the concealment of the “Podolian” hoard should be placed soon after 1476-1479, in the context of one of the Tartar or Ottoman invasions which afflicted the South-Western “Russian” territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom during the last two decades of Cazimir IV reign.

Recent finds shown that the “Podolian” hoard 1862 was not a unique hoard, concealed during the last decades of the 15th century in this region, containing also Wallachian and Moldavian issues. The last year, quite a large number of Wallachian ducats of Vladislav II and Moldavian groats of Stephen III the Great

⁶⁴ Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2003-2005, p. 341.

⁶⁵ Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2004, p. 65 and Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2003-2005, p. 335, footnote no 128.

⁶⁶ Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2003-2005, p. 337.

appeared on the numismatic market, being sold on the internet by Ukrainian and Polish dealers. According to reliable information, these coins were part of a hoard found at Tul'čyn (Vinica Region, Ukraine), in Podolia, in South-Western Ukraine. All the Moldavian coins which I had the possibility to inspect directly belonged to the 2nd type, the same as those from the "Podolian" hoard 1862.

One could consider that the blatant disproportion between the number of the Wallachian and Moldavian coins represented in the "Podolian" hoard, located next to the Moldavian border, but far from Wallachia, i. e. 80 vs. a few ones, was not a casual fact. It reflected a monetary reality during the 1460's-1480's and should represent a confirmation of my previous remark, that the amount of the signed issues struck during the time of the reign of Stephen III the Great was rather small and its coinage played only a limited role in the local monetary circulation⁶⁷.

The "Podolian" hoard/1862 has a tremendous importance also for the history of the Wallachian numismatics. It represents, not only the first known, but also one of the rare hoards which contains coins of Vladislav II, so far published. A second hoard, consisting of unprecised Hungarian issues and Wallachian coins of Vladislav II and Radu III (1462-1474) was mentioned by Iversen⁶⁸. Unfortunately, the Russian scholar does not give precise data about the finding place, or the circumstances in which it was bought, but one could suppose that the hoard should have been found somewhere in Wallachia or Moldavia, areas where during the 15th century the Hungarian coins were, traditionally, very common. The last two hoards containing reformed issues of the Wallachian prince Vladislav II were found at Cârpiți (Victoria, Jassy County) and Tul'čyn (Vinica Region, Ukraine).

Dealing with the sparse data regarding the "Podolian" hoard/1862, so far available, I tried to resurrect from the oblivions not only an exceptional monetary find, or to praise the contributions of a group of extraordinary cosmopolitan scholars from the mid 19th century, but also to remember the new generation of numismatists how important is to go back to the genuine sources, to have a direct contact with the primary information. I have to confess that most of the "new" information about the Wallachian and Moldavian parcel contained by this hoard, which I sorted out from the remaining puzzle of the 19th century publications, was already available there, if someone should have been patient enough to read them. Unfortunately, instead of read carefully, some of our predecessors and contemporary colleagues preferred to build new realities from their own interpretations or impressions. After almost 145 years of distortions and misinterpretations, at the beginning of the 21st century, almost nothing remained from the original report of Arist A. Kunik, except a few sparse words: "Wallachia", "Moldavia", "Stephen", "Vladislav", "woywoods", "coins"... But fortunately, Kunik's, Iversen's or Jurgevič's contributions still exist and everybody could read them to re-establish the truth! Maybe, also some coins from the "Podolian"

⁶⁷ Oberländer-Tâmoveanu 2003-2005, pp. 351-352.

⁶⁸ Iversen 1868, pp. 240-241.

hoard/1862 also still exists somewhere in Russian or other European collections and one colleague should find them for the second time.

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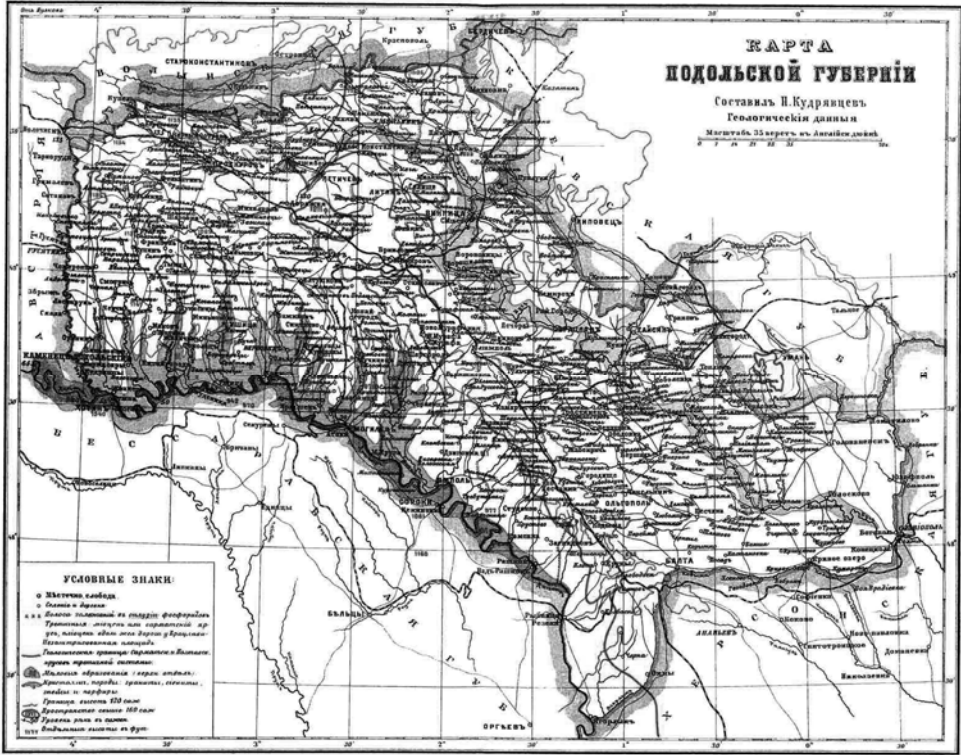
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Pl. I: Map of the Russian Imperial guberniya of Podolia during the mid 19th century (After Wikipedia).

