

coins and jewellery as e.g., a deposit discovered in Szczecin.

The evidence from the investigation carried out in the Market Square in Gliwice has raised a number of more general questions. Was the model that is presented by Krakow, Kaunas and Gliwice universal, or does it apply only to a specific zone or time? The answer to this query is not easy because only a handful of market squares in Poland have been investigated by area excavation. Moreover, on some occasions,

as for example in Bielsk, the studies tended to focus on the architectural aspect, which makes it difficult to resolve the issues of interest to us as regards the uses of market squares during the High Middle Ages. It may be possible to comment on the question of economy pursued in the Market Square in Gliwice after completing a chemical analysis of the amorphous pieces of raw metal, slag and metal ore (?), which were discovered in fairly large quantities.

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3. COINS

DISCUSSION

The archaeological investigation carried out in 2010 in the Market Square in Gliwice yielded a series of 32 coins. This is not a significant number, especially from a site where one would have expected it to have been the scene of the frequent use of minor coins. Still, currently, we have no larger published coin series from a similar urban site in Poland. This class of material may be available (in particular, from the recent investigation of the Main Market Square in Krakow) but it has not yet been published. We only have a very general report on the coin series collected in the Market Square in Bielsko (Chorąży 2008).

The coin series from Gliwice spans the period from the early 14th until the mid-19th centuries, with evident peaks during the 14th and the 18th centuries (each with nine coins). In between, the coin frequencies are much lower with respectively, in the 15th century – three coins, 16th century – a single coin and the 17th century – three coins. After the 18th century peak the decline is less pronounced – for the 19th century we have six coins, the latest of them from 1851 – but the series ends there with no younger coins at all. At the same time, we need to state at this point one reservation that the dividing line between the 14th and the 15th century is arbitrary, because not less than six coins may belong in the late 14th or to the early 15th centuries, and were separated arbitrarily, perhaps, incorrectly. The same applies to one more coin, from the turn of the 15th–16th century.

In spite of these reservations, we have to conclude that the domination of the 14th and possibly, the early 15th century is evident and that there are almost no 16th century coins. We are not in a position to say, for the time being, whether this chronologi-

cal distribution of the cumulative finds is typical for Silesia because we do not have a sufficiently large coin series from long-functioning sites with which to make a comparison. Definitely, this distribution is altogether different from that in Poland. Although a similar downward trend in deposition is noted there during the 16th century, the peaks are observed in the 15th and the 17th century, which corresponds to the period when small coins of low value were most pervasive on the market.⁴

The denominations' structure in the coin series from Gliwice essentially does not deviate from the general rule according to which coin groups of this type tend to be decidedly dominated by the smallest denominations – such as are available (Mikołajczyk 1987, p. 208). This is mainly because the size of these coins made them easy to lose and their minor value discouraged a determined search for them. Hellens from the 14th and the 15th centuries fit this description, as do groeschels, kreutzers and groschen of the 17th and 18th centuries, and copper pfennigs of the 19th century. Simultaneously, the fact that during the modern age various denominations of minor coins were in circulation is reflected by their wide selection in the series. This confirms that – at least in the main – we are dealing with lost coins which would have been dropped during the business of daily living in the market square of an Upper Silesian town, e.g. in making small purchases and – possibly – of-

⁴ Mikołajczyk 1987. This author did not include 15th century material, which was not given any more general discussion. Cf. on this subject e.g.: Horbach, Muzolf 1998; Piniński 2004–2007; Paszkiewicz 2010a, p. 13.

fering money to beggars. In the coin group under analysis, we identified three counterfeit coins: one from the 15th (possibly, early 16th) century, and two from the 18th century. Two of these coins apparently were recognised as forgeries since one of them was broken and the other was bent. Four other coins, the authenticity of which raises no doubts today, also show evidence of varying degree of bending. This suggests they were eliminated deliberately from circulation, which makes them intentionally discarded and not lost coins.

Against this rather modest background of petty and counterfeit coins, the most outstanding specimen, the largest and – at the same time – the oldest, is the Prague groschen of Wenceslas II from the first decade of the 14th century (Fig. 70e). The find of a Prague groschen of Wenceslas II, i.e. from the first coinage of this type (groschen in the name of this king were coined during the period 1300–1310) is most appropriate for Gliwice: it was through this area, the southern part of the province of Opole (later given the name of Upper Silesia), that these coins passed on their way to Kraków and Wrocław.⁵ At the same time, the heavily clipped condition of this particular groschen suggests that it found its way into the ground later, after the standard had been reduced in the reign of King John the Blind, i.e. after 1327 (Castelin 1960, pp. 143–144; Kiersnowski 1969, p. 196). Finds of single Prague groschen from the early phase of their influx are typical in Upper Silesian towns (Paszkievicz 2000, pp. 45–47) and the groschen from Gliwice may be regarded as an indication that this town, small at the time, was already at an advanced level of urbanization.

Much valuable insight is afforded by subsequent coins from the 14th and the early 15th centuries. They may be regarded as the most interesting section of the series. This is because they are minor denominations and because our understanding of Upper Silesian minor coinage is only patchy. After a long and entirely dark period, we have a record only of a single heller type, attributed to Duke Ladislaus II of Opole, from 1372–1378, and one of Duke Przemysław I of Cieszyn, from before 1384 (Paszkievicz 2000, pp. 151–155, 219–220); somewhat more numerous

ducal issues appear only at the beginning of the 15th century. Our level of understanding of heller coinage in Lower Silesia is equally unsatisfactory, but the almost complete lack of knowledge about the situation in Upper Silesia was especially severe. Now, however, we have gained extremely interesting and relevant evidence from the investigation in the Market Square in Gliwice – both because it is so plentiful and unexpected.

