

## WHERE WAS THE (P)“RESLAVVA CIV”(ITAS) COIN MINTED?

ISTVÁN GEDAI, Budapest

All the branches of history, including numismatics, have uncertain points, which cannot be clearly explained because of the insufficient sources. Further written sources can hardly be expected, as the documents of the archives are well published; especially as far as the early Middle Ages are concerned. However, new material sources, archeological finds may modify our present knowledge, or may result new, often unanswerable, or not unanimously answerable point of view, which may even radically differ from each other. In the latter case – due to the lack of sources – only the repeated discussions, trying to be as objective as possible in many points of view could mean a step forward to the ultimate or an acceptably final solution.

Uncertain points of the monetary history of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries of Central Europe, Bohemia and Hungary in the first place, are the denars with the legend of ...PHAIIVZ REX, or rather ...RESLAVVA CIV, found in Bosarve, Sweden, published by Vera Hatz, in spite of the fierce debates the matter has not been settled yet.<sup>1</sup> It may seem exaggerated to some that a group of scholars attach too much importance to the identification of a coin type. Nevertheless, the historic background of this coin type – whatever opinion may turn to be right – outgrows the general topic of the monetary history of a country, because it could be an important source for the beginning of the Bohemian, Moravian and Hungarian coinage. While continuing the debate, raising further views, possibilities summarising the foregoing can be interesting.

Identifying a coin is based on the legends and the depictions. The obverse of this coin bears the legend ...PHAIIVZ REX around a slightly soled cross, in the corner of the cross there wedge-wedge-point-wedge. The reverse bears the legend ...RESLAVVA CIV and depicts a Carolingian church. Between the ridge of the church and the parallel lines symbolising the flight of stairs there is a field for legend (Bavarian type), though without any letters. Its weight is 1.99 grams. The denar was interpreted by Vera Hatz, who completed the obverse legend to STEPHANVS REX and

she referred it to the Hungarian King (Saint) Stephen I (1000–1038). On the basis of contemporary French sources (*Annales Althanenses maiores*) she identified the reverse legend *Preslawaspurch*, *Brezalauspurc*, which was identical with Pressburg (Bratislava today) according to her.

After the publication of Vera Hatz's study two strongly opposed opinions were shaped. Jozef Hlinka<sup>2</sup> is several of his studies accepted Vera Hatz's identification regarding the issuer (King Stephen, King of Hungary) and place of issue (Pressburg, Pozsony). According to him King Stephen fled to Pressburg at the time of Koppány's uprising against Stephen and he let the denar strike by Bavarian mintmasters, who knew Pressburg as Preslavva, therefore the name of the place of minting was put on the coin in this form. It must also be mentioned that Christian Turnwald regarded the Bosarve coin<sup>3</sup> a Hungarian issue together with the DANNEBERG 1876, 1305–1307 (he later withdrew this view). Both Stanislaw Suchodolski<sup>4</sup> and Wolfgang Hahn<sup>5</sup> acknowledged the Hungarian origin, though they did not go into details about the reasons.

Lajos Huszár reacted upon the denar and the debate about its origin from among the Hungarian scholars. On the basis of the metrological, technical and archeological data, which came to light in large numbers in Scandinavian finds<sup>6</sup>, he ranked it among the Viking imitations. According to Lajos Huszár (in 1965!) it is unknown to Hungarian coinage.

- Depiction of cross/church; this depiction regarded as Hungarian by some scholars do not occur in Hungarian finds;
- Also RÉTHY 1899, I. 7., has a full denar weight, was thought as an imitation;
- The dies of the Hungarian coins were punched and not engraved;
- Latin was used in Hungary, therefore the Slavonic name of the mint is not likely at all.

On the basis of both Lajos Huszár and György Györffy's opponent opinion<sup>7</sup> the Bosarve denar was thought as an imi-

<sup>1</sup> HATZ 1965.

<sup>2</sup> HLINKA 1967, 1968, 1976, 1979, 1982.

<sup>3</sup> TURNWALD 1966, 1968, 1969.