uelle M. Abich a soumis la lave des volcans de boue la mer Caspienne et particulièrement celle de l'île de umani, vient d'isoler dans celle-ci 85 pour cent d'un ment minéralogique composé, très rapproché par sa ure chimique de la roche en question des filons ther- ux de Solalak, près de Tiflis.

M. Lenz présente un rapport, dans lequel il expose que recherches sur le problème de la ventilation lui ont rni la conviction, que par une construction convenable poêles ordinaires, on peut produire un renouvellement stant et suffisant de l'air, sans que pour cela les dé- uses du chauffage soient augmentées au delà de $\frac{3}{4}$ de ne de bois par personne pour tout l'hiver. Il se préte cependant plusieurs questions, dont la solution de- nde encore quelques essais. Désirant faire, dans le rant de l'hiver prochain, des expériences sur cet ob- M. Lenz expose qu'il voudrait pouvoir les faire dans s chambres du Cabinet de physique, donnant sûr la r, qui maintenant ne sont pas chauffées du tout. A e fin, M. Lenz croit nécessaire de faire reconstruire des poêles selon ses indications, en l'arrangeant de ière à ce que toutes les observations nécessaires puis- t s'y faire avec facilité et exactitude. Les dépenses ces recherches occasionneraient, peuvent être suppor- ; par les sommes d'état du Cabinet de physique.

1. Charoubine, assesseur de collège, habitant de Péter-, soumet une notice sur le problème de la trisection l'angle. Elle sera considérée comme non avenue.

1. Titof, inspecteur des écoles de Solvytchégodsk, esse des observations météorologiques faites à Solvy- ggodsk pendant l'année 1862. Elles seront remises à Kupffer.

1M. Lenz, Helmersen et Ruprecht portent à la naissance de la Classe, que M. Wilhelm Hamel, neveu défunt Académicien Hamel, a offert aux Musées de adémie plusieurs objets et collections, provenant de accession de son oncle; savoir: 1^o pour le Cabinet de sique — le premier télégraphe de M. le Baron Schil- ; 2^o pour le Musée botanique — une belle et riche ection de plantes textiles de divers pays (telles que m, lin, chanvre, jute, chanvre de Manille, chinese s, lin de la nouvelle Zélande etc.), aux différents de- ; de fabrication, depuis la matière brute jusqu'aux s les plus variés; 3^o pour le Cabinet minéralogique 18 dalles avec des empreintes d'animaux et de végé- . M. Hamel voudrait recevoir en échange un assort- ment de minéraux, pour servir à l'enseignement élémen- ; de la minéralogie, et dont il désire pouvoir doter école de Sarepta, ville natale de M. Joseph Hamel. Le Secrétaire perpétuel est chargé de témoigner à Wilhelm Hamel les remerciements de l'Académie, et Helmersen est autorisé à lui délivrer un choix de bles, pour en former la collection susmentionnée.

1. Brandt porte à la connaissance de la Classe que

M. le comte de Fersen, dirigeant le service de la Vénérie Impériale, a fait remettre au Musée zoologique trois caisses de fourrures, de squelettes et de crânes de différents animaux, provenant de la chasse Impériale qui a eu lieu à Bélovejeskaïa-Poustcha, le 6 et le 7 octobre 1860. — M. le comte de Fersen recevra les remerciements de l'Académie.

M. Brandt relate encore que M. Boutakof, capitaine de la Svétlana, a fait don au Musée zoologique d'une belle collection d'objets recueillis par lui lors de son voyage de circumnavigation; plusieurs d'entr'eux sont des objets rares, d'autres ont du prix pour nous parcequ'ils manquaient encore à notre musée.—Des remerciements seront exprimés au donateur.

CLASSE HISTORICO-PHILOLOGIQUE.

SÉANCE DU 6 (18) FÉVRIER 1863.

M. Kunik, chargé dans la séance du 9 janvier 1863, d'examiner un paquet d'anciennes monnaies, envoyées à l'Académie par le Département des mines et salines, lit un rapport, dans lequel il fait voir l'intérêt que ces monnaies offrent au point de vue numismatique. M. Kunik pense que ces monnaies, trouvées dans le gouvernement de Podolie, ont été enfouies dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle. La trouvaille se compose de monnaies des derniers khans de la Horde d'or et des premiers khans de Crimée, de celles des Génois du temps de leur domination en Crimée, de celles des voyevods ougro-valaques Stephan et Vladislaus ou Wlad, de différents petits bractéates avec une croix, de gros frappés sous le roi Wenzel de Bohème et plusieurs autres. Le rapporteur est d'avis que ces monnaies sont intéressantes d'abord comme un témoignage des rapports commerciaux de la partie sud-ouest de la Lithuanie à l'époque de l'enfouissement de ces monnaies, ensuite elles peuvent servir à éclaircir quelques questions encore obscures, telles que des monnaies moldavo-valaques avec inscriptions latines et slavonnes, ainsi que du rapport supposé entre les armoiries des Jagellons et le *janna* des Génois etc. Par suite de ces motifs et sur la proposition de M. Kunik, le Département des mines et salines en sera informé, avec la prière d'abandonner les dites monnaies au médailleur de l'Académie, le prix du métal de ces monnaies étant tout à fait insignifiant.

