

TADEUSZ SZCZUREK

**DIFFERENCES IN COIN CIRCULATION BETWEEN  
THE REGIONS OF NEUMARK AND TORZYM PROVINCE  
IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES\***

ABSTRACT: From the annexation of the Polish territories in the thirteenth century, Neumark and Torzym Province (*Land Sternberg*) became districts of the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Neumark belonged temporarily (1402–1454) to the Teutonic Order. From the very beginning, the two regions clearly varied in their coin circulation. The earliest Brandenburgian denier finds from east of the Oder River date to the last decade of the thirteenth century. However, the most important differences in the coin circulation became noticeable only after the middle of the fourteenth century.

TERRITORIAL SCOPE

If the Margraviate of Brandenburg is to be considered a colonial country that developed on 11 June 1157 from the ruins of the emerging nation of Stodoran/Havelli Polabian Slavs, then the Polish territories conquered by this Margraviate were also nothing else but colonies. At first, the region east of the Oder River – in the written documents of that time called *Marchia Transoderana*, *Terra Transoderana*, *Terra citra Oderam*, *Terra ultra Oderam*, *Nova Terra Transoderana* – was named ‘March by the Oder’.<sup>1</sup> Torzym Province, consisting of what was to

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<sup>1</sup> Nießen 1905 and included maps; Schultze 1961, pp. 16 ff. and maps.

become the districts of *Oststernberg* and *Weststernberg*, was only just mentioned as *Land Sternberg*, in Charles IV's manorial book of 1375, for the first time suggesting the separate nature of this territory. At first, its capital was situated in Torzym (*Sternberg*), but it was soon moved to Ośno Lubuskie (*Drossen*), (Fig. 1). Torzym Province covered the territories of today's Sulęcín and Ślubice Counties.<sup>2</sup> From the Polish point of view, its area overlapped the right-hand bank part of the former Bishopric of Lebus and the Castellany of Lebus and, therefore, the right-hand bank part of a historical-geographical area called Lubusz Province.<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 1. Neumark and Torzym Province in the second half of the fourteenth century.  
After A. Wędzki 1967.

In the lower Warta and Noteć valley, Torzym Province shared a border with Neumark. In the late Middle Ages, Neumark covered the areas of the current counties of Gorzów Wielkopolski, Strzelce Krajeńskie–Drezdenko in the Lubusz Voivodeship, and Myślibórz, Chojna, Choszczno, Drawsko Pomorskie and Świdwin in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship.<sup>4</sup> Although nominally separate, both territories were a part of the Margraviate of Brandenburg. They were merged formally in 1817 as Neumark.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Wędzki 1967, pp. 17 ff. Fig. 5; Weiss 1977, pp. 133–144.

<sup>3</sup> Today's Lubuskie Voivodeship with capitals in Gorzów Wielkopolski and Zielona Góra has some common territory with these lands, encompassing their right-hand bank side, but it also stretches into northern Silesia and the outer areas of Greater Poland and Lower Lusatia.

<sup>4</sup> Wielgosz 1969, pp. 9–21; Walachowicz 1980, p. 7; Wędzki, *o.c.*, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Wrede 1935, p. 108 and *passim*. Author also notes the borders of Torzym Province (pp. 98–109).

## ASCANIAN PERIOD (C. 1250–1319)

In 1246, Silesia underwent a division. As a result of the dynastic struggle between the sons of Henry II the Pious (1238–1241), on 26 April 1249 in Legnica, Bolesław II the Bald, also known as Rogatka (1241–1278), established an agreement with the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Wilbrand (1235–1253). Under its terms, in return for helping Rogatka in his struggle against the brothers, the Magdeburgian archbishop received the lower and half of the middle burgh in Lubusz, half of the town and half of Lubusz Province on both sides of the Oder River, which until that day had belonged to the Duke of Silesia. Bolesław II Rogatka kept the other half of Lubusz Province, but it became Archbishop Wilbrand's feud. At the end of 1249 or early in 1250, Rogatka's part of Lubusz Province was occupied in unexplained circumstances by the Margraviate of Brandenburg – possibly because of Conrad I (1251–1273/74), the third son of Henry II the Pious, joining the struggle. Probably in 1287 or between 1284–1287, the whole of Lubusz Province came under the dominion of Brandenburg, initially as a feud.<sup>6</sup> This means that the date 1249/1250 marks the establishment of Brandenburgian *Terra Transoderana* that would later transform into Neumark and Torzym Province (*Land Sternberg*), on the territories of Poland.

Incidentally, Magdeburgian archbishops spent the short time of their reign over Lubusz Province setting up mints in Lubusz and northern Silesia in Krosno Odrzańskie. They used the mimicry method: in Lubusz they minted deniers based on the Brandenburgian model, including two types inscribed with the name of Archbishop Conrad II (1266–1277) as CONRADI. On the other hand, a bracteate with an inscription of CROSSE minted in Krosno Odrzańskie matches the Silesian bracteate coinage of that time.<sup>7</sup>

Events through which the Margraviate of Brandenburg, ruled by the House of Ascania, seized Polish territories, coincided with vital changes in the Margraviate's coinage. Around the middle of the thirteenth century, coin production in Brandenburg had been refocused from one-sided pfennigs, bracteates, to two-sided pfennigs – deniers. Only in Altmark did the bracteate coinage remain, but it used a different Lübeck mint standard, in the initial phase of which coins weighed around 0.695 g, making them lighter than deniers of the Mittelmark.<sup>8</sup> This change in coinage, known to us from coin finds, and bearing features of monetary reform, might be connected to the Margraves' consistent fiscal policy – *renovatio monetae*, a yearly coin exchange in a 4:3 proportion, i.e. four old coins for three new ones. Such Brandenburgian deniers spread to territories east

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<sup>6</sup> Walicki 1960, pp. 95, 98 ff. Weiss, *o.c.*, pp. 29–35, 46 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Szczurek 2006–2007, pp. 57–68.

<sup>8</sup> Szczurek 2002, pp. 327–335.

of the Oder River only late in the thirteenth century – in its last decade and the first decade of the following century. At the end of the twelfth century and in the first decades of the thirteenth century, bracteates from Brandenburg and central Germany appeared on the territories of the lower Warta and Noteć and the middle Oder region. Sparse finds from that period are known due to archaeological research in Cedynia, Gryfino County, Myślibórz, Dębczyno near Białogard, Święty Wojciech by Międzyrzecz, Pszczew, Międzyrzecz County,<sup>9</sup> and most recently in Górzycza, Słubice County.<sup>10</sup>

Returning to the topic of the Brandenburgian deniers, there is no substantial differences between the circulation of those coins in Neumark and the Mittlemark. Finds suggest the absence of regionalisation of any specific type of coins in circulation. Margraviate hoards from both sides of the Oder River are characterised by Brandenburgian deniers exhibiting strong typological diversity.<sup>11</sup> One exception would be a find from 2011/2012 in Kunowice, Słubice County (where Torzym Province would be formed later), consisting of four identical deniers (Fig. 2) located within an area just under 1.5 m × 1.5 m (Bft 194/Da. 132: c. 1300/1305). In this case, we might be dealing with either a scattered hoard or an actual single find. Assuming the latter, a loss of personal funds can be conjectured, e.g. because of the dropping of a pouch. Since four identical coins with die impressions preserved perfectly were found so close to each other, another logical supposition would be that the owner carried funds with them that they had just exchanged (due to the periodical currency renewal, *renovatio monetae*).

Slightly anticipating chronology but still following the topic of *renovatio*, a grave find from the area of an old Templars' Commandry in Rurka near Chojna should be listed as other, even clearer evidence of on-going periodical exchange. Twelve and four halves of identical deniers from the Bavarian period (Bft 670/Da. 218: c.1340/1342) were found next to one of the skeletons. The coins had been deposited on the site in a tube-shaped wooden container.<sup>12</sup> The owner apparently did not have a chance to make any significant transactions after the exchange,

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<sup>9</sup> Szczurek 1984, pp. 200–215, idem 2004, pp. 84–91, idem 2005–2006, pp. 83–87; Sikorski and Szczurek 2002, pp. 7–32; Łaszkiewicz and Szczurek 2002, pp. 83–94.