Thus, the Prague groschen is followed by – in chronological order – two minor Bohemian coins: hellers of King Charles I (the later Emperor Charles IV), from his early reign, dated by Karel Castelin (1953, pp. 74–77) to the period 1346 – c. 1350, recently confirmed, after new analysis, by Jiří Hána (2005, p. 122) (Fig. 70f–g). These coins surfaced in different grid squares and different stratigraphic units showing that they are two independent finds, which evidence in unison the sort of minor coinage in circulation. Thus, it appears that this level was serviced by the Bohemian hellers (their exchange rate evolved from 1/12 groschen, around 1340, to 1/14 groschen during the 1370s; Castelin 1953, pp. 66, 93), rather than by local coins, none of which are currently known to us. On this basis, we can surmise that, around the mid-14th century, the local dukes of Koźle-Bytom (and, possibly other dukes from the Opole line) did not have their own coinage. Obviously, this assumption needs corroboration from other similar coin series; some objections to this theory are discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Previously we knew of only a handful of coins of this type from Silesia. An analogical heller of Charles I (IV) was discovered in Legnica in the area of the chartered town (Pieńkowski 2002, p. 195). From an unknown location in the Wrocław region comes a hoard of at least 37 Bohemian parvi and hellers, Wenceslas II to Charles (Kubiak 1998, no. 881:II). Another small hoard, from an unknown location, presumably in Silesia, consisted of slightly earlier Prague parvi of King John the Blind (1311–1346) and a penny of Duke Boleslaus III of Brzeg (Kubiak 1998, no. 895:I). Nevertheless, there are no finds from this period that contain other coins.

Next to the Bohemian hellers, the coin series from the Market Square in Gliwice includes a number of Wrocław hellers of the same King Charles I (IV) and of his successor, Wenceslas IV (seven: two of the former, two of the latter, three with an uncertain ruler) (Fig. 71l–s). Finds of these coins are uncommon but not as rare as the ones discussed above. On the one hand, they apparently reflect the wide range of commercial influence exerted by Wrocław, on

⁵ Paszkievicz 2001, p. 27, with a list of coin finds, to which we need to add a hoard of groschen and parvi of Wenceslas II from the region of Libiąż and Alwernia (anonymous report in *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, R. LIV, 2010, no. 1, p. 97), and single groschen finds from Dąbrowa Zielona, distr. Częstochowa (Bereska 2008, p. 37); Deszczno, distr. Gorzów (Szczurek, Łybek, Bejcar 2009, pp. 236–237); Wrocław (Pieńkowski 2002a, p. 192).

the other, the possible role of this city as the issuer of minor coinage in Silesia (Paszkievicz 2008, pp. 143–145; cf. Pieńkowski 2002a, p. 192; Butent-Stefaniak 2010, pp. 278–279). Previously, the Wrocław hellers in the name of Charles used to be dated to the time after Wrocław obtained the royal privilege to mint silver coinage in 1362.⁶ However, from the reports of hellers – now lost – in the name of King John, Charles' father and predecessor, we can surmise that similar hellers were struck earlier, also by Charles (Paszkievicz 1999, p. 19). It is uncertain, therefore, if the Wrocław hellers in Gliwice continue the sequence of the Bohemian hellers, as they may be partly contemporary with them. One of the Wrocław hellers – undetermined as to which ruler issued it – was already bent when it was dropped. However, there is nothing to show it was a counterfeit.

Moreover, the heller of Wenceslas IV may have a contemporary in a bracteate with a cross (Fig. 71k). The very simple form, both of the coin itself and the faint representation seen on it do not make it easy to place this bracteate in a time period. A plain cross is seen on a great many medieval coins. Bracteates with a cross tend to be attributed to the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. However, only some of them have any connection with this organisation (Paszkievicz 2009, pp. 276–283; Haljak 2010, pp. 99–100, 118, nos. 81–84, 133) – the remainder are imitations or represent fully independent coinage in which the main symbol of Christianity is used. The coin from Gliwice resembles the Teutonic pfennig, type *Third Greek cross*, from the period 1416–1460, but is larger and – if we take its damaged condition into account – heavier. This type is not recorded in literature but that is not to say that it has never actually been encountered before – it could have been misidentified as Teutonic. One possible mint authority in our region would be the Bishop of Wrocław, in his capacity as the Lord of Ujazd (in which case, the cross would refer to Church authority), or – which is even more likely – the Duke of Opole, whose capital city had a parish church dedicated to the Holy Cross, one that actually drew a part of its endowment from none other than the ducal mint (Grodecki 2009, p. 193). I once proposed to attribute to the Duchy of Opole a number of earlier bracteates with a cross fleurdelysée, a motif which refers specifically to the Holy Cross (Paszkievicz 2000, pp. 149–151) but, as yet, these assumptions have not been validated by new evidence. A new, larger group of Opole bracteates with an eagle was minted presumably

from around 1430 (Paszkievicz 2000, pp. 155–158). Our bracteate with the cross could have been its predecessor. However, we have to stress that this is only a hypothesis, one that needs to be corroborated by other finds.

The next coin is a badly eroded double-sided Upper Silesian heller (Fig. 71j). Its identification as a coin of Casimir I, Duke of Oświęcim, appears relatively sound, although some reservation is raised by the fact that one of the discernible elements of the die – the letter O on the reverse legend – is not seen on coins of this type that are known at present. It seems however that other elements are consistent with specimens recorded to date. Similar hellers are a great rarity in collections and the only hoard with this type known to us from Greater Poland is probably from Gryżyna near Kościan (Paszkievicz 2000, pp. 235–236, with older reference literature). The occurrence of the Oświęcim coin outside its home duchy is not surprising since Silesian hellers circulated during the 15th century outside the duchy of their origin, in keeping more with the monetary standards prevailing in a given area.

This completes the fairly close-knit coin sequence opened by the Prague groschen.⁷ It should be noted that we do not find any 15th century hellers minted locally, in the duchies of Koźle and Bytom in the series, although there is no doubt as to their having been minted. This suggests we need to be cautious lest we interpret the absence of similar coins during the 14th century as proof that they were not coined at all. It is also difficult to say whether the absence of common Opole bracteates with the eagle or half-eagle-half-cross means that Gliwice lay in the southern zone of Upper Silesia, distinguished on the basis of finds and geography of coinage, one where double-sided hellers were in use (Paszkievicz 2000, p. 69), since similar double-sided hellers were not noted in the Market Square either. Neither did we record 15th century Polish pennies that penetrated to Silesia, especially its border zone, and were commonly forged there too (Paszkievicz 2000, pp. 78–81). It seems that such a small number of 15th and 16th century coins, rather than resulting from the deficiency of their influx to Gliwice, was caused by activities, or phenomena, related to the market square itself, ones

⁶ Friedensburg 1888, p. 169; Gumowski 1936, pp. 707–708.