<sup>4</sup> SUCHODOLSKI 1971.

<sup>5</sup> HAHN 1976, p.15–16.

<sup>6</sup> HUSZÁR 1966.

<sup>7</sup> György GYÖRFFY's opponents opinion on István GEDAI's "The beginning of the Hungarian coinage" candidate thesis. The dissertation was published see no. 8.

tation also by the author of this study, although the indefensibility of some points of Lajos Huszár's counter-arguments was proved by the author.<sup>8</sup>

The two irreconcilable views mean that the debate must be continued independently of there are new data or not. The debate of the arguments must be continued as long as the scholars disagree.

In the meantime the number of sources were increased by publishing two further pieces<sup>9</sup>. Both were found in the same find, found in Skíne county in Sweden. The knowledge of the two further pieces did not bring the identification and solving the problem any nearer. It can be stated that the three pieces, which had been known so far were struck by the same pair of dies and the three can serve as a reconstruction of both the obverse and the reverse legends: +ΣΡΗΑΙΥΣ REX and PRESΛAVVA CIV. It is remarkable that the two letter "S"s on the obverse are reversed, while the letter "S" on the reverse is more like a reverse "Z". (**Fig. 1.**) The two newly found pieces weigh 2.16 and 1.67 grams. Eventually,



Fig. 1 av.



Fig. 1 rv.

only material sources (the three denars) and the analysis of the historic situation are available in the future, too. Three questions must be answered:

1. who issued the coin?
2. where was the coin struck, i.e. which town can be (P)RESΛAVVA identified with?
3. when was the denar struck?

The answer to the first question seem to be answered the easiest. In Europe there was only one king called Stephen at that time: King of Hungary, crowned in 1000. On the basis of the +STEPHANVS REX legends of the undoubted Hungarian coins, the missing of two letters (TE) from the legend +ΣΡΗΑΙΥΣ REX hardly any other ruler than the Hungarian King Stephen can be referred to. The name of Stephen's uncle, Prokuj gyula was also mentioned (gyula was a title of the landgrave), who got the name of Stephen when he was Christenised, just like King Stephen's father, Prince Géza. King Stephen started was against Prokuj gyula because of his efforts to independency in 1003. But Prokuj did not resist, he surrendered, and King Stephen took him into his court. Because of his presumed overshadowing in 1008, he was offended and fled into the court of the Polish King, Boleslaw the Fearless. When in 1014 King Stephen got into war with King Boleslaw because of the German-

-Polish conflict, the Polish king occupied Hungarian castles by the River Morva. According to Thietmar Boleslaw entrusted the guarding a castle to Prokuj near the Polish-Hungarian border. In 1017 King Stephen chased away the Polish troops out of the country together with Prokuj and by the Peace Treaty of Bautzen the former status quo was restored. Gyula Rádóczy<sup>10</sup> raised the idea that Boleslaw entrusted the castle of Břeclav to Prokuj, who let coin with the legend of STEPHANVS REX strike at that time in Břeclav (this case BRESΛAVVA [PRESΛAVVA] would mean Břeclav), at this denar would be equal to the denar found in Bosarve.

More problematic is the question of the place of minting, which town means (P)RESΛAVVA CIV(itas). The scholars do not agree, actually, whether the coin is original or not, was it issued legally by a ruler or is it an imitation. The number of those who considered the denar as original was increased by Kenneth Jonsson, when he described the two pieces found in Skíne, and at the same time he gave an overview of origins the Hungarian coinage.<sup>11</sup> Without raising new points the above mentioned was repeated also by Ján Hunka<sup>12</sup>. As a compromise Stefan Kazimir proposed in the time of the first great conflicts of opinions in the Hungarian Numismatic Society, that it might be possible that the denar found in Bosarve (the two further pieces from Skíne were not known at that time) was an imitation, but a cross/church type with a perfect legend, a restrike of a still unknown type, the origin of which was struck by King Stephen in Pressburg. Lajos Huszár doubted the idea of an imitation of a non-existing coin.