<sup>10</sup> Out of five coins found in the remains of a cemetery, the two best preserved were identified as a Brandenburgian bracteate of Otto I (1170–1184) – compare Bft 53; and a button bracteate from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, which is probably a Lower Lusatian coin modelled after Mecklenburgian bracteates, since analogous coins are only known from Lower Lusatian hoards from Groß Briesen and Starosiedle – see, e.g. Bardt 1884, pp. 212–242, no. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Szczurek 2007, pp. 76–77.

<sup>12</sup> Musiałowski 2000, pp. 72–73.



Fig. 2. One of the four identical Brandenburgian deniers of the Ascanian period found in one spot in Kunowice, Słubice County, (type Bft 194/Da. 132: c. 1300–1305), (ø 15.2 mm).

since no older Margraviate Pfennigs nor foreign coins were mixed together with the new deniers.

What does distinguish Neumark is a substantial amount of West Pomeranian coins in circulation, both deniers and bracteates. Out of 248 coins that constituted a hoard from Wojcieszycze near Gorzów Wielkopolski (c.1290), 41 were of Pomeranian origin,<sup>13</sup> while out of c.840 coins from the *Žeńsko/Hohenwalde* (Choszczno County) hoard, as many as 684 were West Pomeranian.<sup>14</sup> (In the case of the latter hoard, it is suspected that the funds were amassed during a period when the village belonged to Pomerania and were lost only after the incorporation to Brandenburg). In the area of Torzym Province, the percentage of West Pomeranian coins is dramatically lower. Among the listed hoards of the Ascanian period: Frankfurt/Oder (c.1300),<sup>15</sup> Frankfurt/Oder (c.1300?),<sup>16</sup> Frankfurt/Oder (after 1308),<sup>17</sup> Szydłów/*Schiedlo* (the second half of the thirteenth century – probably a Lower Lusatian hoard),<sup>18</sup> Świniary/*Zweinert* (c.1300),<sup>19</sup> Laski/*Lässig* (c.1305),<sup>20</sup> only the last two contained Pomeranian coins. Two West Pomeranian coins have been found among 1,482 coins in Świniary and among 8,421 deniers

<sup>13</sup> Szczurek 1979, pp. 193–227.

<sup>14</sup> Bardt 1875, pp. 141–148; Dannenberg 1877, pp. 243–260, Plates IV–V.

<sup>15</sup> Friese 1981, pp. 59–64.

<sup>16</sup> Friese 1985, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, pp. 41–42, 51–53.

<sup>18</sup> Bahrfeldt 1926 (1980), p. 257.

<sup>19</sup> Bardt 1898, pp. 113–116.

<sup>20</sup> Menadier 1902, pp. 222–247, Tables 1–3.

and a modest amount of bracteates and silver ingots in Laski, 69 coins were of West Pomeranian origin.

The list provided above also shows that the density of group finds on territories of what was to become Torzym Province is larger than on those of Neumark, although no archaeological data suggests settlement differences between the regions that would explain this situation.<sup>21</sup> Initially, the German colonization process was presumably more intense in the Torzym Province area, and it was the Archbishopric of Magdeburg that took the lead at this point. However, Landsberg an der Warthe (Gorzów Wielkopolski) in Neumark was founded by the Margrave of Brandenburg as early as in 1257.<sup>22</sup> Not only must have the Brandenburgian settlers brought some fund reserves with them, but also after that the influx of Brandenburgian deniers, together with a few foreign coins from the West must have been chiefly directed at them.

Neumark is the only Brandenburgian land where West Pomeranian coinage called *Vinkenaugen* appears in the written sources of the late thirteenth century and the early years of the following century. At first, they are described as light Pfennigs or Slavic pfennigs – *denarii leves*, *leichte Pfennige* and *denarii slavicales* (this name probably referred to both deniers and bracteates, minted simultaneously at that time). They appeared, e.g. in 1296 in Trzcіńsko-Zdrój/*Schönfliess*, in 1304 in Pełczyce/*Bernstein* and Lipiany/*Lippehne*, in 1306 in Bierzwnik/*Marienwalde*, in 1315 in Pełczyce and in 1322 in Lipiany. The name itself shows that Pomeranian coins exhibited lower standards than Brandenburgian ones, which means that ‘Slavic’ coins (in German sources this term is used to describe both Mecklenburgian and Pomeranian coinage) were lighter compared to those of the Margraviate.<sup>23</sup>

Towards the end of the Ascanian reign, Międzyrzecz and a part of the local Castellany came for a short period (probably around 1296/1297–1321) into Brandenburgian possession.<sup>24</sup> During excavation research in the remains of the castle in Międzyrzecz, six Margraviate deniers from the Ascanian and Bavarian periods were found.<sup>25</sup> Other evidence of a more intense circulation of Ascanian coins in the West Greater Poland frontier region is a find, possibly a hoard, unpublished to-date, from Międzyrzecz or the surrounding area (it contains deniers of type Bft 242/Da. 135: c.1300, 339/79: c.1275, 565/Da. 111: c.1290, 571/Da. 113: c.1290, 572/Da. 127: c.1295, 592/Da. 171: c.1315–1318).

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<sup>21</sup> Urbańska and Kurnatowski 1967, pp. 86–103. Map no. 12 with archaeological sites dated to 1300 marked on it can be very informative.

<sup>22</sup> Walachowicz 1980, p. 31 and *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Szczurek 2007, p. 122.

<sup>24</sup> Rutkowska 1993, pp. 149–150.

<sup>25</sup> Szczurek 1983, pp. 57–72.

## BAVARIAN PERIOD (1323–1373)

After the House of Ascania became extinct in 1319 and several years of an interregnum passed, the Bavarian House of Wittelsbach, following a decision of the German King Louis IV the Bavarian (1314–1347) of this very house, began their reign in Brandenburg. In the middle of the fourteenth century, money market turmoil started in Neumark. *Vinkenaugen* coinage of lower standards than the domestic Margrave's deniers began to increase in circulation and even became the dominant currency as records of that time, known from the diplomatic codex of Brandenburg, report<sup>26</sup> (as we know, from the second half of the thirteenth century, this term might refer to West Pomeranian coins as well). A distinguished researcher of Brandenburgian coins and coinage, Emil Bahrfeldt, gathered together reports on mints that existed in Neumark from various kinds of written sources. The complete list is as follows in Myślibórz (*Soldin*) before 1335, Chojna (*Königsberg NM*) in 1352–1356, Moryń (*Mohrin*) in 1352 and Mieszkowice (*Bärwalde*) in 1353–1356. This data suggest the existence of a mobile mint in Neumark.<sup>27</sup> In newer documents, e.g. from 1351 and 1352 in Chojna or 1352 in Moryń, deniers lighter than those of the Margrave are mentioned, namely *Vinkenaugen*, referred to as *denarii vinconenses* and *denarii Stettinenses* (17 December 1351, Chojna). In 1352, the light denier (*Vinkenaug*), of either West Pomeranian or Brandenburgian origin, to Brandenburgian heavy denier ratio was approximately 3:1 (*dry vynkenogen vor 1 Brandenburg. pennick*).<sup>28</sup>

Numismatic sources from the period in question are particularly scarce in the area of Neumark. A hoard from the middle of the fourteenth century containing 196 heavy deniers of three different types found in Trzcińsko-Zdrój (*Schönfließ*) had, until recently, been the only known example.<sup>29</sup> The set of 12+4 typologically uniform Brandenburgian deniers from the grave in Rurka in Gryfino County, mentioned above, may also be considered a find from a possible hoard. Originally, a petty discretionary fund, it was called a 'spontaneous hoard' by Stanisław Suchodolski.<sup>30</sup> Less than five years ago, Borys Paszkiewicz found 118 coins from a hoard that little is known about on the antiquarian market that had been excavated somewhere in the area between Barlinek and Choszczno. He managed to identify 10 Brandenburgian deniers of the *Vinkenaugen* type (along with 102 Pomeranian deniers, five Polish and one uncertain). He dated the entire

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<sup>26</sup> Szczurek 2010, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup> Bahrfeldt 1889, p. 53; Kiersnowski 1964, pp. 168, 174.