⁷ Before 1819, a large hoard was discovered in an unmarked location in the city, a deposit of Prague groschen, coins of Charles I (IV) and Wenceslas IV (consequently, deposited after 1378, possibly, even at the beginning of the 15th century). A different aspect of coin use is apparent – hoarding – in which the Prague groschen were a tool commonly used in Silesia. Cf. Kubiak 1998, no. 307.

that obviously cannot be grasped based on the coin finds.

The next coin has only a broad dating from the late 15th to the early 16th century. It is a counterfeit heller coined by the municipality of Görlitz (Fig. 70h). Although this town lies in Upper Lusatia, its coinage circulated widely, both in Silesia⁸ and in Bohemia,⁹ and is known from Poland.¹⁰ It is noteworthy that we have here the easternmost find of this coin type so far, which, however, is not related to the fact that the Gliwice specimen is counterfeit – it was broken and, subsequently, discarded (we will mention another specimen, shortly).

The 16th century, as we already know, does not yield a greater number of coins. The only specimen which comes after the Görlitz heller dated to the 16th century is the coin of a remarkable political entity – the League of God's House (Gotteshausbund) in the territory of the later Graubünden/Grisons (Fig. 71c). This was an alliance of communes established in 1367 between the Posterior Rhine and the Upper Inn, its capital in Chur. The secular ruler of this territory was the Bishop of Chur, who in 1560 waived his minting prerogative to the League for the period of 10 years.¹¹ In the coin series from the Market Square in Gliwice, one could say that this coin is an eccentric find. Nevertheless, its denomination – kreutzer – identified by its distinctive combination of crosses on the reverse, made it potentially useful in Silesia, where kreutzers of similar appearance and size were being coined in the period 1561–1569 (Friedensburg, Seger 1901, col. 1, nos. 29, 31, 38, 42, 46 and 49). Minor coins from the Bishopric of Chur, including in particular the League of God's House coinage, are known (in a large selection) in Polish coinage tariff from 1600 and from finds made in central Poland (Mikołajczyk 1980, p. 70; Rytkier 1600, pp. 5,

12–13, 15), whose region they would have passed through en-route to Silesia. An approximately contemporary minor coin of the Bishopric of Chur (still to be definitely confirmed) was discovered in Castle Wleń (Butent-Stefaniak, Paszkiewicz 2006, p. 99), and another, much later coin, in the Salvator (Saviour) churchyard in Wrocław (Książek 2010, p. 66, no. 65). However, similar to the counterfeit Görlitz heller – the Chur kreutzer discovered in Gliwice was already broken when it was dropped, which means that it was probably recognized as a coin injurious to the local monetary order. This is unsurprising since despite its similarity to the Silesian kreutzer it was lighter by about 1/5.

Seventeenth century coins are equally scarce – just three – nevertheless, they are quite typical (Fig. 71d–e). They are local Silesian groeschels from Imperial mints, minor three-heller coins of base silver, basically, the smallest to be had in their day (because the heller, then equivalent to 1/360 taler, had disappeared), and the most typical in Silesian cumulative finds. One of them is from 1625 – the period when the currency system was being put into order after the removal of a substantial quantity of low value minor and medium coinage – the second is from 1669, the third eludes any closer identification. It is interesting that the second coin, with no traces of use, is bent, as if recognised for a counterfeit – perhaps undeservedly, we see no reason for this. For all that, this specimen does not appear to be a randomly dropped coin.

Only during the 18th century do coins become more numerous again. At this time too, they are local coins although the perception of what is “local” and what is not had been redefined by the altered political circumstances. It is common knowledge that in the wake of the Silesian Wars of 1740–1745 much of Silesia was incorporated by the monarchy of the Hohenzollern (referred to – not very accurately – as Prussia), and only its southern fragment was left under the Habsburg monarchy (referred to – equally inaccurately – as Austria). Both these dynastic states had a complex structure, being composed of various territories with a different status, some of their parts included in the Reich, some of them outside it. This complexity was reflected in the coinage, which continued the local tradition, only gradually being forced to conform to mutually comparable standards within each monarchy. In Prussian Silesia, the kreutzer was changed to be the equivalent of the Prussian groschen. Because of this, although the traditional minor coins, kreutzers and groeschels ($\frac{3}{4}$ kreutzer), and also, polturas of Hungarian origin ($1\frac{1}{2}$ kreutzer

⁸ Finds: Głogów – 3 specimens (Kubiak 1998, nos. 308:III, IV), Jelenia Góra (Butent-Stefaniak, Baran 2007, p. 125); Komprachcice (Kubiak 1998, no. 415, hoard), Witków near Szprotawa (Kubiak 1998, no. 826), Wleń – 2 specimens (Kubiak 1998, no. 828; Butent-Stefaniak, Baran 2003, p. 215), Wrocław – 5 specimens (Kubiak 1998, no. 836:X; Książek 2010, p. 63; Paszkiewicz 2010, p. 96). The Görlitz coin was recorded in the Wrocław market in 1457 (Castelin 1953, p. 220).

⁹ Regarding the ban on accepting this coinage, imposed in 1469, cf. Castelin 1953, p. 253; Radoměřsky 1976, pp. 127–128.

¹⁰ Giecz (Paszkiewicz 2010a, p. 92), Poznań (Kubiak 1998, no. 616:XII).