M. Goussel, consul russe à Astrabad, par une dépêche du 30 novembre 1862, adresse des copies de deux inscriptions qui se trouvent sur une tour, non loin du village Radkan. Ces copies seront remises à M. Dorn, pour le Musée asiatique.

CLASSE PHYSICO-MATHÉMATIQUE.

SÉANCE DU 13 (25) FÉVRIER,

Le Secrétaire perpétuel annonce que depuis la dernière séance ont été imprimés et mis en vente et en distribution

Annexe A.2:

Reproduction of A. A. Kunik's report about the papers held at the meeting of from 6 (18) February 1863 of the Historical-Philological Department of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.

VIII.

Eine Münze des Woiwoden der Wallachei Radu III.

(Taf. XLV. No. 3.)

In einer im vergangenen Sommer erstandenen bedeutenden Münzsammlung fand Unterzeichneter unter einer grösseren Zahl von ungarischen Münzen, zwei wallachische, von denen eine bisher unedirt und einem grösseren Publicum von Interesse sein dürfte, da von diesem Woiwoden gar keine Münzen bekannt gemacht sind. Es ist folgende Münze des Woiwoden Radu III.

Hf. Іw PAΔV · BOHBOΔ · ΓNB + Wappenschild gespalten; vorn: linksgekehrter Halbmond und Sonne; hinten zwei Querbalken.

Rf. Іw PAΔV · BOHBOΔ · Ein Vogel mit zurückgebo- genem Kopf, auf einem Hügel stehend; vor dem Schnabel desselben ein Kreuz, das mit dem langen Schenkel bis auf den Rücken des Vogels herabgeht. Taf. XLV. No. 3.

Die Darstellung sowohl des Avers als des Revers ist ähnlich der auf den vielfach schon von Köhne¹⁾, Reichel²⁾, Grote³⁾, Ouvreoff⁴⁾ beschriebenen Münzen des Woiwoden Wladislaw. Nur

1) Köhne, Zeitschrift etc. I, S. 339.

2) Die Reichelsche Münzsammlung IX, S. 491 No. 149.

3) Grote, Münzstudien I, S. 394.

4) Comte AL Ouvreoff: Recherches sur les antiquités de la Russie méridionale, Paris 1855, S. 180.

möchte das Kreuz, das auf dieser Münze nicht im Schnabel des Adlers ist und bis auf den Rücken desselben geht, von den bisher bekannten Darstellungen abweichen. Eben diese Abweichung findet sich auch auf der Wladislaw-Münze, die ich mit jener von Radu III. zusammen erworben habe. S. Taf. XLV. No. 10^{*)}. Sie führt die Umschriften:

Hf. Іw ВЛАДИСЛА ВОИВОДА ГNB +

Rf. Іw ВЛАДИ — СЛА ВОИДА

Aus der auffallenden Ähnlichkeit in der Darstellung muss notwendig auf die genaueste Zusammengehörigkeit dieser beiden Münzen in der Zeit geschlossen werden. Daraus ergibt sich ein Moment für die genauere Bestimmung der Zeit, in welche die bisher bekannten Wladislaw-Münzen zu setzen sind. Leider aber tritt uns hier dieselbe Schwierigkeit entgegen, wie bei den Münzen Wladislaw's, nämlich die grosse Zahl der Woiwoden, die den Namen Radu geführt haben, da in der Zeit von 1456 bis 1533, wo Wladislaw V, VI, VII, VIII, IX lebten, auch Radu III, IV, V, VI und VII regierten.

Die Reihenfolge der Woiwoden der Wallachei in den Jahren 1456—1533 ist folgende^{**)}:

Radu III. 1455—1456.

Wladislaw V. 1456—1462.

Radu III. 1462—1473 zum zweiten Mal.

Wladislaw IV. 1473—1474 zum zweiten Mal.

Radu III. 1474—1476 zum dritten Mal.

Wladislaw V. 1476—1479 zum zweiten Mal.

Wladislaw VI. 1479—1493.

Radu IV. 1493—1508.

Michna 1508—1510.

Radu V. 1510—1513.

^{*)} Eine ähnliche Darstellung findet sich bei Ouvreoff, l. c. Taf. XXXII, No. 13.

^{**)} Cf. Палаузовъ: Руминскія Государства Валахія и Молдавія. С. Петерб. 1859, S. 29, Anm. 6 und S. 34, Anm. 13.

Berl. Bl. f. Münz-, Siegel- u. Wappenkunde, 11, 12 (IV, 2, 2).

Annexe A.3:

Reproduction of J. Iversen's article from Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel und Wappenkunde, 4, 1868, pp. 240-244, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.

Niagy 1413—1515.

Radu VI.

Radu VII. } 1515—1524 abwechselnd.

Wladislaw VII. }

Radu VII 1524—1529.

Moissei (Moses) 1529—1530.

Wladislaw VIII. 1530—1533.