The processing of new finds and their historic interpretations often alter theories, which had been thought as final. It particularly applies to the origin of Hungarian coinage. Until the Nagyarsány<sup>13</sup> find (Hungary) came to light the occurrence of the Carolingian church was unknown in the Hungarian coinage and the full weight Hungarian denar, in concordance with the denar system was not accepted. The Byzantine type gold coin of the solidus weight issued by King Stephen was also unknown (**Fig. 2.**). But the existence of a coin type cannot be denied just because it occurred exclusively in foreign finds. Apart from the DANNEBERG 1876, 1706/a type denar (published by Hermann Dannenberg, and kept in unknown place) until the publication of



Fig. 2. av.



Fig. 2. rv.

<sup>8</sup> GEDAI 1986.

<sup>9</sup> CORPUS 1987.

<sup>10</sup> RÁDÓCZY 1984.

<sup>11</sup> JONSSON 1988, 2003.

<sup>12</sup> HUNKA 2003.

<sup>13</sup> GEDAI 1986.

the Nagyharsány find only its restrike was known (Fig. 3.), which was published by Peter Berghaus from the Stockholm collection<sup>14</sup>. At the same time the coins of the Nagyharsány



Fig. 3. av.



Fig. 3. rv.

find (Fig. 4.) proved that the coin kept in Stockholm was a restrike, as the perfectness of the original Hungarian pieces made the comparison possible. The RÉTHY 1899, I. 7., was described by László Réthy in *Corpus Nummorum*



Fig. 4. av.



Fig. 4. rv.

Hungariae as an imitation found in abroad, but Réthy was inclined to consider the piece as original<sup>15</sup> when the second piece came to light, and the further pieces made the originality unambiguous<sup>16</sup>.

In the case of the coin bearing the legend  $\Sigma\text{P}\text{H}\text{A}\text{I}\text{V}\text{Z}$  REX/(P)RESLAVVA CIV it is perplexing that the legends of all the types struck in the mint of King Stephen are generally perfect, full, very rarely defective. The words LANCEA REGIS and STEPHANVS REX and the reverse REGIA CIVITAS or PANNONIA are full, or some dies and coins made with them have slight mistakes which do not have effect on the substance.

While analysing the legend (P)RESLAVVA CIV reference should be made to the word “civitas”, which possible does not mean a town, but a country despite the pattern REGINA CIVITAS refers Regensburg and not Bavaria. It is rendered by the legend on the gold coin<sup>17</sup> of King Stephen, and the word PANNONIA on his successor’s silver coins, moreover on one of the denars (RÉTHY 1899, I. 20.) of King Solomon (1063–1074) PANONIA TERA (sic). But all these do not effect that the coins with legends both REGIA CIVITAS and PANNONIA were struck in Esztergom by the king – as written (though from later periods) sources support. Esztergom was the site of the king until the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the place of the royal mint. Székesfehérvár became a religious centre after 1018. The legend PANNONIA cannot refer to only one town, because in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, under the reign of Andrew I (1046–1060) two princes, reign over a part of the country: his brother, Béla (BELA DUX) and under the reign of King Solomon (1063–1074), his cousin, Géza (GEUCA DUX) got the right

to mint coins and let coin strike with the reverse legend PANNONIA, though it is very likely that they had their own mint in their own territory. Moreover, Esztergom did not have a standard name at that time. Esztergom got its name from the Bulgarian-Turkish leather armour makers (*estregin*), who lived near the castle. The German name “*Gran*” originates from the custom place opposite the mouth of the River Garam, but it was also called sometimes “*Sobotin*” after the Saturday markets near the ferry. The name of the outskirts was “*Kovácsi*” /= Smith’s place/ after the smiths living there, and the minters lived there, too.