¹¹ <http://www.moneymuseum.com/moneymuseum/coins/periods/coin.jsp%3Bjsessionid=04BDB73E000F84EEDF5789D276015150?i=9&aid=6&gid=16&cid=182&pi=3&ps=10> (access on 28 January 2011).

or 2 groeschels), remained in use in both parts of the land, they differed little in their value. After the reforms of the mid-18th century, the Prussian kreutzer was equivalent to 1/1260 of the Cologne mark of pure silver, while the Austrian kreutzer was equivalent to 1/1200; naturally, the actual silver content in these coins was less (Sejbal 1997, p. 279; Żabiński 1981, p. 158). As a result, 3³/₄-kreutzer (or 5 groeschels) was the equivalent of the Brandenburg *Gutegroschen*, a coin minted not only in the province of Brandenburg, and marked with the denomination of 24 EINEN TALER (i.e., 1/24 taler). The coin series from Gliwice documents this evolution of the coinage used in Silesia, with its Habsburg kreutzer from Styria, followed by two Silesian Hohenzollern kreutzers and a similar groeschel, but also, a Silesian Habsburg groeschel and an Austrian kreutzer – both copper, with no direct counterparts in the northern part of Silesia (Figs. 70a, 71b, f–i).

These are the last Silesian coins in the analysed series. They appear in the company of a “good” halfgroschen of Brandenburg and two *Gutegroschen*, the latter two both counterfeit (Fig. 70b–d). One of them has the mark of the Wrocław mint (letter B) and a barely legible date of 1782, which at once exposes it for a counterfeit. This is because the *Gutegroschen* were minted in Wrocław only in 1781. However, as Emil Barhfeldt claims, even these coins were not intended for public use in Silesia, on the contrary, they were all shipped out of the province.¹² The counterfeit Brandenburg groschen – presumably because of the substantial simplicity of its die and the very meagre silver content in the original coins (barely 190/1000), and because of the fraudulent practices of the authorities themselves, which in the period 1793 – 1806 coined a substantial quantity of these low value coins, antedated to 1782 and 1783 (Szczurek, Łybek,

Bejcar 2009, pp. 139–141) – were mass produced and today, in case of the well made coins we have no sound indications – other than the silver fineness – as to which of them are genuine. One of the counterfeits was identified by us from the colour of its copper and its bent condition (evidence that it was recognised for what it is and discarded in its day), the second – based on the colour of its copper and the fact that no similar combination of denomination, date and mintmark is known in literature.

Unified and modernised after the Napoleonic Wars, in 1821 the Kingdom of Prussia was given a common monetary system. The remainder of the identified numismatic material belongs to this system, namely, five coins ranging in value from 1 pfennig to ½ silver groschen (Figs. 70i–l, 71a), or, once again, the smallest denominations used at the time (the silver groschen was equivalent to 1/30, the pfennig to 1/360 taler, according to the inscriptions on the coins). Therefore, the pfennig had taken over the role of the heller, which was no longer minted after the first half of the 17th century.

Thus, we have no regional coinage from this period, but neither do we have foreign or counterfeit ones – what we collected in Gliwice is invariably state coinage, legal tender in the city. The last coin has a date of 1851. The absence of commonplace coins of the Second Reich, minted since 1873, suggests that at that time, the Market Square was paved over and the dropped coins were swept out of the area.

It is interesting to compare the coins from the Market Square in Gliwice with the coin series unearthed in 2002 by Mirosław Furmanek in the graveyard by the parish church of All Saints. This was a group of 10 coins, e.g., a German pfenning from 1886, and three older specimens that could not be identified more accurately. The rest were identified as 15th century hellers of Legnica, Świdnica, Jawor and Wschowa, a Lithuanian penny of King Alexander Jagiellon, and a Silesian greschel from the 17th century.¹³ Given that a Lithuanian penny would be quite an unusual find in our region, I suspect that this poorly preserved coin was identified incorrectly. What is striking is the group of four hellers. They may be regarded as an extension, of sorts, of the series known to us from the Market Square – and may be regarded on the whole as Lower Silesian issues. We also include in this group the Wschowa coin, which was minted according to the Silesian system, even if under the authority of the King of

¹² Bahrfeldt 1906, pp. 45–46: „1781 lebte ihre [=Groschen] Prägung wieder auf, wenn auch nach einem leichteren Fusse, den der König auf 112 Stck. aus der 3 Lth. 10 Gr. haltenden Mark verordnete.

Diese Gutengroschen sind in Breslau nur im Jahre 1781 hergestellt worden. Sie waren nicht dazu bestimmt, dem Bedürfniss des grossen Publikums zu dienen, sondern lediglich zur Zahlung des Münzgewinns, den der König aus der Vermünzung der Silberlieferungen des Hirsch Simon in Breslau // zu beziehen hatte. Laut der Verträge von 1780 August 28 und 1781 Juni 13 lieferte der Genannte, der Vertreter des Daniel Itzig war, an die breslauer Münze grosse Quantitäten Münzsilber, das zu Silbergroschen (Dreikreuzern), die feine Mark zu 21 Thlr., vermünzt und dem Simon mit 17 Thlr. in solchen Silbermünzen bezahlt wurde. Der Unternehmer hatte dabei die Verpflichtung dieses Geld „successive, wie zeithero, ausser Landes zu debitiren und die Sache mit aller Heimlichkeit und Behutsamkeit zu tractiren”.

¹³ I am basing this on an unpublished analysis of Elżbieta Baran, held in the archive of the Museum in Gliwice.

Poland. Less clear is the case of the heller from the last quarter of the 15th century, which in literature is recognized as a coin of Jawor, based on the initial J, however, this definitely is not its origin (at the time Jawor did not have minting privileges). It is therefore evident that for a long time, an Upper Silesian town was using Lower Silesian coinage – rather than local coinage, or the plentiful currency minted during the 15th century by Opole – although, for instance, in 1444 the authorities of Gliwice, together with Toszek and Pyskowice, committed themselves to using Bytom coinage “for all time”, also allowing the circulation of coins minted by Wrocław, Opole and Racibórz (Gerlic 1998, p. 336). That 17th century greschels were in use is nothing unexpected – these were the smallest Silesian coins of that age and their presence in Gliwice, both in the Market Square and in the churchyard, is quite natural.