<sup>28</sup> Suhle 1937, pp. 145–146; idem 1940, p. 464.

<sup>29</sup> v. K. [B. Köhne?] 1868, nos. 15, 59–60.

<sup>30</sup> Suchodolski 1997, p. 195, idem 1997a, pp. 155–156; idem 1998, pp. 369–370.

find to shortly after 1371.<sup>31</sup> It has to be stressed that even Hermann Dannenberg had already suspected that some of the Brandenburgian *Vinkenaugen* had been minted as a part of Świdwin issues of Neumark. Emil Bahrfeldt rejected this claim, pointing out that during the reign of the House of Wittelsbach no mint in this city was ever mentioned, still he did agree that the coins may have originated in Neumark.<sup>32</sup> Chiefly owing to new search techniques, several other Brandenburgian heavy denier single finds were uncovered in recent years, many of which have not been published to-date, *e.g.* in Deszczno, Glinik, Jenin and Wojcieszycze in Gorzów County (Fig. 3), and in Drezdenko in Strzelce Krajeńskie-Drezdenko County (Fig. 4). A hoard from the vicinity of Drawsko Pomorskie is the most recent of such finds. Out of 84 coins, 18 are Prague groschen of Wenceslaus II (1278–1305) and John the Blind (1310–1346), one was a Pomeranian denier and the rest were Brandenburgian deniers.<sup>33</sup>

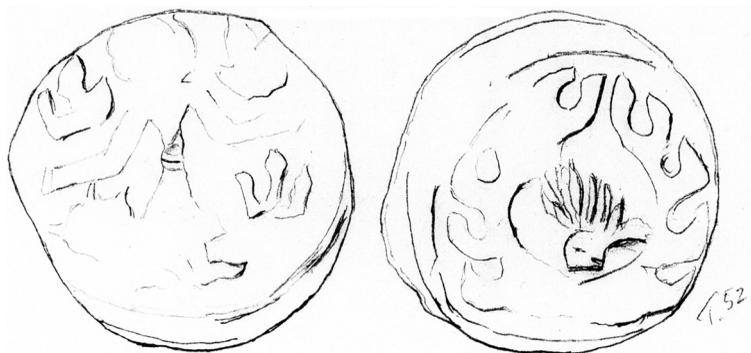


Fig. 3. Brandenburgian denier of the Bavarian period found in Wojcieszycze, Gorzów Wielkopolski County, (type Bft 657/Da. 208: *c.* 1335), (ø 14.9 mm).

Neumark documents of 1351 and 1352 from Chojna, and 1352 from Moryń use the term *Okelpfennige*, always in the context of *Vinkenaugen*: *...cudendo et fabricando denarios Brandenburgenses, qui vulgariter dicuntur Kelpennige et denarios Stettinenses qui vinkinogen vulgariter nuncupantur...*<sup>34</sup> (1351, Chojna) and *...denarii, que vocantur Okelpennige, sive alii veteres, vel novi aut, eciam vinconensium aut nove speciei cujuscunque...*<sup>35</sup> (1352, Moryń). The quoted re-

<sup>31</sup> Paszkiewicz 2012, pp. 279–302.

<sup>32</sup> Bahrfeldt 1889, p. 254.

<sup>33</sup> The report on this unpublished hoard is courtesy of Michał Kulesza MA from the Museum in Koszalin.

<sup>34</sup> Riedel 1863, pp. 55 f. no. CI.

<sup>35</sup> Riedel 1860, p. 76, no. XXIV.

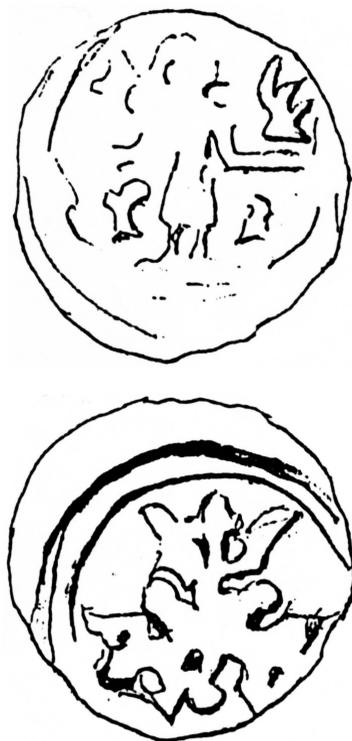


Fig. 4. Brandenburgian denier of the Bavarian period found in Drezdenko, Strzelce Krajeńskie-Drezdenko County, (type Bft 679/Da. 242: c. 1360), ( $\phi$  14.5 mm).

cords seem to suggest that *Okelpennige* (*Kelpennige*) refer to heavy Brandenburgian deniers as opposed to *Vinkenaugen*. The problem is that the word *Okelpennige* is used for the first time in a document from 1314, which grants Salzwedel, a city of Altmark, with the right to mint its own coins (although the contrast between the lighter Salzwedel bracteates of Lübeck mint standard and heavy Brandenburgian deniers is emphasised there), then in Berlin and Eberswalde in the fourteenth century and, furthermore, in Pomeranian Anklam and Pomeranian Greifswald in 1325. They were also reported in Brunswick in 1403–1408 and in Wittenberg in 1382 and 1386.<sup>36</sup> Numismatic research has not provided a satisfactory explanation of this situation to-date.

Do coin finds cast any light on the times of the House of Wittelsbach's reign? Similar to the case of Neumark, this area is rather deficient in strictly numismatic sources. Only two hoards represent the early Bavarian period, both similarly dated to a period before the middle of the fourteenth century, one from Gajec

<sup>36</sup> Menadier 1898, pp. 28 ff; Bamberg 1938/1939, pp. 115 ff; Jesse 1952, p. 225.

(*Neuendorf*),<sup>37</sup> Słubice County, and the other from Rychlik (*Reichen*),<sup>38</sup> Sulęcín County. Both contain heavy Brandenburgian deniers of the Ascanian and Bavarian periods and, in the case of the under-researched hoard from Gajec, we have also gained knowledge about a substantial number of Prague groschen of Wenceslas II (1278–1305) and John the Blind (1310–1346).

It is noticeable that the hoard from Drawsko Pomorskie, mentioned above, shows considerable similarity to the one from Gajec near Rzepin in Torzym Province; both were scattered and consisted of Prague groschen of Wenceslas II and John the Blind as well as Brandenburgian deniers, with a preponderance of the former,<sup>39</sup> and were hidden before the middle of the fourteenth century. The two hoards from Gajec and Drawsko Pomorskie prove that currency circulation in Neumark and in Torzym Province was similar, however, the presence of a Pomeranian denier in Drawsko Pomorskie whilst no such coin was found in Gajec, where the two-sided Pfennig of Saxony-Wittenberg is present instead, shows regional differences – comparable to the situation in the Ascanian period. Furthermore, four Prague groschen from the fourteenth century, probably a part of a hoard, were found in Frankfurt (Oder).<sup>40</sup> Among the newest discoveries, there are also unpublished finds of Brandenburgian deniers from the Bavarian period, some from the church of James the Apostle in Ośno Lubuskie (3+3), Słubice County,<sup>41</sup> and a number of individual coins of that type found, *e.g.* in several places in the vicinity of Ośno Lubuskie (Fig. 5), in Drzecin, Słubice County, and Kunowice, Słubice County. (I will return to other individual finds from Torzym Province in a later part of this study). I did not find *Vinkenaugen* or *Okelpennige* mentioned in any of the written sources concerning Torzym Province. In this area, Pomeranian coins seem to have disappeared from circulation during the Bavarian period. To-date, archaeological research conducted in the church of James the Apostle in Ośno since 2013 validates this conclusion. Among a quarter of the thousand coins dated from *c.*1325 to the nineteenth century, not even one was medieval Pomeranian.