If it is supposed that (P)RESLAVVA CIV means Pressburg, an analysis should be made on the role of Pressburg in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The scholars who think that the denar was struck in Pressburg, emphasise, overemphasise the role of the town in the road network of the age in the Hungarian history. It is a fact that Pressburg had an important fortress with the control over the water way on the River Danube. At times the north-south inland road must have been also important; calling at Hainburg, and maybe from there it continued toward Olomouc. But in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the border-land was less populated, it was the part of the defence area. In the state- and county system of King Stephen it was a border county, its fortress was a border fortress on the road out of the country. It was actually a part of the chain of fortresses heading for north with the further points of Sasvár, Sárvár and Borona (Uherské Hradiště). The importance of Pressburg undoubtedly grew due mostly to the River Danube. In 1002 it had a customs house, but it has never turned into a royal residence with a mint. It has already been mentioned that Jozef Hlinka in his above mentioned study supposed that after the death of Prince Géza (autumn 997) Koppány, the oldest member of the Árpáadian dynasty, who was entitled to the title of the prince according to the ancestral order of succession, fled to Pressburg at the time of the rebellion against Stephen and according to this theory Koppány let coins strike there by Bavarian minters, who named the town Preslavva. Nevertheless, this theory was unambiguously opposed by the historical sources. Stephen did not flee to the Pressburg fortress, but when he got to know about the rising of Koppány, who went against Géza’s widow, Charlotte, who resided in Veszprém at that time. Stephen initiated himself a prince in Esztergom and with his troop, German knights among them he went against Koppány and near Veszprém he defeated Koppány, who died in the battle. (Later Veszprém became the castle of the queens of Hungary, but it is likely that it belonged to the princess earlier, that is why Charlotte resided in Veszprém.) The riot of Koppány was a short one, it could last only for a couple of weeks, there was actually only one battle, as by November 997 the news about Stephen’s victory arrived to the emperor in Aachen<sup>18</sup>.

At Christmas 1000 Stephen was crowned king, before that he could not let coins strike, because only from that

<sup>14</sup> BERGHAUS 1953, p. 61–62.

<sup>15</sup> RÉTHY 1903.

<sup>16</sup> GEDAI 1986, p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> GEDAI 1999a, b.

<sup>18</sup> GYÖRFFY 1977, p. 116–121.

time on he could use and really used the title of king, *rex*. But right after his coronation the minting of denars with the legends of LANCEA REGIS/REGIA CIVITAS, lance/Carolingian church type denars (DANNEBERG 1876, 1706/a). Both the obverse and the reverse legend emphasise that the issuer was *rex*, a crowned king. Speaking of this type of coin, the depictions of the Carolingian church as a goldsmith's craft must be stressed. The legend of REGIA CIVITAS and the Carolingian church of Bavarian type (gable of the church and the letters among the parallel lines symbolising the flight of stairs instead of columns<sup>19</sup>; here the repetition of the letters RE CI, REGIA CIVITAS) and money rates of the denars of Prince Henry IV (later King and Emperor Henry II) all refer to the pattern got from Regensburg. But the 10<sup>th</sup> century goldsmith pattern occurring on the depiction of Carolingian church on the coins are characteristically Hungarian, as a proof for the Hungarian masters who made the coins<sup>20</sup>. The legends and charters in Latin refer to the use of the Latin in the royal court. The type of the letters on the denar agree with the Latin inscription on the so called Gisela cross kept in Munich today but made at the court of Stephen<sup>21</sup>. The average weight of the first Hungarian denars is 1.24 grams.

The silver coinage of King Stephen is a logical chain. The supposed date of getting the Nagyharsány find under the ground – about 1006–1010 – makes it probable that the type of coin was made from 1010 to 1015, shows crosses on both sides, wedges in its corners, with the legend STEPHANVS REX and REGIA CIVITAS (Fig. 5.), its



Fig. 5. av.