Geben wir nun von der Voraussetzung Grote's aus*), dass die moldauischen und wallachischen Münzen mit slawonischer Schrift die jüngern sind, wofür er die Bestätigung darin gefunden hat, dass nach dem Concil zu Florenz 1439, die Moldauer und Wallachen auch den Gebrauch der lateinischen Schrift verbannten, so dürfen wir doch nicht ausser Acht lassen, dass diese Münzen grosse Aehnlichkeit mit den ungarischen der Zeit zeigen, und dass dieser Anschluss an Ungarn in Bezug auf die Münze, wohl schwerlich lange nach einer entschiedenen Trennung der Kirche und Schrift hätte fortauern können.

In der Moldau ist die Veränderung der Schrift entschieden nachgewiesen in den Münzen Stephan's VI. (1456—1504), welche theils lateinische, theils slawonische Aufschriften haben. Aber es unterscheiden sich alle moldauischen Münzen mit slawonischer Schrift, die mir zu Gesicht gekommen sind, auch in der Form von denen mit lateinischer Schrift, vor Allem aber durch ihre Grösse. Es scheint sich also in der Moldau mit der Schrift auf den Münzen, auch der Münzfuss verändert zu haben. In den Münzen der Wallachei lässt sich eine derartige Veränderung im Münzfuss oder in der Grösse der Münzen, nicht nachweisen, da uns nur Münzen mit slawonischer Schrift bekannt sind, wohl weist aber der Anschluss an Ungarn diese Münzen Radu's und Wladislaw's in die ersten Zeiten der Trennung von Ungarn und ich glaube mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit meine beiden oben beschriebenen Münzen Radu III. und Wladislaw V.**) zuschrei-

*) Grote l. c., Bd. II, S. 996.

**) Grote l. c. II, p. 997 lässt es unentschieden, welchem Wladislaw die

ben zu können, ja dieselben in das Jahr 1462 versetzen zu können, da beide kurz auf einander geschlagen zu sein scheinen, also zu Ende der ersten Regierungsperiode Wladislaw's V. und zu Anfang der zweiten Regierung Radu's III.¹⁾ Die übrigen bereits früher publicirten Wladislaw-Münzen, die auch in der Ausführung etwas grössere technische Kunstfertigkeit zu verrathen scheinen, mussten dann etwa in den Jahren 1476—1479 geschlagen sein, nachdem Wladislaw V. zum zweiten Mal den Thron bestiegen hatte. An Wladislaw VI, VII, VIII oder IX zu denken, ist schwer möglich, da nach dem Tode Wladislaw's V die Macht und das Ansehen der Woiwoden durch innere Zwietracht und die Einfälle der Türken gänzlich sanken. Wie sollte einer dieser ohnmächtigen Herrscher dazu gekommen sein, in solchen Zeiten, eine geordnete Münze, nach dem Muster der ungarischen aufrecht zu erhalten oder vielleicht gar erst einzurichten?

In dieser meiner Ansicht bestätigt mich noch ein Fund, den ich im Jahr 1863 durchzusehen Gelegenheit hatte, und der heute in dem Museum der Academie der Wissenschaften in St. Petersburg aufbewahrt wird²⁾. Derselbe war in Podolien entdeckt, und enthielt gegen achtzig Wladislaw-Münzen, mit verschiedenen, aber nur slawonischen Umschriften, einige Stephan-Münzen mit lateinischen Umschriften³⁾, ferner sehr schlecht erhaltene Prager Groschen von Wenzel III, eine ziemliche Anzahl geneuesisch-

Münzen angehören. Owaroff l. c. S. 160 schreibt dieselben Wladislaw V. zu, ohne Nachweis.

1) Diese Münzen in das Jahr 1456 zu verlegen, wo Radu III nach kurzer Regierung den Thron verlor und Wladislaw V denselben bestieg, scheint nicht gut denkbar, weil die kurze Herrschaft Radu's (1455—1456) wohl nicht zu einer solchen Aenderung in der Schrift auf den Münzen, hinreichende Masse gewährte; noch bestand 1456 noch die lateinische Schrift auf den Münzen der Moldau.

2) cf. Bulletin de l'Académie Imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, T. VI. S. 126.

3) Leider ist es mir nicht möglich, die verschiedenen von mir damals genau verzeichneten Umschriften hier aufzuführen, da ich meine Notiz aus der Hand gegeben habe und dieselbe für den Augenblick nicht aufzufinden ist. Sobald ich dieselbe wieder erhalte, werde ich das Versäumte nachholen.

Annexe A.4:

Reproduction of J. Iversen's article from Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel und Wappenkunde, 4, 1868, pp. 240-244, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.

krimmscher und recht schlecht erhaltene tatarische Münzen¹⁾. Obgleich nun dieser Fund nach der Meinung des Herrn Akademikers Kunik in der ersten Hälfte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts vergraben zu sein scheint, so können doch hier nur die Wladislaw- und Stephan-Münzen in Betracht kommen und diese werden durch die lateinische Umschrift der letztern in die frühere Zeit der Regierung Stephans verwiesen.

Hier mag noch eine Münze Platz finden, die, so viel mir bekannt, nicht edirt und nicht erklärt ist, daher aber gerade der Bekanntmachung bedarf²⁾. Dieselbe schliesst sich in Gestalt und Gewicht an die tatarischen Münzen des Tochtamysch an und führt auf der Vorderseite die Umschrift: ДВТБНРОК³⁾ Im Felde ein Kreuz,³⁾ dessen unterer Schenkel an jeder Seite eine Kugel hat. (S. Taf. XLV. No. 8.)