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<sup>37</sup> Dannenberg 1865, pp. 213–214.

<sup>38</sup> Bardt 1890, pp. 98–99.

<sup>39</sup> Dannenberg 1865, pp. 213–214.

<sup>40</sup> Huth 1975, p. 38.

<sup>41</sup> Research supervised by Paweł Kaźmierczak from Lubusz Museum in Gorzów Wielkopolski. Identified Brandenburgian deniers are as follows: Bft 577/Da. 195: *c.*1325 (0+1); Bft 577 variation/Da. 195 variation: *c.*1325 (1); Bft 673/Da. 203: *c.*1330 (1); Bft 645/Da. 204: *c.*1330 (1); Bft 630/Da. 205: *c.*1330 (0+1); Bft 750–756 (Av.)/ Da. 249(?): *c.*1363–1365(?) (0+1). Hans-Dieter Dannenberg believes that the deniers of the last Ascanian Margrave, Waldemar (died 1319), type Bft 577/Da. 195 with the name of WOLDEMAR on them, may have actually been minted later by the Wrong Woldemar (see Dannenberg H.-D. 2002, pp. 20–22).



Fig. 5. Brandenburgian deniers of the Bavarian period found in various spots in the vicinity of Ośno Lubuskie in 2014. Photo P. Kaźmierczak.

Towards the end of the Wittelsbach reign, great changes were introduced to Brandenburgian coinage: the two-side pfennigs, subject to recoinage every year, were replaced by the *Hohlpfennig*, which was excluded from the periodic renewal and became an ‘eternal currency’. Since I dedicated a separate work to explaining this process, I shall not elaborate on it here.<sup>42</sup> What I would like to mention in this context is the controversy aroused in professional publications by the introduction of the Brandenburgian eternal pfennig, *e.g.* in the Margraviate territories east of the Oder. The coinage reform that resulted in the eternal pfennig had two stag-

<sup>42</sup> Szczurek 2008, pp. 497–516; idem, 2010a, pp. 249 ff.

es: Margrave Otto VIII signed a coinage ordinance for Stendal coinage district in Altmark on 19 March 1369, and on 24 June 1369 he did the same for Mittelmark, indicating Berlin and Frankfurt (Oder) as the main mints of the latter district.<sup>43</sup> According to the ordinances, 18 new Pfennings were supposed to be equal to 12 old ones, which meant that a new, lower mint standard was introduced. The document from 24 June 1369 lists Ošno Lubuskie of Torzym Province as one of the cities that bought the rights to issue the eternal currency. Furthermore, councillors of Ošno, and Otto Mörner who is known to have been a coinage entrepreneur in Chojna of Neumark in 1351 are all among witnesses of the document.<sup>44</sup> Another city listed as a participant in the transaction is *Landsberg*. Even though that was the German name of the current Gorzów Wielkopolski, Lothar Tewes identifies it with another city situated northeast of Berlin in Mittelmark.<sup>45</sup>

There are two distinct opinions between the most recent researchers of Brandenburgian coinage. The author of a recently published systematics of eternal pfennigs, Lothar Tewes supports their radical implementation because of the two coinage enactments of 1369.<sup>46</sup> Hans-Dieter Dannenberg, on the other hand, considers the introduction of the eternal pfennig to be a process rather than a single reform act, a process that took place at various times in each region of the Margraviate of Brandenburg, including Neumark, and lasted several years.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, we do not know the exact course of the eternal currency implementation in the Margraviate of Brandenburg, and Neumark is no different. Does the fact that Ošno Lubuskie had participated in the transaction to acquire the eternal currency mean that it was in circulation in the whole of Torzym Province, or was it limited to the town itself? It seems logical to assume the former, considering that Ošno was the capital of Torzym Province at that time. The problem is a great deal more complex when it comes to Neumark, since there is no direct written evidence other than the signature of the enigmatic Otto Mörner who, as mentioned above, had been connected to the mint in Chojna before, but it appears that he was present in the transaction with the Margrave as a court-judge (*Hofrichter*), rather than representing any city of Neumark.<sup>48</sup> Numismatic sources are not too helpful either. However, I shall try to analyse the significance of some of the written and numismatic sources. In a document from 8 February 1373, in which the Margrave allows Gorzów to raise customs, a Scherf is mentioned (... *ein schock mulden ein scherff* ...).<sup>49</sup> A Scherf was a unit that equalled half a Pfennig (a one-tier

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<sup>43</sup> Riedel 1857, pp. 501–503, no. XXVII.

<sup>44</sup> Szczurek 2010a, p. 253.

<sup>45</sup> Tewes 2009, pp. 76–78.

<sup>46</sup> Tewes 1998, pp. 5–69; idem 1999, no. 6, pp. 239–245.

<sup>47</sup> Dannenberg H.-D. 1998, pp. 22–31; idem 2006, pp. 35–36, 39–40.

<sup>48</sup> Riedel 1857, pp. 501 ff. no. XXVII.

<sup>49</sup> Riedel 1859, pp. 405–406, no. LIX.

monetary system was still in use in Brandenburgia at that time). Such a denomination was only minted from the introduction of the eternal pfennig,<sup>50</sup> however, it was also possible to obtain it by cutting a bracteate pfennig in half, which was quite a common practice among the local people. Specifically minted Scherfs, that is smaller and half the weight compared to bracteate Pfennigs, were present in every fifteenth century hoard found in Torzym Province (Kunowice, Słubice County, vicinity of Łagów, Świebodzin County and Radówek, Słubice County). In Kunowice pfennigs cut in half were also found along with round Scherfs. The custom of cutting coins in half was probably accepted, but it was not regulated by legal means, thereby it does not seem likely that a Margrave would have referred to it. Furthermore, no documents written after 1360 mention any active mint in the region of Neumark. What we do know is that starting from 1369 mints in Frankfurt (Oder) and Berlin were the ones closest to Neumark and Torzym Province. Moreover, from the third quarter of the fourteenth century hoards containing two-sided pfennigs ceased to appear in the whole territory of Brandenburg, which may suggest a radical exchange of the old coins to the new, ‘eternal’ bracteate Pfennig.<sup>51</sup> The two earliest hoards containing those coins were found in the north-west outskirts of the Margraviate of Brandenburg: in Netzow near Havelberg (hidden around 1372–1380), and in Jübar near Salzwedel in Altmark (hidden c. 1381). In both finds the early bracteate Pfennigs are mixed with Brandenburgian deniers, including Ascanian coins.<sup>52</sup>

The circumstantial data given above seems to suggest that the eternal pfennig was simultaneously introduced in Torzym Province and Neumark. However, it has to be considered that the eternal currency, *i.e.* not subject to recoinage, appeared in both territories even before the legal regulations of 1369. In Neumark, it was all kinds of *Vinkenaugen* that is West Pomeranian deniers of various origins, mentioned in numerous written sources. However, there is a distinct difference between *denarii vinconenses*, *denarii Stettinenses*, *denarii leves*, *parvi denarii leves*, *denarii slavicales* and *leichte Pfennige*, that is *Vinkenaugen* described in the sources from the Ascanian period (up to 1319), and those appearing in more recent records. West Pomeranian deniers and bracteates from the times of *renovatio* were described in documents in such a fashion, and so were those minted after the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, when Pomeranian cities begun to acquire the rights to issue their own deniers, which *de facto* were the eternal currency, from the prince.<sup>53</sup> This means that the *Vinkenaugen* of Neumark, coins ‘modelled after Szczecin deniers’ and minted in Chojna, Moryń and

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<sup>50</sup> Te wes 1998, pp. 239 ff., idem 1999, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>51</sup> See comparison of denier hoards: Dannenberg H.-D. 1997, pp. 174–186.

<sup>52</sup> Stefke 1997, pp. 17–35.

<sup>53</sup> Sprandel 1975, pp. 163 ff.; Szczurek 1985, pp. 78 ff.