Fig. 5. rv.

weight, i.e. money rates agrees with that of the LANCEA REGIS denar (RÉTHY 1899, I. 7.). In Hungary the inland money circulation was introduced in the second decade of the millennium, about 1015–1020; by that time the market places were developed attached to the castles of the land-stewards, where tolls were taken. The state direct tax can be dated also that time, the so-called hearth-tax (*kapnikon*), i.e. tax were paid by houses, after the number of fire-places. Money circulation became widespread as the habit of Kharon's obol in the Carpathian-basin, e.i. in Hungary at the time. The above mentioned orders and habits must have been in connection with the significant fall of the money rates of the denar, which resulted the introduction of the third coin type (Fig. 6.) (RÉTHY 1899, I. 1.), the depiction of which is identical with the second type, but the average weight is not more than 0.8 gram, that means a really significant fall in money rates. The pieces of the first Hungarian denar (DANNEBERG 1876, 1706/a) known so far were minted by two dies. The pieces struck by the one pair of dies are generally

intact, while the pieces by the other are usually cut. The cuttings must have taken place in the mint, because the average



Fig. 6. av.



Fig. 6. rv.

weight of the second type (1.1 grams) corresponds with that, therefore a less significant fall in weight should be supposed. The first two types (DANNEBERG 1876, 1706/a, and RÉTHY 1899, I. 7.) must have been minted in very limited numbers. The forty pieces of the Nagyharsány find should not mislead anybody, as the pieces struck by the same dies came to light at the same place means very likely that the type was not widespread in money circulation. The numerous die variation of the third type means, that they became means of inland payment, whereas the first two did not. They could take part in foreign trade maybe (The Viking swords, lances etc. found in Hungary came from abroad.), or they may served representation. The third type was imitated, its depiction, especially the letters are unclear, in several cases even the letters were imitated. In Kenneth Jonsson's opinion they were struck by the end of minting RÉTHY 1899, I. 1., they are deteriorated, but original pieces struck in the royal mint<sup>22</sup>. This view cannot be accepted partly because there are pieces with clear depiction and legends in large numbers, there is no "transition" between the perfect and the imperfect ones, partly because the coins of the successor to King Stephen, King Peter cannot be compared with the imitations. The discipline in the mint did not make it possible to issue imperfect denars in large numbers.

It is disputable whether the (P)RESLAVVA coin can be fit into this – logical – series of types Hardly. All the Hungarian coins reverse legend is REGIA CIVITAS, and later PANNONIA, which became common during the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

The idea of the coin being struck in the mint of Pressburg is opposed that the town was called "Poson" in the court where Latin was used. The town did not have a Latin name, only the above mentioned names were used. The name Poson might originate from a personal name, maybe from a land-steward name. (The charter of King Stephen – the foundation charter of Pannonhalma – which mentions "Poson" is known from a 12<sup>th</sup> century transcription, but this part was taken without changes into the transcription<sup>23</sup>.) Beside the imperfect legends the depictions also make the idea of the Hungarian royal mint possible. The Carolingian church of the Hungarian coins is shown on the LANCEA REGIS/REGIA CIVITAS denar. The Carolingian church on the Preslavva coin is as opposed to the Hungarian type has a simple triangle gable, similar to the Bavarian and the Bohemian and Moravian denars struck under Bavarian influence. It is remarkable that the undoubtedly Bavarian

<sup>19</sup> HAHN 1976, p. 23–25.

<sup>20</sup> GEDAI 1999a, p. 40.

<sup>21</sup> GEDAI 1999a, p. 50; KOVÁCS 1972, p. 6–12.

type Carolingian church has blank spaces between the gable and the line symbolising the stairs, there is no trace of letters. The cross on the obverse is definitely different from the crosses issued by Saint Stephen. Not only the lack of similarity which is striking, but also its structure. The cross is formed the four division of the legend section. The legs of the cross form the legend starter cross of the letters E, N and R, and on the reverse P and T letters. The cross of the word PRES LAVVA cannot be fitted into this system, but it is usual on German and Czech coins. The wedge-wedge-ball-wedge signs between the legs of the cross are systematically different from those on the Hungarian coins. On the denars of Stephen and his successors, Peter, Samuel Aba, first type of Andrew I there are exclusively wedges between the legs of the cross in all the four corners. The unusually high weight can hardly be connected to any money rate.