Die Rückseite bietet allem Anscheine nach, eine ungenaue Nachahmung der bekannten Glaubensformel: „Es gibt keinen Gott, ausser Allah.“ In der Ecke links, findet sich noch ein Tamgha, dieser auf Dschuschiden-Münzen häufig vorkommende Stempel.

J. Iversen.

1) Die in dem Bericht des Herrn Akademikers Kunik Bulletin l. c. angeführten Braktesten sind keine solche, sondern mit dem genuinischen Kreuze und einem anderen Separatstempel auf einer Seite übergestempelte tatarische Münzen.

2) Sie befindet sich in der Sammlung des Grafen Sergius Stroganoff, Präsidenten der Archäologischen Commission zu St. Petersburg.

3) Vielleicht hat die Figur richtiger ein Schwert vorstellen sollen.

*) Rückwärts gelesen: КОРНБТВА, also Koribut, Sohn Olzerd's von Lithauen, Fürst von Nowgorod am Dniepr. А deutet vielleicht den Namen Dmitry an, welchen Koribut bei seiner Taufe erhielt. Was ist aber B? Vor K scheint noch ein Buchstabe zu stehen.

Bn. B. v. Köhne.

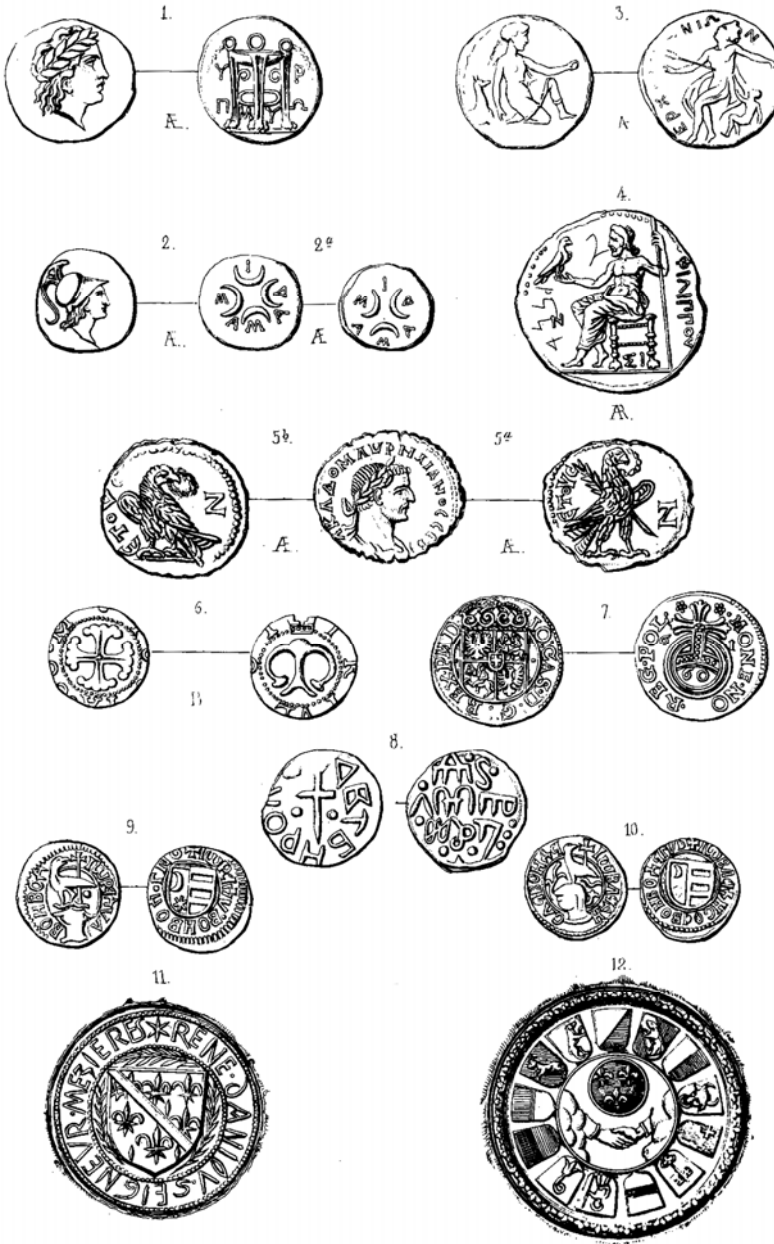
IX.

Cesare Fiore und seine Medaillen.

Cesare Fiore, über den die Nouvelle Biographie générale, Paris 1856, vol. 17, p. 729, die ausführlichste Mittheilung giebt, nicht Fiori, wie ihn Zani (Enciclopedia delle belle arti, parte I, vol. IX, p. 51) und Nagler (Künstlerlex. IV, 343) nennen, ist im Jahre 1636 zu Mailand geboren, woselbst er auch im Jahre 1702 starb. Er zeichnete sich auf einer Medaille C. Florus, seinen Namen latinisirend, auf einer anderen C. Fior., und eben so auch auf einigen Radirungen. Er hatte von Jugend auf Anlagen zu allen körperlichen Uebungen, weshalb er sich auch nach Zani, im Tanzen und Fechten auszeichnete. Im Alter von acht Jahren fertigte er ein Bildniss seines verstorbenen Vaters, woraus man seinen Beruf für Malerei abnehmen wollte. Man liess ihn daher von Carlo Cane unterrichten, einem mittelmässigen Maler; er erhob sich aber in der Malerei und wurde nun einer der weniger schlechten Schüler seines Lehrers. Unter Leitung von Peter Paul Caravaggio studirte er nach der Sitte seiner Zeit, auch Mathematik und Baukunst. Mit lebhafter Phantasie begabt, gelang ihm auch besonders die Anordnung von Festaufzügen, Trauergerüsten, Trophäen und Aehnlichem, wozu selbst fremde Fürsten ihn oft beriefen. Er ätzte auch in Kupfer, aber seine Zeichnung ist sehr manierirt, wie man aus zwei Blättern im Museo Settala, Cortona 1666 ersieht. Dass er auch mit Anfertigung von Medaillen sich

Annexe A.5:

Reproduction of J. Iversen's article from Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel und Wappenkunde, 4, 1868, pp. 240-244, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.