Mieszkowice, mentioned above, had to be an eternal currency as well. In addition, Prague groschen, present in both the territories in question in the first half of the fourteenth century, were a model example of an eternal coin. Prague groschen were first mentioned in 1315, in a document concerning the sale of the Pełczyce land,<sup>54</sup> but further information appeared only at the end of the Bavarian period, *e.g.* two from 1372: one mention concerned granting Drawsko Pomorskie to Lüdeke von Wedel as a pledge;<sup>55</sup> the second – pawning Neumark voytship (*advocatia*) to von Wedel and von Uchtenhagen.<sup>56</sup> The Czech currency also reached Torzym Province at around the same time as was proven by a hoard from Gajec, Słubice County (from before the middle of fourteenth century).<sup>57</sup>

Two important finds from Ośno Lubuskie were not mentioned among single finds from Torzym Province. In 2002, a bracteate pfennig with an image of a helmet of an old, Bascinet type (so-called *Beckenhaube*), minted in Frankfurt (Oder), was found on the Town Hall Square (Fig. 6).<sup>58</sup> Dating back to 1369–1372, it is the oldest type of Brandenburgian ‘eternal Pfennig’ found east of the Oder River. In 1998, a Prague groschen of Charles IV (1346–1378) was found on Szeroka Street.<sup>59</sup> (These are single finds, which means that a longer time may have passed between their minting and going out of circulation).



Fig. 6. Brandenburgian bracteate Pfennig (a so-called ‘eternal’ Pfennig), c. 1369–1372, found in Ośno Lubuskie (ø 14 mm).

<sup>54</sup> Suhle 1940, p. 466.

<sup>55</sup> Riedel 1859, pp. 230–231, no. XXVI.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, pp. 146–147, no. LXXXII.

<sup>57</sup> Dannenberg 1865, pp. 213–214.

<sup>58</sup> Szczurek 2008, p. 498, Fig. 4.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, p. 498, Fig. 2.

THE LUXEMBOURGIAN AND HOHENZOLLERN PERIOD  
(FROM 1373 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

The Cieszyno/*Teschenbusch* hoard from near Świdwin (c. 1375) seems to be an adequate source of information about the region of Neumark for the times of the breakthrough, that is of the introduction of the eternal Pfennig (the last years of the Bavarian dynasty's reign and the beginnings of the Luxembourgian one), though it did not contain Brandenburgian eternal bracteate Pfennigs. However, Torzym Province lacks a hoard originating in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The Cieszyno hoard contained about 10,000 deniers, the majority of which were West Pomeranian, with few Brandeburgian *Vinkenaugen* type ones (some of them probably from local issues) and equally scarce Polish, Swedish, light German (but not Brandenburgian) deniers, which seems to be a good reflection of the Neumark's currency circulation up to the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Hermann Dannenberg dated the hoard back to about 1370 and Hans-Dieter Dannenberg, in present times, is willing to change the estimation to 1375.<sup>61</sup>

The conclusion regarding the representativeness of the Neumark currency found in the Cieszyno hoard may be additionally supported by the fact that 15 documented records from the period between 1380–1400, mentioning payments using *Vinkenaugen* type pfennigs have been found. It is the most often mentioned currency, sometimes appearing under the name 'Szczecin deniers'. Besides them, there are mentions of Brandenburgian pfennigs (twice), Prague groschen (twelve times) and gold florins (twice).<sup>62</sup> A hoard from the vicinity of Barlinek and Choczno, recently revealed by Borys Paszkiewicz, possibly somewhat older than the Cieszyno one, seems to confirm the established ratios, exhibiting typological similarities in both the amount of Pomeranian deniers and Brandeburgian *Vinkenaugen*.<sup>63</sup> This is a good place to mention the light deniers hoard, including, amongst others, *Vinkenaugen*, most likely of Brandenburgian origin, found in Hrabušice in Slovakian Spiš, near Levoča. The collection dates back to the third quarter of the fourteenth century and has been revealed by Borys Paszkiewicz, the tireless hunter of endangered hoards.<sup>64</sup>

Torzym Province in these times should have been supplied with eternal pfennigs minted beyond the Oder that is in Mittelmark, but these coins are nowhere to be found, which is possibly due to pure chance. On the other hand, we have already discussed the fact that hoards from the Margraviate of Brandenburg

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<sup>60</sup> Dannenberg 1877a, pp. 109–132.

<sup>61</sup> Dannenberg H.-D. 1997, p. 185, no. 96.

<sup>62</sup> Szczurek 1988, pp. 81–102.

<sup>63</sup> Paszkiewicz 2012, pp. 279–302.

<sup>64</sup> Paszkiewicz 2005, pp. 1375–1381.

containing early eternal pfennigs have been generally rare up to this point; they appeared only west of the Oder (Netzow, Jübar, also Klötze and Gardelegen), around the north-western borders of Brandenburg.<sup>65</sup> Incidentally, the process observed here is similar to what happened after the introduction of the denier coin around the middle of the thirteenth century: hoards containing two-sided pfennigs appeared in Brandenburg with a delay of at least a quarter of a century.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the ‘eternal’ currency hoards exhibit delays after their contents’ introduction, with the finds from the northwestern Margraviate outskirts being an exception proving the general rule. This widely encountered phenomenon (the late appearances of a currency in hoards and the rarity of finds) can be explained by the high costs of the reforms enabling the eternal pfennig’s introduction. On the one hand, the costs could have been caused by the removal of the old coinage from the market and exchanging it for a new one (leaving too little funds to enable accumulation) and, on the other hand, by the general reluctance to freeze assets in the new currency. Besides, one should keep in mind the fact that the Berlin–Frankfurt mint district bought out the rights to issue the coin for 6,500 marks.<sup>67</sup> It means that the cities and estates of Mittelmark and the regions east of the Oder (at the very least Torzym Province) had to donate a huge sum of over two million contemporary deniers (heavy ones), with an average weight of 0.613g per denier, severely draining the financial assets of the citizens.<sup>68</sup> (In the broad context of these considerations, one could ask what currency had been used for the payment, because gathering such a sum needed for the transaction in the then current, heavy Brandenburgian deniers, which would expire in a year’s time, does not seem to be possible at all).

In the years 1402–1454 Neumark came under the rule of the Teutonic Order. They received the region from Sigismund of Luxembourg in exchange for 63,200 Hungarian florins.<sup>69</sup> Frederick II, Elector of Brandenburg, bought it back in 1454, when the Order began the thirteen-year war with Poland. The buyout was also paid with gold currency and priced at 40,000 Rhine florins.<sup>70</sup>

The Teutonic state found that the monetary market was dominated by West Pomeranian deniers (*Vinkenaugen*). The data gathered from hoards from the era

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<sup>65</sup> Stefke 1997, pp. 17–35; Vossberg 1851, pp. 231–240; Bahrfeldt 1894–1897, pp. 17–29, plate 32; Jesse 1954, pp. 319–332, plate 17–18.

<sup>66</sup> Szczyrek 2007, pp. 58–59, 214 and passim.

<sup>67</sup> Bahrfeldt 1889, pp. 25–26 and passim.

<sup>68</sup> Assuming that one mark was worth 380 such deniers, the amount of the Brandenburgian deniers needed would be c. 2,470,000 (see Dannenberg H.-D. 1997, p. 31, Table 6, Brandenburgian denier to Cologne mark ratio).

<sup>69</sup> Riedel 1863, p. 118, no. CLXXX.

<sup>70</sup> Strzelczyk 1975, p. 244.

of Teutonic rule are clear: every single one of the hoards was in at least 90 per cent composed of Pomeranian coins (Strzelce Krajeńskie, c.1410, Myślibórz, after 1425, Kostrzyn nad Odrą, c.1425–1430 and Choszczno II, c.1430), most of which were Pomeranian deniers (*Vinkenaugen*), in 40 per cent ones from Szczecin (Fig. 7). Only sporadically have there been found Pomeranian witten (Choszczno I and Kostrzyn nad Odrą), dreilings (Kostrzyn nad Odrą), and viercken have been identified solely as single finds (which made their dating to the first half of the fifteenth century rather uncertain, since they started appearing *en masse* as late as in sixteenth century hoards).<sup>71</sup>



Fig. 7. Hoard from Strzelce Krajeńskie, c.1410. Photo I. Suknarowska.