Summing up, there is a denar (three copies struck by the same pair of dies), which was issued by someone and minted somewhere. The legends are imperfect in some places, in other places even the depictions are not clear, but the imperfections are not so great that the denar should be considered as an imitation.

As it was mentioned above that the issuer is undoubtedly Stephen, King of Hungary, he is referred as  $\Sigma\text{P}\text{H}\text{A}\text{N}\text{V}\text{S}\text{R}\text{E}\text{X}$ . The legend has three mistakes: imperfection of the letters, the second and third letters are missing (TE). The letter “S” is reversed and the middle leg of the letter “N” is also reversed – as a second mistake. If the surely original coins by King Stephen and his immediate successors are analysed, similar mistakes can be found also there. Reversed or reclining letter “S” or letter “N” with a reverse middle leg can occur, the legend of some copies should be read in the opposite direction. Missing a letter also occurs, just like on the well-known coin, PETVS REX instead of PETRVS REX. It may occur on the gold coin (the known three coins were minted by two or three pairs of dies), though it may have been prepared with more care an imperfect legend; the second and third letter in the name of the king was changed, this way STEPHANVS REX can be read. As for me the imperfectness of the name of the king do not oppose the originality. Though the reverse legend (P)RES LAVVA CIV is imperfect if we compare with the Hungarian REGIA CIVITAS, but as far as the international coinage is concerned, the length of the (P)RES LAVVA can hardly be criticised. Among the depictions the cross is clear, the Carolingian church is a bit malformed and the lack of letters under the gable is disturbing, but on the whole it can be accepted as original. While acknowledging the originality of the denar, the mentioned, important differences from the system and the structure of the Hungarian denars make it unlikely that the (P)RES LAVVA coin was minted in the same mint where the REGIA CIVITAS coins and the ones with the legend of PANNONIA, nevertheless coins in all probability were minted in the only Hungarian mint of King Stephen only with the legend above. The origins of PRES LAVVA CIVITAS should be searched for outside Hungary, but in a place

where King Stephen had the right and possibility to mint coins. I think there was only one territory which fulfils the conditions: a strip of land attached to the Hungarian authority, which was at times under Hungarian authority during the reign of King Stephen.

Prince Géza when in 995 reconciled with the Bavarians (the reconciliation was signed by the marriage of Stephen and Gisela) gave over the territories west from the River Morva to the Bavarians. From 1002 (when the Bavarian Prince Henry was elected German king) to the Peace Treaty of Bautzen in 1018 Bohemia and Moravia were often areas of war, mainly due to the hostilities between Boleslaw the Fearless and Henry II. Hungary was involved into war events from 1014 to 1018, when Boleslaw temporarily occupied Hungarian territories. Hungary, though possessed sometimes Moravian territories before, was not interested in occupying them. The defence line of the fortresses Pressburg – Sasvár – Sárvár – Borona proves the lack of conquering ambitions of King Stephen. But in 1030 after the death of Stephen’s constant and confident ally, his brother-in-law, Emperor Henry II in 1024, Konrad was crowned emperor in 1027 and wanted the Hungarian King tribute to him and attacked Hungary. The emperor suffered crushing defeat and as a consequence of the peace treaty of 1031 a wide strip of Moravian border territory got under Hungarian influence. At that time it can be supposed that King Stephen established a mint on that territory. It is more likely because on the Moravian territory remarkably lot denars by King Stephen (RÉTHY 1899, I. 1.) came to light, as a proof of the intensity of the relations. As it was mentioned above Gyula Rádóczy supposed the town Břeclav being identical with (P)RES LAVVA CIV, where Prokuj let the denar in question mint about 1008. I think the coinage of Prokuj is out of question, and if the town Břeclav could be taken into consideration, it could only be, – because of the historic situation – after 1031. To my mind it can rather be Přešov. According to Jiří Sejbal<sup>24</sup> a mint operated in Přešov in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but no coin can be identified as having been struck in Přešov so far. From Moravian point of view it is not easy to think of an operating mint on a territory endangered, moreover occupied by the Hungarians. When the castle hill in Přešov was excavated a money weight came to light with the legend of BRACIZLAVS and a depiction of hand and cross, on the basis of which an operating mint can be supposed. Though the money weight shows hand/cross and not cross/church. And the legend is not (P)RES LAVVA, but BRACIZLAVS, but very likely one mint did not produce only one type and under the name (P)RES LAVVA no town is known. The (P)RES LAVVA denar in its appearance and depiction is much more similar to the Moravian and Bohemian denars of the time, than to the Hungarian ones. On the basis of all these (P)RES LAVVA means Přešov.