Berl. Bl. f. Münz, Siegel u. Wappenkunde. Verlag v. Carl Schenker, Metallverh. St. 29.

Annexe A.6:

Reproduction of J. Iversen's article from Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel und Wappenkunde, 4, 1868, pp. 240-244, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.

О монетахъ генуэзскихъ находимыхъ въ Россіи. *)

Чѣмъ болѣе разработана въ последнее время весьма интересная для насъ исторія генуэзскихъ поселеній въ Крыму и Черномъ морѣ, тѣмъ большаго заслуживаютъ вниманія найденныя въ нашемъ краѣ генуэзскія монеты. Тщательное изученіе ихъ и сравненіе, приходя въ помощь прежнимъ и вновь открытымъ историческимъ матеріаламъ, могло бы разъяснить нѣкоторые темные до сихъ поръ вопросы или подать поводъ къ новымъ догадкамъ, восполняя въ иныхъ случаяхъ недостатокъ самихъ матеріаловъ. Прямая обязанность заняться этимъ дѣломъ лежитъ, кажется, на русскихъ, такъ какъ въ заграничныхъ нумизматическихъ коллекціяхъ, даже въ самой Генуѣ, нѣтъ крымско-генуэзскихъ монетъ и ни одинъ экземпляръ не показанъ въ известной средневѣковой нумизматикѣ Делевеля а), тогда какъ у насъ онѣ не рѣдкость и ожидаютъ только ученаго, который бы принялъ на себя трудъ и издержки посѣтить разныя коллекціи. Питая надежду, что

это со временемъ кѣмъ либо будетъ сдѣлано, я долженъ выразить сожалѣніе, что мнѣ пришлось пользоваться весьма скуднымъ матеріаломъ въ сравненіи съ запасомъ, который имѣется у насъ. Все что я могъ собрать, ограничилось сорока монетами, принадлежащими музею нашего Общества и нѣсколькими, находящимися въ частныхъ коллекціяхъ, между тѣмъ какъ съ такими коллекціями, какъ московскаго сенатора Казначеева, или С.П.Б. Академіи наукъ мнѣ не удалось познакомиться. Первую состоящую изъ 200 крымско-генуэзскихъ монетъ, я имѣлъ случай видѣть въ 1860 г. въ Одессѣ, во время ея перевозки, вмѣстѣ съ разными другими крымскими древностями, изъ Симферополя въ Москву, но къ сожалѣнію не имѣлъ тогда времени заняться ея изученіемъ. О второй, изъ которой четыре монеты объяснены Френомъ б), мы узнаемъ изъ донесенія академика Куника, помѣщеннаго въ бюллетенѣ Академіи за 1863 годъ с). По словамъ его горный

*) Поводомъ къ настоящей статьѣ было письмо, полученное авторомъ въ 1869 году, отъ итальянскаго ученаго Giuseppe Canale, который намѣревался заняться изданіемъ генуэзской нумизматики обратилъ съ просьбою о доставленіи ему свѣдѣній о монетахъ татарско-генуэзскихъ. Трудъ г. Canale, сколько мнѣ извѣстно, еще не явился въ печати.

а) Отчего онѣ не попадаютъ за границу, даже въ Генуѣ, объясняется тѣмъ, что онѣ были въ обращеніи только въ колоніяхъ черноморскихъ, какъ мелкія деньги въ торговлѣ преимущественно съ татарами и монголами.

б) См. *Recessio nummorum Muhammedanorum*. Petropoli, 1826 p. 411—412.

с) См. *Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. des sciences de S.-Petersb.* Tome VI, p. 126, 1863.

Annexe A.7:

Reproduction the pages of V. Jurgevič's article from in *Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestvo Istorii i Drevnosti*, 8, 1872, pp. 147-148, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.

департаментъ препроводилъ въ Академію въ своего собранія и двухъ изъ собранія барона упомянутомъ году пачку съ древними монетами Шодоара, приписывая ихъ по ошибкѣ ханамъ найденными въ Подольской губерніи. находка крымскимъ. Его ввели въ заблужденіе генуэзскій порталъ, который онъ смѣшалъ съ литовскимъ гербомъ столбами, и латинская легенда, въ которой онъ прочелъ на худо сохраненномъ экземплярѣ CAS (Casimirus) вмѣсто CAF (Cafa), а на другомъ, раздѣляя ошибку Френа, M. DV. ANDER (Magnus dux Alexander) вмѣсто M. D. CAFFA. На основаніи этого чтенія ему даже пришла мысль предположить небывалую зависимость татаръ въ монетномъ дѣлѣ отъ князей литовскихъ d). Кромѣ того въ Запискахъ нашего Общества описаны Григорьевымъ шесть серебряныхъ, а секретаремъ Общества Мурзакевичемъ шесть мѣдныхъ монетъ, принадлежащихъ Обществу e). Серебряныя монеты за исключеніемъ различія почерка и некоторыхъ украшеній однообразны. На лицевой ихъ стороне мы видимъ порталъ, окруженный латин-

а) Ю. В. Иверсенъ, противъ мнѣнія академика Куника, видитъ въ нихъ монеты татарскія перечекаанныя, представляющія съ одной стороны генуэзскій крестъ, съ особеннымъ знакомъ. См. Bruchstücke zur Münzgeschichte Preussens p. 244, прим. 1.