We have at our disposal yet another coin series from the area of the historical centre of Gliwice. It consists of just two coins, collected during the investigation of the Racibórz Gate in 1985: a Carinthian pfenning of Archduke Ferdinand (the later Emperor Ferdinand II) from 1615, and a small Brandenburg groschen of Frederick II from 1782.¹⁴ This second coin has a close analogy in the series from the Market Square and – not unexpectedly – this specimen is also bent. As we see, the removal of “good” Brandenburg groschen, regarded as counterfeit, was a widespread phenomenon in Gliwice – which corresponds well with the information from Emil Bahrfeldt that this coinage was not accepted in Silesia. Quite unusual is the first coin, admittedly originating from an area under Habsburg dominion, of which Gliwice was also a part, but nevertheless an element of a separate monetary system, distinct from the local coinage even in its form (rectangular and one-sided). Presumably, this coin too was discarded by its owner at the city gate. The comparison of the coins from the Market Square in Gliwice with finds from other areas with historical centres shows this series to be an enlightening, nevertheless only a fragmentary illustration of the circulation of minor coinage in the city.

Even though – as we already know – we have no published numismatic material from any other urban centre investigated on a similar scale we are tempted to compare the coin series from Gliwice with, at least, coins from a much less comprehensive investigation made in the Market Square in Bytom. This is a town very close to Gliwice, but one until the end of the 19th

century was larger and more prosperous. Only the coins from a single season of fieldwork (1998) were published (layout of trenches, cf. Wójcik-Kuehnelt 2004, p. 222). There are seven of them, one minted after World War I. Others are distributed evenly from the 14th to the 18th centuries, and only the 16th century has two coins. Here also we see an undetermined bracteate (unfortunately, with a no longer legible design), but no Bohemian or Wrocław hellers. A Silesian groeschel of Leopold I and a Brandenburg *Gutegroschen* of Frederick II have analogies in the coin series from Gliwice. The *Gutegroschen* did not raise any doubts during analysis but it had been bent, thus, presumably it was treated – as the *Gutegroschen* from Gliwice – as a counterfeit (Horbacz 2000, pp. 211–212). Thus, the two coin series show some similarity but there are also some evident differences, which suggest a possibly later date for the start of the Bytom series and, definitely, its continuity (with no gap during the 15th–16th centuries).

Moreover, we can attempt to compare the Gliwice finds with the material from the Market Square in Bielsko, although we know the latter only in outline (Chorąży 2008).¹⁵ In this series of 40 coins – thus, a group of comparable size – there were 15th century “silver hellers of Racibórz, Opava and Görlitz”. The two former of these were not present in Gliwice, the third would be another specimen coined at Görlitz (it appears to be genuine). In the Bielsko series there were no Bohemian or Wrocław hellers from the 14th century, but there were Estates’ hellers minted in Wrocław from the beginning of the 16th century onwards, and a number of slightly later Hungarian pennies of King Louis II and King Ferdinand I. There is a Polish half-groschen from the end of the 15th century, and the significant role played by Polish coinage in a town lying on the border with Poland is visible later, during the 17th century. Except for the Görlitz coin, we have here an entirely different selection than in Gliwice, but the essence of this difference appears to be in the chronology – in Bielsko the coins start while in Gliwice their first, medieval wave has already ended. Similarly as in Gliwice, the 18th century is significant, represented – true to the political affiliation – by Habsburg coins that continue in evidence into the 19th century. Thus, we have here observable Polish and Hungarian influence and later coins – from the 16th and 17th centuries, almost absent from the Gliwice series.

¹⁴ The coins – determined by Stanisław Suchodolski but not published – are in the collections of the Museum in Gliwice.

¹⁵ The Hungarian penny of Louis II, minted at Buda, was erroneously determined as a Wrocław coin; I rectified this attribution based on the illustration on p. 15 of the cited work.