Brandenburgian coinage, represented only by light deniers (*Vinkenaugen*) has a modest presence in the finds: nine pieces in Choszczno I (after 1425–1430), 13 in Choszczno II (about 1430), one in Kostrzyn nad Odrą (about 1425–1430) and 29 pieces in the Myślibórz hoard (after 1425), which contained about 20,000 coins. This scarcity had been probably caused by the fact that the coin was already rather outdated and its production ceased, at least in Neumark, several decades earlier, but even in the older hoards, *e.g.* the Cieszyno and Barlinek–Choszczno finds, it appeared only as an addition, in amounts insignificant in comparison to Pomeranian deniers. A similarly insignificant role was played by Polish deniers (of the last Piasts and the early Jagiellons), sparse Mecklenburg deniers (*Vinkenaugen*) and witten, Silesian hellers and, entirely accidental, German coins: a town bracteate of Lüneburg, a town denier of Ulm, a denier of Mark and Cleves,

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<sup>71</sup> Szczurek 2012, pp. 93–95. About those hoards see also Kubiak (with B. Paszkiewicz) 1998, pp. 96–98, nos. 253 ff.

a town denier and cut halfpenny of Reckheim, a quarter-pfennig of the Osnabrück bishopric, a County of Ravensberg pfennig and eight pfennigs of Rügen. There was also a Danish korshvid (cross-witten) and two artigs of the Dorpat bishopric. Prague groschen of Charles I (1346–1378) and Wenceslas IV (1378–1419) were also present.<sup>72</sup> In the region of Neumark, Czech groschen functioned only as a supplement to other coins and did not form their own hoards. A significant exception to this rule is the great Myślibórz hoard (hidden after 1425), composed of two vases, one of which contained assorted groschen.<sup>73</sup> The Czech groschen served, due to shortages on the money market, as money of account rather than an actual currency, which is proven by it appearing sixteen times on diplomas concerning Neumark from the first half of the fifteenth century and scarce amounts found in hoards, as shown above.<sup>74</sup>

It was only after the Grunwald defeat – or at least this is the period from which the written sources originated – when the Teutonic Order started organizing the money relations on the acquired territories. On 7 July 1439 the Teutonic landvoigt of Neumark issued a minting ordinance, which included two important decisions: to mint their own coin of *Vinkenaugen* type in Choszczno and Świdwin and to expunge the Pomeranian currency, namely the coins issued in Szczecin, Pyrzyce, Gartz an der Oder and Stargard.<sup>75</sup> A year later (27 July 1440), the next voigt of Neumark renewed the ordinance regulating the minting of the Teutonic *Vinkenaugen* and the Pomeranian currency ban almost to the letter, extending it by the Gryfino and Goleniów coins.<sup>76</sup>

The hoards mentioned above evidence the failure of these undertakings as none of them contained the Teutonic currency – and not only the one issued for Neumark (W.6 type),<sup>77</sup> but also no Teutonic coins whatsoever. On the other hand, the *Vinkenaugen* of the Order, appeared in two types in a Pomeranian hoard from Nosibądy/*Naseband* (around the middle of the fifteenth century), Szczecinek County.<sup>78</sup>

Not long ago Borys Paszkiewicz investigated the issue of Teutonic currency in Neumark. He attributed deniers of the Tower/Order shield type to the Świdwin mint and the ones with the Order's grand master/Order shield type to Choszczno (Fig. 8).<sup>79</sup> (Both these types were present in Nosibądy, the first one enumerated

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<sup>72</sup> Kubiak (with B. Paszkiewicz) 1998, pp. 96–98.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, pp. 98–99.

<sup>74</sup> Szczurek 1988, pp. 85 f, 97–98.

<sup>75</sup> Riedel 1863, pp.149–152, no. CCVI.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, pp. 152–153, no. CCVIII.

<sup>77</sup> Hoffmann 1919, pp. 437–439.

<sup>78</sup> Dannenberg 1890, pp. 301–305.

<sup>79</sup> Paszkiewicz 2013, pp. 17–20, Figs. 2–3. Prof. Borys Paszkiewicz pointed out in our discussion that the dating of most fifteenth century hoards is pushed too far for-

as 30 and the second as 29 in Hermann Dannenberg's publication on Pomeranian coinage).<sup>80</sup> An exception of sorts in the subject of the presence of the Teutonic coin in Neumark appeared in the form of the most recent single coins finds from Deszczno near Gorzów Wielkopolski and from Gorzów Wielkopolski Karnin: a shilling of the Grand Master Louis of Erlichshausen (1450–1467) and a shilling of the Grand Master Paul of Rusdorf (1422–1441).<sup>81</sup> Both coins could, however, ended up there after Neumark rejoined Brandenburg. It is quite telling that the Teutonic coin entered Neumark in noticeable amounts so many years after the Order left the region as may be observed on the basis of the Rów hoard near Myślibórz (after 1529), where 20 shillings issued under the marks of Paul of Rusdorf, John of Tiefen (1489–1497), Frederick of Saxony (1498–1510) and Albert of Brandenburg (1511–1522) have been found.<sup>82</sup>

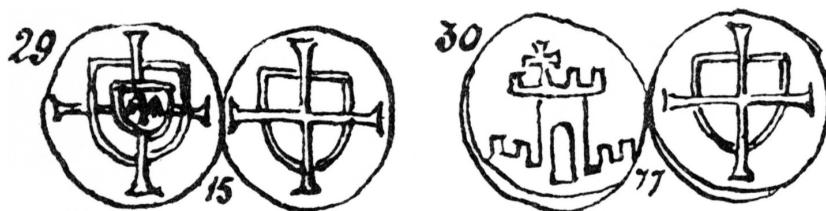


Fig. 8. Neumark Teutonic deniers of *Vinkenaugen* type, known from a West Pomeranian hoard found in Nosibądy, Szczecinek County (hidden around the middle of the fifteenth century). After H. Dannenberg 1893.

After the middle of the fifteenth century the numbers of written records about Pomeranian deniers in Neumark suddenly dropped.<sup>83</sup> It is possible that such a decline was connected to the lowered production of the local cities' mints, although it was only Duke Bogislaw X (1478–1523) who terminated Pomeranian municipal coinage (except for Stralsund) with his coinage ordinance of 1489.<sup>84</sup> An undeniable fact is that we are devoid of hoards from the second half of the fifteenth century, and especially from its last quarter, which could shed some light on the situation of Neumark's money market by providing us with numismatic evidence.

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ward, as I initially established the dates in accordance with Polish publications. This note shed some light on the lack of the Order's *Vinkenaugen* in hoards. Still, the absence of the Neumark Order's currency in finds (with the exception of Nosibądy) is undeniable.

<sup>80</sup> Dannenberg 1893, p. 23, plate P.

<sup>81</sup> Szczurek 2013, p. 72, Figs. 2–3.

<sup>82</sup> Szczurek 1994, pp. 100–102, nos. 2201–2220.

<sup>83</sup> See Szczurek 1988, p. 96, attachment 1.

<sup>84</sup> Suhle 1937, p. 142; Kiersnowski 1964, p. 196; Piniński 1976, pp. 20–21.