б) При этомъ случаѣ г. Куникъ замѣчаетъ, что генуэзскія монеты могли бы объяснить предполагаемую связь между столбами гербомъ Ягелловичей и порталемъ или воротами (janua) генуэзцевъ. Задача весьма любопытная, которая однакожь едва-ли можетъ быть рѣшена съ достовѣрностію. Казалось бы что разительное сходство столбовъ съ порталемъ и время появленія ихъ въ Литвѣ въ XIV столѣтіи, когда торговля генуэзцевъ въ Крыму достигла уже большихъ размѣровъ, должны бы навели на мысль, что гербъ генуэзскій былъ заимствованъ Ягеллою. Казалось бы также, что не всѣ монеты со столбами, найденны въ Литвѣ и считаемы литовскими, могутъ быть приняты за литовскія, но что онѣ скорѣе генуэзскія. Сюда причисляю я описанныя Тышкевичемъ Кѣне и Нарбутою и помѣщенныя въ трудахъ Московскаго археологическаго Общества за 1869 г. (табл. VII nn° 12, 13) Киргоровъ, на которыхъ находились три буквы, читаемыя различно К Д Т или К В Г или К П Т, сравнивъ почеркъ нашихъ монетъ, оказываются просто К А Ф т. е. Кава. Не подлежитъ сомнѣнію, что генуэзскія монеты проникли въ Литву и что литовцы знали хорошо эрагское серебро. См. ниже.

с) Музей покойнаго князя Кочубея. С.-Петербургъ 1856.

д) См. Коган, переводъ польскій Таранъ-Вучацкаго. Варшава 1858, стр. 193 слѣд.

е) Григорьевъ. Монеты джучидовъ, генуэзцевъ и гиреевъ битыя на таврическомъ полуостровѣ и принадлежащія Обществу. Записки Общ. т. I, стр. 301, табл. VI. Мурзакевичъ Зап. т. IV, 1-60 стр. 387.

Annexe A.8:

Reproduction the pages of V. Jurgevič's article from in Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestvo Istorii i Drevnosti, 8, 1872, pp. 147-148, mentioning the "Podolian" hoard/1862.

BIBLIOGRAFIA
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DE

D. A. STURDZA.

MEMBRU ACTUALE ALLE SOCIETATI ACADEMICE ROMANE



BUCURESCI
TYPOGRAFI'A SOCIETATII ACADEMICE ROMANE
(LABORATORII ROMANI)
19, STRAD'A ACADEMIEI, 19.
1879.

Annexe A.9:

Reproduction of D. A. Sturdza's study *Bibliografia numismaticii române*, in *Analele Societății Academice Române Secțiunea II Memorii și Notițe*, 11, 1879 – front page and p. 49, mentioning the “Podolian” hoard/1862.


No. 16771, unu jetonu de familia allu Baronului Gartenberg Sadowurski.

LXXI. 1863.—Kunik in *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*. Tome VI. 1863. p. 126.

D. Kunik relaté dia despre unu thesauru de monete, descoperitu in Polonia si care pare a fi fostu ingropatu in antèi'a jumetate a secolului allu siesse-spre-diecelea. Acellu thesauru contineà monete de la cei d'in urma Hani ai Hordei de auru; de la cei d'antèi Hani ai Crimeii; d'in timpul dominatiunii genoveze in Crimea; de la regele Venzeslau allu Boemiei, si in fine 80 bani de la Vladu II allu Tièrrei Muntenesci, si câti-va denari de la unu domnu Stefanu d'in Moldova. D. Kunik dice co acesti d'in urma au legende latinesci, încàtu ei trebuie sè fia de la Stefanu I, de la Stefanu ceilu Mare, séu de la Stefan-tia Voda.

LXXII. 1863.—Laurianu (A. T.) in *Papiu Ilarianu Tesauru de Monumente istorice pentru Romania. Bucuresci 1862—1865.* in-4^o.

In notele la cartea lui Lasiecius despre Ionu Voda (*Tesaur*. Vol. II) d. Laurianu dà, pentru antèiasa data, ua esplanatiuna satisfice tóre si completa a legèndei banului de arama, atàtu de raru allu Domuului numitu mai susu.

OTEN ΜΟΛΔΟΒΕΙ, unde v este pussu in locu de u, semnifica «tătalu Moldovei»; ΑΚΥΕ e cuventulu turcescu  «akgè» = banu (ἀσπρον, nummus); ΓΧΕΡΕΓΧΙΕ e cuventulu grecescu χαράγη, care in-semné dia «marca» (empèinte); încàtu: «ΑΚΥΕ ΓΧΕΡΕΓΧΙΕ ΜΟΛΔΟΒΕΙ» se tradace prin: «banu cu marc'a Moldovei.»

LXXIII. 1865. — *Papiu Ilarianu in Tesauru de Monumente istorice pentru Romania.* Tomulu allu 3-lea in-4^o.

In prefati'a ce face Papiu Ilarianu la càrtile lui Goreciu si Lasieciu despre Ionu Voda, ellu vorbesce de banulu acestui Domnu, allu càru desennu illu publica, de pre unu desennu de la d. Cesaru Bolliacu.