It is emphasised here that this supposition is not an absolute statement, but a possibility. It is a question that a written source would ever come to light which unambiguously proves that (P)RES LAVVA is identical with a present town.

<sup>22</sup> JONSSON 2003, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> SZENTPÉTERY 1938, p. 169–170.

<sup>24</sup> SEJBAL 1996, p. 31.

Until then we have to take all the possibilities into consideration and dispute without emotions. Přerov is a further possibility together with Pressburg and Břeclav, and maybe – at least I think – the most likely one.

## Bibliography

- BERGHAUS 1953:** Peter Berghaus, Beiträge zur deutschen Münzkunde des XI. Jahrhunderts. *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, vol. II, no. 6/7 (Hamburg 1953), p. 61–67.
- CORPUS 1987:** *Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum IX–XI. Catalogue of Coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden. 3. Skåne /Maglarp – Ystand.* Stockholm 1987, p. 464–465 (findspot unknown no. 59).
- DANNENBERG 1876:** Hermann Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit.* Berlin 1876.
- GEDAI 1986:** István Gedai, *A magyar pénzverés kezdete.* [Summary: The beginning of the Hungarian coinage.] Budapest 1986.
- GEDAI 1999a:** István Gedai, *Szent István aranypénzverése.* Budapest 1999.
- GEDAI 1999b:** István Gedai, King Saint Stephen's Gold Coinage. *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e Antichità Classiche*, vol. XXVIII (Lugano 1999), p. 311–346.
- GYÖRFFY 1977:** György Györffy, *István király és műve.* [Summary: King Stephen and his testimony.] Budapest 1977.
- HAHN 1976:** Wolfgang Hahn, *Moneta Radasponensis.* Braunschweig 1976.
- HATZ 1965:** Vera Hatz, (B)RESLAVVA CIV(ITAS), Zum Beginn der ungarischen Münzprägung. In: *Dona Numismatica. Walter Hävernich zum 23. Januar 1965 dargebracht.* Hamburg 1965, p. 79–85.
- HLINKA 1967:** Jozef Hlinka, Bratislavské mince. *Sborník Slovenského národného múzea – história*, vol. LXI (Bratislava 1967), p. 317–347.
- HLINKA 1968:** Jozef Hlinka, Breslavva Civitas–Bratislava. Príspevok k začiatkom uhorského mincovníctva. *Numismatický sborník*, vol. X (Praha 1968), p. 65–77.
- HLINKA 1976:** Jozef Hlinka, K problematike začiatkov uhorského mincovníctva. *Správy. Členský informačný bulletin pobočky Slovenskej numismatickej spoločnosti v Košiciach*, vol. 3 (Košice 1976), no. 3, p. 3–8.
- HLINKA 1979:** Jozef Hlinka, STEPHANVS REX – BRESLAVVA CIVITAS. *Numismatický sborník*, vol. XV (Praha 1979), p. 129–140.
- HLINKA 1982:** Jozef Hlinka, *Bratislavská mincovňa.* Bratislava 1982.
- HUNKA 2003:** Ján Hunka, The importance of the coin finds of the Árpád dynasty and contemporary foreign coins from the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the history of Slovakia. *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. C–CI (Budapest 2003), p. 71–74.
- HUSZÁR 1966:** Lajos Huszár, Bemerkungen zur Frage der ersten ungarischen Münzen. *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. LXIV–LXV (Budapest 1966), p. 29–31.
- JONSSON 1988:** Kenneth Jonsson, The Earliest Hungarian Coinage. In: *Commentationes Numismaticae 1988. Festgabe für Gert und Vera Hatz zum 4. Januar 1988 dargebracht.* Hamburg 1988, p. 95–102.
- JONSSON 2003:** Kenneth Jonsson, Hungarian coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden. *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, Vol. C–CI (Budapest 2003), p. 59–70.
- KOVÁCS 1972:** Éva Kovács, *Árpád-kori ötvösség.* [Summary: Goldsmith's art in the time of the Árpadian age.] Budapest 1972.
- RÁDÓCZY 1984:** Gyula Rádóczy, A „BRESLAVVA CIVITAS” denárral kapcsolatos gondolatok. [Summary: Some thoughts on the coin “BRESLAVVA CIVITAS”.] *Az Érem*, vol. XL, no. 1 (Budapest 1984), p. 8–12.
- RÉTHY 1899:** László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae.* I. Budapest 1899.
- RÉTHY 1903:** László RÉTHY, Magyar numizmatikai adatok Oroszországból. [Summary: Hungarian numismatic data from Russia]. *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. II (Budapest 1903), p. 85.
- SEJBAL 1996:** Jiří Sejbal, Moravské a slezské mincovny. *Folia numismatica. Supplementum ad Acta Musei Moraviae*, vol. 10–11 (Brno 1996), p. 27–35.
- SUCHODOLSKI 1971:** Stanisław Suchodolski, *Początki mennictwa w Europie Środkowej, Wschodniej i Północnej.* Wrocław 1971.
- SZENTPÉTERY 1938:** Imre Szentpétery, Szent István király oklevelei. [Summary: The charters of King Stephen's.] In: *Szent István Emlékkönyv.* II, Budapest 1938. p. 169–170.
- TURNWALD 1966:** Christian Turnwald, Denare vom ältesten ungarischen Oboltyp. *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. LXIV–LXV (Budapest 1966), p. 19–27.
- TURNWALD 1968:** Christian Turnwald, Noch zum Münzwesen Stephans I. *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. LXVI–LXVII (Budapest 1968), p. 23–27.
- TURNWALD 1969:** Christian Turnwald, A magyar pénzverés kezdete. [Summary: The beginning of the Hungarian coinage.] *Az Érem*, vol. XXV (Budapest 1969), p. 1–7.