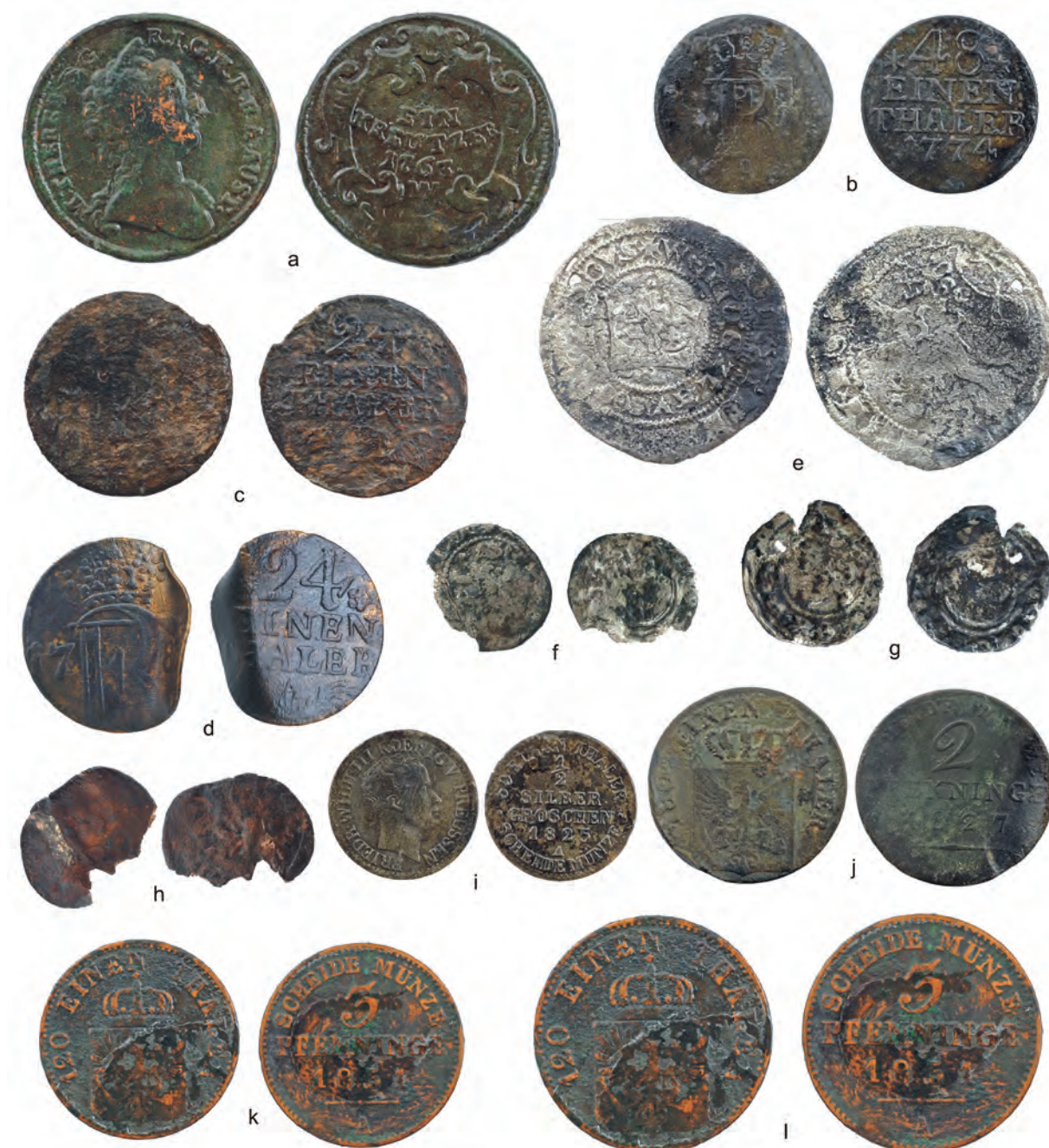


Fig. 70. Gliwice, Market Square. Coins. Photograph W. Turkowski

The analysed series of coin finds from the Market Square in Gliwice reveals the structure of circulation of minor coins in the town during two periods – a period of a hundred years starting from the second quarter of the 14th until the first quarter of the 15th century, and in the period of more than a century, from the second quarter of the 18th to the mid-19th century. Absence of coins from the earlier period – the charter of Gliwice is dated to just before the year 1276 (Horwat 1996, p. 90) and is equated with the moving of the settlement from Stare Gliwice to a new location (Furmanek 2004, p. 353) – would reflect the very

limited range of use of coins at that time. The lack or the negligible coin frequencies between the peaks and after the last of these peaks is likely to reflect the conditions prevailing in the investigated site – perhaps, former paving – rather than coin circulation. We also have to note the absence of jettons – bronze pieces resembling true coins – a fairly frequent find in an urban environment, especially those from the 18th century, that probably attest to gambling. Overall, – if we were to risk making an argument of *ex silentio* type – this confirms the view of pre-industrial Gliwice as an urban centre of modest size.



Fig. 71. Gliwice, Market Square. Coins. Photograph W. Turkowski

LIST OF COINS (IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER)

1. Austria, Maria Theresa, kreutzer 1763, Vienna (Fig. 70a).
Obv. M.THERES.D.G.-R.I.G.H.B.R.A.AUST., diademed bust right.
Rev. Within a reversed arch, EIN / KREUTZER / 1763. / W, within a Baroque symmetrical cartouche. Leaf-ornamented edge.
 Copper, 9.55 g, 26.3 mm. Eypeltauer 1973, no. 163.
 Grid sq. 26, quadr. A, s.u. 6, inv. -.
2. Brandenburg, Frederick II, ½ Gute groschen (1/48 taler) 1774, Berlin (Fig. 70b).
Obv. Crowned monogram FR, A below.
Rev. ★48★ / EINEN / THALER / 1774.
 Base silver, 1.01 g, 18.3 mm. Bahrfeldt 1904–1906, no. 3053; Weyl 1987, no. 1751.
 Sondage I, inv. 19/2010 (2 coins).
3. Brandenburg, Frederick II, counterfeit Gute groschen (1/24 taler) 1782 (Fig. 70c).
Obv. Crowned FR, flanked by date 17-82.
Rev. ♦24♦ / EINEN / THALER / B, crossed palm branches below.
 Bronze, 1.25 g, 21.3 mm. Lacks analogies.
 Grid sq. 25, quadr. A-D, s.u. 40, inv. 436. Coins with this date and mint mark are not noted by the main catalogues, suggesting this is a counterfeit.

III. THE MARKET SQUARE IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

4. Brandenburg, Frederick II, counterfeit *Gutegroschen* 1783 (Fig. 70g).
Obv. Crowned monogram **FR**, flanked by date 17-83.
Rev. ❀24❀ / **EINEN / THALER / A**, crossed palm branches below.
 Bronze, bent, 1.30 g, 19.3 mm. Bahrfeldt 1904-1906, no. 3121.
 Grid sq. 24, quadr. A, s.u. 155, inv. 605.

5. Bohemia, Wenceslas II, Prague groschen [1300–1310], Kutná Hora (Fig. 70e).
Obv. +WENCZLAVS·SC\\NDVS / ...RA-TIA..., crown.
Rev. ✱★G... ..CNSCS\\, lion queue-fourché, crowned, between crown and tail, a small half-lis.
 Silver, clipped, pitted by corrosion, 2.08 g, 25.0 mm. Smolík 2.
Grid sq. 17, quadr. A, s.u. 83, within pavement 0.2 m, inv. 282/10. The lion is of mature form, the coin does not belong to the earliest Prague-groschen coinage.

6. Bohemia, Charles I (IV), heller [1346–c. 1350], Kutná Hora (Fig. 70f).
Obv. +... ..CM, lion rampant queue-fourché, crowned.
Rev. \\S'WE\\C\\\\, half-figure of St Wenceslas facing.
 Silver, jagged, 0.39 g, 13.5 mm. Hána 2005, type Ib.
 Grid sq. 26, quadr. D, s.u. 6, inv. 288.

7. Bohemia, Charles I (IV), heller [1346–c. 1350], Kutná Hora (Fig. 70g).
Obv. Uncertain legend, lion rampant queue-fourché.
Rev. \\\\WENCZLAV\\, indistinct half-figure of the saint facing.
 Silver, jagged, 0.29 g, 14.9 mm. Hána type I (b?).
 Grid sq. 25, quadr. CD, s.u. 119, inv. 468.