Annexe A.10:

Reproduction of D. A. Sturdza's study *Bibliografia numismaticii române*, in *Analele Societății Academice Române Secțiunea II Memorii și Notițe*, 11, 1879 – front page and p. 49, mentioning the “Podolian” hoard/1862.

CAFFA.

- BAZZI e SANTONI. *Vademecum del raccoglitore di monete italiane*. Camerino, 1886. pag. 133.
- BLAU O. *Die orientalischen Münzen des Museums der K. hist. arch. Gesellsch. zu Odessa*. Odessa, 1876, dal numero 2954 al 2965 monete genovesi.
- CANALE. *Della Crimea*. Vol. II, pag. 346. Si riconobbe dopo che non è genovese.
- DESIMONI CORNELIO. *Monete correnti nelle colonie genovesi della Crimea (aspri e sommi)*. Nota inserita nell'opera di L. I. Belgrano. *Della vita privata dei Genovesi*. Genova, 1875, in-8.
- idem. *Numismatica Genovese esterna*. Monete bilingui di Caffa in Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica, vol. VI, pagg. 121 a 126.
- idem. *Sulle monete battute dai Genovesi nella Penisola Taurica*. Lettura alla Società Ligure di Storia patria giugno 1883. Studio inedito ma veduto e approvato da Domenico Promis.
- GRIGORIEW. *Monete dei Giucidi, dei Genovesi e dei Ghirei, battute nella Penisola Taurica e spettanti alla Società di Storia e d'Antichità di Odessa*. Atti della stessa Società, vol. I, Odessa, 1884 (in lingua russa).
- JURGIEWICZ L. *Monete genovesi battute in Caffa*. Memorie della Soc. di Storia e d'Antich. di Odessa. Vol. VIII, Odessa, 1872, pagg. 1 a 147 e Supplemento pagg. 465 e segg. Odessa, 1872 (in lingua russa). Il Supplemento è motivato da osservazioni fatte all'autore per lettera da C. Desimoni.
- KÖHNE (DE) B. *Considerations sur les monnaies bilingues frappées par les Génois à Caffa*. Mém. de la Soc. d'Arch. et de Numismatique de S.t Pétersbourg. Vol. I, Pietroburgo, 1847.
- idem. *Description du Musée du Prince Kotchoubey*. Pietroburgo, 1851, Tomo I, pagg. 269 a 321. Monnaies frappées par les Génois à Caffa.
- idem. *Les monnaies génoises de Caffa*. RBN, 1875, pag. 400.
- idem. *Zur Geschichte der lituanischen Wappenbildern. Caffa*. Mém. de la Soc. d'arch. et de numism. de S.t Pétersbourg. Vol. I, Pietroburgo, 1847.
- idem. *Zur Münzkunde Genuas*. Berliner Blätter für Münz-siegel-und wappenkunde. Berlino, 1865, vol. II.

Annexe A.11:

Reproduction of the bibliographical list of the numismatic literature regarding the coinage of Caffa from RIN 33, 1920, pp. 68-69 mentioning a pretended article of B. von Köhne on the "Podolian" hoard.

- Monete colla croce genovese scoperte in Podolia nel 1863 e conservate nell'Accademia delle Scienze di Berlino.* Berliner Blätter für Münzkunde, vol. IV, pagg. 243 e 244. Berlino, 1868.
- MURZAKEWITZ NICOLA. *Description des pièces génoises frappées à Caffa*, nella Descriptio Musei publici Odessani. Odessa, 1841; nella Ueber wenig bekannte Münzen, welche sich in Odessa vorfinden e nella Notizen der Odessär Gesellschaft, 1844, pagg. 315 e segg.
- idem. *Intorno alle poco note monete che si trovano in Odessa.* Atti della Società di Storia e d'Antichità di Odessa. Vol. IV, Odessa, 1884 (in russo).
- SAWÉLIEW P. *Memorie sulle monete bilingui di Caffa.* Pietroburgo (in russo).
- SCHLUMBERGER. pagg. 455 e segg.
- SORET FRÉDÉRIC. *Lettre a Mr. Castiglioni sur deux medailles bilingues génoises.* Mém. et documents de la Société d'hist. et d'arch. Ginevra, 1841.
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- Collezione di tavole monetarie di tutte le monete nobili che servono attualmente al commercio, coniate nelle principali zecche dell'Europa, dell'Asia e della Barbaria, con il loro titolo, peso e valore, ecc.* Venezia, 1796, in-fol., vedi Sardegna.

Annexe A.12:

Reproduction of the bibliographical list of the numismatic literature regarding the coinage of Caffa from RIN 33, 1920, pp. 68-69 mentioning a pretended article of B. von Köhne on the "Podolian" hoard.



Fig. 1 a-b: Moldavia, Stephen I (1394-1399), groat.



Fig. 2 a-b: Wallachia, Vlad I (1395-1396), ducat.



Fig. 3 a-b: Wallachia, Vladislav II (1447-1456), reformed ducat (cca 1452-1456).



Fig. 4 a-b: Moldavia, Stephen III the Great (1457-1504), 1st type groat (cca 1467-1475).



Fig. 5 a-b: Moldavia, Stephen III the Great (1457-1504), 2nd type groat (cca 1476-1504).



Fig. 6 a-b: Moldavia, Asprokastron, countermarked silver coinage (cca. 1460-1470).