Written records mention the mint in Chojna, in use since 1468, in which moneyer Michael Hemelpforte (Himmelpforte) had been ordered to produce Brandenburgian groschen, Pfennigs, *Vinkenaugen* and *Viercken*.<sup>85</sup> The minting ordinance of Chojna itself serves as proof of the strong influence of the Pomeranian currency on Brandenburg, forcing Brandenburg's coin system to assimilate Wendish units (*Vinkenauge* and *Viercken*). Nevertheless, it was as late as in the sixteenth century when the hoards started to include Chojna coins and currency from other Brandenburg and West Pomeranian mints. Lothar Tewes suspects that the margrave's Chojna pfennigs and *Vinkenaugen* could not have been minted there, the former due to the possibility of a war between Brandenburg and Pomerania. The pfennigs (bracteates) in Chojna were being issued probably as late as around 1470–1472 as war coinage of lowered standards.<sup>86</sup> The lowering of Brandenburg coins' quality was supposed to affect the coins struck in the margrave's mints since 1470 (excluding Frankfurt and Berlin, due to purchasing the right to issue the eternal pfennig in 1369).<sup>87</sup> West Pomeranian coins lost some of their dominance in the sixteenth century, in comparison to the previous one, especially in its first half as proven by the contents of discovered hoards: the unpublished hoard of Gorzów Wielkopolski (after 1522), being in essence a small replica of the Rów, Myślibórz County hoard, the one from Kłodawa near Gorzów Wielkopolski (after 1526);<sup>88</sup> and the aforementioned Rów hoard near Myślibórz (after 1529).<sup>89</sup> However, in those last two, the percentage of the West Pomeranian coin is still significant.

In the analogous period, during the Luxembourg reign (1373–1415) and in the first century of the Hohenzollern era, Torzym Province money market was being shaped in a completely different fashion. Briefly, *Land Sternberg* was monetarily unified with the Margraviate of Brandenburg, i.e. Mittelmark. West Pomeranian coins did not circulate in this region, reaching only as far as to the lower parts of Warta and Noteć that is essentially the southern borders of Neumark. The monetary circulation has been reconstructed based on the following hoards: one from the vicinity of Łagów/*Lagow* (c.1440), Świebodzin County,<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Bahrfeldt 1895, p. 25; Tewes 1999, p. 244, T 21; Dannenberg H.-D. 2009, p. 251. On the mint standard of the coins that were to be minted in Chojna due to the coinage ordinance of 1463, see Tewes 2009a, p. 436.

<sup>86</sup> Tewes 2009a, pp. 435 (Anmerkung), 436 f., Fig. 10.

<sup>87</sup> Before standard was lowered, pfennigs of the margrave, modelled after the Brandenburg–Neustadt ordinance, should weigh c.0.32 g and contain 0.12 g of silver (Tewes 2009a, pp. 434–436).

<sup>88</sup> Męciewska and Mikołajczyk 1983, p. 29, no. 49.

<sup>89</sup> Szczurek 1994.

<sup>90</sup> Bardt 1880, pp. 15–16.

Radówek/*Klein–Rade* (after 1459/1460), Słubice County,<sup>91</sup> Frankfurt (Oder) (after 1468),<sup>92</sup> Kunowice (c. 1460–1470), Słubice County,<sup>93</sup> Cybinka/*Ziebingen* (the fifteenth/sixteenth century), Słubice County.<sup>94</sup> All of them contained Brandenburgian bracteates (eternal pfennigs) or Brandenburgian groschen (except Kunowice), and sometimes both. We have dated the Radówek hoard in accordance with the findings of Friedrich Bardt who, due to the presence of the Margraviate groschen, established its origin after 1463, assuming the year as the date of their first issue.<sup>95</sup> Further analysis enabled it to be established that the beginnings of the Brandenburgian groschen issues were at about 1459–1460,<sup>96</sup> and that slightly altered Bardt's dating of the hoard. They were being minted until 1470, followed by a quarter-century long break in issuing.<sup>97</sup>

Sporadically the Lubusz Province finds contained Silesian hellers (Łagów), the bracteates of Anhalt and of the Magdeburg archbishopric (Radówek), single Jagiellonian deniers (vicinity of Łagów, Górzycza – a single find), solitary Meissen and Hessen groschen in the Kunowice hoard. The origin of this foreign monetary content is, therefore, somewhat different, but the smallest Jagiellonian coins found their way even here.

Even though Torzym Province lacks clear-cut cases of hoards of Prague groschen (the one find of Charles I's era from Ośno Lubuskie has been mentioned above), this absence can be without doubt attributed to random chance because in Silesia, just next to the southern borders of the region in question, in Toporów, Łagów parish (after 1390), a hoard of Czech groschen from the reigns of Charles I (1346–1378) and Wenceslas IV (1378–1419) has been found (Fig. 9).<sup>98</sup> Another heavy currency common to the two territories in question are gold florins. In Torzym Province they are known from the Frankfurt (Oder) and Cybinka, Słubice County hoards, and in Neumark from a find from Leków/*Leckow* near Świdwin (after 1516).<sup>99</sup> This last hoard contained Hungarian and Rhine florins from various dominions. Relatively rare payments or, alternatively, only their calculations in the gold currency, but only the Rhine florins, are documented in written sources

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<sup>91</sup> Bardt 1885, pp. 352–357.

<sup>92</sup> Bardt 1881, pp. 126–132, 1881a, p. 288. Groschen from Chojna, minted only from 1468, mark *terminus post quem*.

<sup>93</sup> Szczurek 1992, pp. 161–174.

<sup>94</sup> *Münzfunde* 1901, p. 240. For all these hoards except one from Frankfurt, see: Kubiak (with B. Paszkiewicz) 1998, pp. 101 ff., nos. 264 ff.

<sup>95</sup> Bardt 1885, p. 357.

<sup>96</sup> Bahrfeldt 1895, pp. 43, 57.

<sup>97</sup> Tewes 2009a, pp. 433–435.

<sup>98</sup> Initial publication of the hoard, see Szczurek 2002a, pp. 37–42.

<sup>99</sup> Goltz 1915, pp. 432–435.

regarding Neumark and Lubusz Province towns (Chojna, Santok, Marwice, Rzepin and Ośno Lubuskie).<sup>100</sup> Finally, using uncoined silver (in ingots) in transactions seems to have been a common practice in the two regions. One well known hoard from Torzym Province is a huge find from Laski Lubuskie, Słubice County, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, which comprised four silver cakes, one of them with a signature (Fig. 10).<sup>101</sup> A last will document from 3 January 1450 regarding assets from Marwice, Gorzów Wielkopolski County, mentions pure, *lötiges* silver and, moreover, in the context of Rhine florins, seems to clearly indicate the use of silver ingots also in the fifteenth century (*X schock, hundert rinske gulden vnd isliket twelf lödige Mark sulvers*).<sup>102</sup>



Fig. 9. Prague groschen hoard from Toporów, Świebodzin County, (hidden c. 1390).  
Photo K. Ligocki.

<sup>100</sup> Szczurek 2012, p. 104.

<sup>101</sup> Szczurek 2003, pp. 105–126.

<sup>102</sup> Riedel 1859, p. 421, no. LXXV.



Fig. 10. Silver ingot with a rosette, probably from Westphalia or Lower Saxony, part of a hoard from Laski Lubuskie, (hidden c. 1305). After J. Menadier 1902.

#### SUMMARY

Even though Neumark and Torzym Province did have a common history, studies of coin finds and written documents show that the money market on each of those territories of the Margraviate of Brandenburg developed differently. It obviously has to be stressed that, during the three centuries in question, the political unity of the two temporarily ceased for over half a century, when Neumark came under the Teutonic Knights' rule in 1402–1454.

Archaeological research reveals that, in the period when the middle Oder, lower Warta and Noteć territories were a part of Poland, after the inflow of early medieval silver ceased, the Margraviate's and other German coins were scarce in that area. After the region east of the Oder River became a part of Brandenburg, only in the last decade of the thirteenth century did Brandenburgian coin dominate its money market. The intensity of inflow would have varied depending on both the time and part of the territory, *i.e.* Neumark and Torzym Province.

The differences between Neumark and Torzym Province were relatively insignificant during the reign of the House of Ascania. The percentage of West Pomeranian deniers and bracteates in coin finds was greater in Neumark, and they also appear in written sources of that time.