8. Lusatia, Görlitz, counterfeit heller [late 15th–early 16th century] (Fig. 70h).
Obv. A crown with three fleurs-de-lis and two small points on a straight rim.
Rev. Indistinct inscription *gor*.
 Copper, substantially pitted, broken, 0.18 g, 15.4 mm. Like Šafář 1990, type III.
 Grid sq. 65, quadr. C, s.u. 14/62, inv. 800.

9. Prussia, Frederick William III, ½ silver groschen 1823, Berlin (Fig. 70i).
Obv. **FRIEDR·WILH·III KOENIG V·PREUSSEN**, head right.
Rev. **60 EINEN THALER / ½ / SILBER / GROSCHEN / 1825 / A / ·SCHEIDE MÜNZE**.
 Base silver, 1.04 g, 15.2 mm. Arnold *et al.* 1999, no. 30.
 Grid sq. 28, quadr. C, s.u. 85, inv. 149/10.

10. Prussia, Frederick William III, 2 pfennigs 1827, Berlin (Fig. 70j).
Obv. **180 EINEN THALER**, French-shaped shield of Prussia, arched crown above.
Rev. **SCHEIDE MÜNZE / 2 / PFENNIGE / 1827 / A**.
 Bronze, 2.89 g, 20.0 mm. Arnold *et al.* 1999, no. 34.
 Grid sq. 19, quadr. A, s.u. 19, inv. 73.

11. Prussia, Frederick William III, 2 pfennigs 1835, Berlin (Fig. 70k).
Obv. **180 EINEN THALER**, French-shaped shield of Prussia, arched crown above.
Rev. **SCHEIDE MÜNZE / 2 / PFENNIGE / 1835 / A**.
 Bronze, 2.75 g, 20.5 mm. Arnold *et al.* 1999, no. 34.
 Grid sq. 29, from spoil heap, inv. 55/10.

12. Prussia, Frederick William IV, 3 pfennigs 1851, Berlin (Fig. 70l).
Obv. **120 EINEN THALER**, French-shaped shield of Prussia, arched crown above.
Rev. **SCHEIDE MÜNZE / 3 / PFENNIGE / 1851 / A**.
 Bronze, 4.37 g, 24.1 mm. Arnold *et al.* 1999, no. 90.
 Grid sq. 25, quadr. D, s.u. 6, inv. 439.

13. Prussia, Frederick William III or IV, 2 pfennigs, year? [1821, 1831 or 1841].
Obv. **180 \\NEN...**, French-shaped shield of Prussia, arched crown above.
Rev. **2 / \\FENNIGE / \\8\\1**, uncertain mint mark.
 Copper, corroded, 2.07 g, 20.0 mm. Arnold *et al.* 1999, no. 34 or 91.
 Grid sq. 26, quadr. B, s.u. 121, inv. 275.

14. Prussia, William I, pfennig 1851, Berlin (Fig. 71a).

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- Obv. 360 EINEN THALER**, French-shaped shield of Prussia, arched crown above.
Rev. SCHEIDE MÜNZE / 1 PFENNING / 1851 / A.
 Copper, 1.45 g, 17.6 mm. Arnold *et al.* 1999, no. 108.
 Sondage I, inv. 19/2010 (2 coins).
15. Styria, Charles VI, kreutzer 1725, Graz (Fig. 71b).
Obv. CAROL.VI:D:G:R:I:S:A:G:-HI:H:BO
REX, laureate, draped and mantled bust right, at bottom cipher **1** within an oval.
Rev. ARCHID:AVS:DVX BVRG:STYRIÆ.17-
25, double eagle with wings spread, crown above; on breast, heart-shaped shield with Panther.
 Silver, lightly bent, 0.68 g, 16.8 mm. Jungwirth 1975, no. 194-b-14.
 Grid sq. 74, quadr. B, s.u. 119, inv. 493.
16. Switzerland, League of God's House (*Gotteshaus-bund*), kreutzer 1568, Chur (Fig. 71c).
Obv. \\\ODOM[rosette]**DEI** (Moneta nova domus Dei Curiensis), double eagle crowned, at breast round shield with rampant buck.
Rev. DO CO-NO-[rosette]**68**[rosette] (*Domine conserva nos in pace*), Cross imposed on saltire cross.
 Silver, broken in ¼, corroded, 0.57 g (incl. glue), 17.8 mm.
 Grid sq. 34, quadr. B, s.u. 24B, inv. 662.
17. Silesia, Ferdinand II, groeschel 1625, Nysa (Fig. 71d).
Obv. double eagle with wings spread; on breast, Burgundian-Austrian arms, at neck **D-B**, between heads **V**.
Rev. orb with cipher **3**, flanked by date **16-25**, within a lozenge surrounded by arabesques.
 Silver, chipped, 0.68 g, 15.9 mm. Halačka 1987-1988, no. 1099.
 Grid sq. 48, quadr. C, s.u. 44, inv. 64/10.
18. Silesia, Leopold I, groeschel 1669, Opole (Fig. 71e).
Obv. double eagle, Burgundian-Austrian arms on its breast.
Rev. orb with cipher **3**, flanked by a pair of cross-lets, date **16-69** and a pair of arabesques.
 Base silver, bent, 0.64 g, 15.6 mm. Nechanický 1991, no. 856; Jungwirth 1975, no. 29-i-15; type unknown to Halačka.
 Grid sq. 28, quadr. D, s.u. 85, inv. 154/10.
19. Silesia, ruler? groeschel, 17th century (after 1624).
 Flaking, with negative impression of a decorative cross.
 Base silver, crumbling.
 Grid sq. 25, quadr. AD, s.u. 6, inv. 628.
20. Silesia, Frederick II, groeschel 1769, Wrocław (Fig. 71f).
Obv. monogram **FR** in italics, crowned, flanked by date **17-69**.
Rev. EIN / GRÖSCHEL / B, two crossed palm branches below.
 Base silver, 0.55 g, 15.2 mm. Friedensburg, Seger 1901, no. 1098.
 Grid sq. 75, quadr. BC, s.u. 119, inv. 526.
21. Silesia, Frederick II, kreutzer 1752, Wrocław (Fig. 71f).
Obv. \RIDERIC: BO laureate head right.
Rev. 1-KREUTZER. / 17(B)52, crowned eagle rising, holding a sceptre.
 Base silver, worn, 0.60 g, 15.5 mm. Friedensburg, Seger 1991, no. 1009; Kalinowski 1006, no. 61.
 Grid sq. 23, quadr. AB, s.u. 6, discovered when scraping the surface of the layer, inv. 1.
22. Silesia, Frederick II, kreutzer 1771 (Fig. 71h).
Obv. FRIDERIC:BORUSS: REX (the first E damaged on the die), laureate head right.
Rev. crowned eagle rising, holding a sceptre, lower down **1KREUTZE[R]** horizontally / **17B71** within arch.
 Base silver, lightly bent, 0.81 g, 15.3 mm. Friedensburg, Seger 1901, no. 1112.
 Grid sq. 58, quadr. C, s.u. – (discovered when scraping), inv. 69.
23. Silesia, Joseph II, groeschel year? [1781-2], Vienna (Fig. 71i).
Obv. arms consisting of three quarterings, St Wenceslas' crown above.
Rv. [EIN] / G\EL / A, all within a wreath.
 Bronze, worn, 5.12 g, 22.9 mm. Friedensburg, Seger 1901, nos. 938-9.
 Grid sq. 25, quadr. AD, s.u. 6, inv. 393.
24. Silesia, Duchy of Oświęcim, Casimir I, heller [1414-1434], Oświęcim (?) (Fig. 71j).
Obv. uncertain legend, initial *k*.
Rev. ...O.K..., eagle wing.