The contrast between the northern and southern region seems to have deepened during the Bavarian period of the House of Wittelsbach's reign (1323–1373),

which provides us with few numismatic sources. According to the written documents, circulation of Pomeranian coins increased in Neumark, and the issuing of domestic *Vinkenaugen*, the Margraviate coin modelled on West Pomeranian standard, had begun. Torzym Province acceded to an agreement to introduce the eternal pfennig (1369). Prague groschen, another important eternal currency, entered circulation and accounts.

During the period of the House of Luxembourg (1373–1415), and the first century of the House of Hohenzollern's reign, Neumark and Torzym Province were distinct districts in terms of money circulation. Although Neumark was under the reign of the Teutonic Order at that time, West Pomeranian deniers (*Vinkenaugen*) were commonly used in the first half of the fifteenth century. In opposition to this, the Order attempted to introduce their own currency modelled after Pomeranian *Vinkenaugen* and founded mints in Choszczno and Świdwin although the contents of the hoards from that period prove that it was all to no avail. Brandenburgian money (pfennigs and groschen) began to dominate the coin market of Neumark as late as in the sixteenth century. However, hoards from Kłodawa, Gorzów Wielkopolski County, and Rów, Myślibórz County, show that West Pomeranian coins still were part of the circulation.

Neumark was the one Brandenburgian province where mints were in operation and the mint in Chojna was the most important one. Out of a number of denominations (including some modelled after Pomeranian ones) assigned to it by the coinage ordinance of 1468, there was also the eternal pfennig, found in hoards from the sixteenth century. Throughout the whole period in question, the coinage of Torzym Province was integral with the Margraviate of Brandenburg or, to be more specific, with its most important province – Mittelmark.

As for the Margraviate of Brandenburg's territories west of the Oder, we know about the separate coinage system of Altmark, where the Lübeck mint standard was in use. My research on coinage and money circulation in the late Middle Ages (after the middle of the fourteenth century) did not cover the whole area of Brandenburg, but the coinage of Uckermark also shows some separate features, analogous to Neumark, but under the influence of Pomerania (and perhaps Mecklenburg) *Vinkenaugen* were minted.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- Bft – E. Bahrfeldt, *Das Münzwesen der Mark Brandenburg von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Anfange der Regierung der Hohenzollern*, Vol. I, Berlin 1889 (reprinted: Leipzig 1975)
- Da. – H.-D. Dannenberg, *Die brandenburgischen Denare des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. Typenkatalog, Prägezeiten, historische Zusammenhänge*, Berlin 1997
- W. – E. Waschinski, *Brakteaten und Denare des Deutschen Ordens*, Frankfurt a.M. 1934

## LIST OF PERIODICALS' ABBREVIATIONS

AfB – Archiv für Bracteatenkunde  
BBMSW – Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde  
BBPN – Beiträge zur Brandenburgisch/Preußischen Numismatik, Numismatisches Heft  
BMB – Berliner Münzblätter  
BMF – Blätter für Münzfreunde  
BN – Biuletyn Numizmatyczny  
BNF – Berliner Numismatische Zeitschrift  
GN – Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten  
HBN – Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik  
NN – Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt  
PiMMAiEL (SN) – Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria Numizmatyczna i Konserwatorska  
WN – Wiadomości Numizmatyczne  
ZfN – Zeitschrift für Numismatik

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## RÓŻNICE W OBIEGU MONETARNYM NA TERENIE NOWEJ MARCHII I ZIEMI TORZYMSKIEJ W PÓŹNYM ŚREDNIOWIECZU

(Streszczenie)

Pomimo wspólnych dziejów politycznych Nowej Marchii i Ziemi Torzymskiej, ich przynależności do Marchii Brandenburskiej, obserwacja źródeł numizmatycznych w postaci znalezisk monetarnych, powiązana za śledzeniem dokumentów pisanych, pozwala na konstatację, iż odmiennie formował się rynek pieniężny obu tych terytoriów marchijskich. Trzeba jednakże zaznaczyć, że w przeciągu omawianych tutaj trzech stuleci, wspólnota polityczna została przerwana na ponad pół wieku, kiedy to Nowa Marchia w latach 1402–1454 znalazła się we władaniu Zakonu Krzyżackiego.

Intensywna cyrkulacja pieniądza brandenburskiego na wschód od Odry rozpoczęła się dopiero w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu XIII wieku. Wcześniej, w dobie przynależności ziem nad środkową Odrą oraz dolną Wartą i Notecią do państwa polskiego, po ustaniu napływu srebra wczesnośredniowiecznego, moneta marchijska, jak i inna niemiecka, napływała tu nielicznie, co ujawniają najnowsze badania archeologiczne. Intensywność opanowywania rynku pieniężnego przez monetę brandenburską, która nastąpiła dopiero kilkadziesiąt lat po przyłączeniu do Marchii Brandenburskiej ziem na wschód od Odry,

wykazuje rozmaite cykle, i to zarówno w zależności od epoki historycznej, jak i terytorium zaodrzańskiego, tzn. Nowej Marchii i Ziemi Torzymskiej (ta ostatnia pokrywała się z obszarem historycznej prawobrzeżnej części Ziemi Lubuskiej).

W okresie panowania margrabiów z linii askańskiej różnice pomiędzy Nową Marchią i Ziemią Torzymką były względnie niewielkie. W krainie północnej widoczny był w znaleziskach monetarnych znacznie większy udział denarów i brakteatów zachodniopomorskich, a ich obecność odnotowują również ówczesne źródła pisane odnoszące się do Nowej Marchii.

W dobie bawarskiej dynastii Wittelsbachów (1323–1373), skąpo oświetlonej źródłami numizmatycznymi, dezintegracja pomiędzy północą a południem uległa dalszemu pogłębieniu. Dokumenty pisane informują o zwiększonym obiegu w Nowej Marchii monety pomorskiej, a także emisji własnych *Vinkenaugen*, czyli pieniądza marchijskiego wzorowanego na stopie zachodniopomorskiej. Jest to epoka, w której Ziemia Torzymaska przystępuje do układu związanego z wprowadzeniem wiecznego feniga (1369). Jest to również okres, kiedy w obiegu i w rozliczeniach na obu terytoriach pojawia się inna ważna wieczna waluta – grosze praskie.

Czasy panowania Luksemburgów (1373–1415) oraz pierwsze stulecie panowania Hohenzollernów, to okres, kiedy Nowa Marchia i Ziemia Torzymaska stanowiły odmienne prowincje pieniężne. Nowa Marchia przez 1. połowę XV stulecia – pomimo przynależności do Zakonu Krzyżackiego – znalazła się w strefie obiegu denarów zachodniopomorskich (*Vinkenaugen*). Ich zwalczanie przez państwo zakonne, powiązane z próbami wprowadzenia własnej waluty na wzór pomorskich *Vinkenaugen*, i ustanowienie własnych mennic w Choszcznie i Świdwinie, nie przyniosły oczekiwanych rezultatów; dobitnie poucza o tym zawartość ówczesnych skarbów. Rynek pieniężny Nowej Marchii został opanowany przez pieniądz brandenburski (fenigi i grosze) dopiero na początku XVI wieku. Ale i wtenczas, jak zaświadczały depozyty z Kłodawy i Rowu, wpływ na formowanie się masy pieniężnej miały emisje zachodniopomorskie.

Nowa Marchia była tą prowincją brandenburską, w obrębie której funkcjonowały mennice – najbardziej z nich znaczącą była mennica w Chojnie. Spośród kilku nominatów, które przypisane zostały jej ordynacją menniczną z 1468 roku, w tym wzorowanych na pomorskich, wyróżniony został wieczny fenig w formie brakteatu guziczkowego (*Hohlpfennig*) i to dopiero w skarbach z XVI stulecia. Natomiast Ziemia Torzymaska przez cały omawiany tu okres wykazywała zintegrowanie z Marchią Brandenburską, a dokładnie rzecz ujmując, z jej najważniejszą prowincją – Marchią Środkową (*Mittelmark*).

The author's address:

Tadeusz Szczurek  
Muzeum Lubuskie im. J. Dekerta  
ul. Warszawska 35  
66-400 Gorzów Wlkp.  
Poland  
tadeuszsztzurek@interia.pl