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- Base silver, less than half of the coin survives, 0.05 g, 10.8 mm. Paszkiewicz 2000, no. 74 (?).
Grid sq. 65, quadr. C, s.u. 14/62, inv. 764.
25. Silesia (?), Duchy of Opole (?), hohlpfennig, end of 14th–first half of 15th century (Fig. 71k).
Cross patée.
Billon, pitted by corrosion, 0.21 g, 15.8 mm.
Grid sq. 76, quadr. AD, s.u. 14/62, inv. 844.
26. Silesia, Wrocław, Charles IV, heller [1346–78] (Fig. 71l).
Obv. +KROL\\\\\\RE, lion rampant queue-fourché, crowned.
Rv. \\ODCT\\\\\\, banded eagle.
Silver, substantially fractured edges, 0.14 g, 12.6 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 95.
Grid sq. 25, quadr. B, s.u. 83, inv. 533.
27. Silesia, Wrocław, Charles IV, heller [1346–78] (Fig. 71m).
Obv. +KIROL'\\\\\\E, lion rampant queue-fourché.
Rev. \\\\\\\\JA\\\\\\W\\\\\\, banded eagle.
Silver, invasive corrosion, 0.16 g, 12.7 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 95.
Grid sq. 23, quadr. C, s.u. 14, inv. 640.
28. Silesia, Wrocław, Charles IV or Wenceslas IV, heller [before 1416] (Fig. 71n).
Obv. Uncertain legend, lion rampant queue-fourché.
Rev. Illegible.
Silver, fractured edges, 0.18 g, 11.8 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 95 or 96.
Grid sq. 25, quadr. D, s.u. 119, inv. 515.
29. Silesia, Wrocław, Charles IV or Wenceslas IV, heller [before 1416] (Fig. 71o).
Obv. \\\\\\\\BOh'\\\\\\E, field illegible.
Rv. +MON\\\\\\\\\\I, banded eagle, heavy beak, right.
Silver, bent and broken, missing nearly a half, 0.10 g, 11.8 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 95 or 96.
Grid sq. 18, quadr. B, s.u. 175 (two coins).
30. Silesia, Wrocław, Charles IV or Wenceslas IV, heller [before 1416] (Fig. 71p).
Obv. \\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\RE, lion rampant.
Rev. \\\\TJA\\\\\\, lower part of banded eagle.
Silver, broken, c. ¼ of coin preserved, 0.03 g, 8.7 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 95 or 96.
Grid sq. 18, quadr. B, s.u. 175 (two coins).
31. Silesia, Wrocław, Wenceslas IV, heller [1378–1416] (Fig. 71r).
Obv. \\E\\\\\\BOh\\\\\\, lion rampant queue-fourché.
Rev. uncertain legend, banded eagle.
Silver, 0.11 g (incl. glue), 11.6 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 96.
Grid sq. 75, quadr. A, s.u. 14, inv. 509.
32. Silesia, Wrocław, Wenceslaus IV, heller [1378–1416] (Fig. 71s).
Obv. uncertain legend, lion rampant queue-fourché.
Rev. \\OD...\\, banded eagle.
Silver, substantially pitted by corrosion, 0.11 g, 12.6 mm. Friedensburg 1931, no. 96.
Grid sq. 24, quadr. D, s.u. 83, inv. 607.

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4. ANIMAL BONE FINDS – MATERIAL EVIDENCE ON GAMES AND PLAY

The concepts of game and play are treated as synonymous and used interchangeably as equivalent terms. In his *Encyklopedia Staropolska Ilustrowana* (Encyclopaedia of Poland of old) Zygmunt Gloger gives the origins of the Polish word gra (game), and notes that it signified play and amusement in general, as children's play, the playing of musical instruments and martial games on horseback (Gloger 1972). In his *Homo Ludens* (1938) Johan Huizinga defines play

as a voluntary activity or occupation, one pursued within a certain set time limit, according to rules which are adopted voluntarily but are then unconditionally binding, is an aim in itself, accompanied by a feeling of tension and joy and a consciousness of being “different” from “ordinary living” (Huizinga, 1967, pp. 48-49). John Roberts, Malcolm Arth and Robert Bush define games as organized play in which two or more sides compete following agree-