## Illustrations

- Fig. 1. (av., rv.) Coin with the legend ՉՓԱՎՄՉ REX/ (P)RESLAVVA CIV found in Sweden.
- Fig. 2. (av., rv.) Goldcoin of King St. Stephen.
- Fig. 3. (av., rv.) Restrike of the DANNENBERG 1706/a denar of King St. Stephen found in Sweden.
- Fig. 4. (av., rv.) The DANNENBERG 1706/a denar of King St. Stephen found in the Nagyharsány (Hungary) find.
- Fig. 5. (av., rv.) The RÉTHY 7. denar of King St. Stephen.
- Fig. 6. (av., rv.) The RÉTHY 1. denar of King St. Stephen.
- All the photos: Csaba Gedai.

## Resumé

### István Gedai

#### Kde byla ražena mince (P) „RESLAVVA CIV“(ITAS)?

Jedním z nejistých bodů v numismatice, zvláště pokud jde o periodu raného středověku, je původ denáru s legendami „...ՉՓԱՎՄՉ REX“ na aversu a (P) „RESLAVVA CIV“ na

reversu. Na vyobrazení je běžný karolinský kostel. Mince byla nalezena v Bosarve ve Švédsku a publikovala ji Vera Hatz v roce 1965. Po publikování mince se rozvinula mezinárodní debata o tom, kdo byl jejím vydavatelem a kde byla ražena. Představuje tato mince originál, nebo je to vikingská imitace? Debata do dneška nenalezla řešení, ačkoliv od té doby byly ve Švédsku nalezeny ve vykopávkách dva další exempláře této mince. Máme tedy nyní tři exempláře ražené jedním párem razidel. Opisy na minci nejsou kompletní a nejsou bez chyb, vyobrazení jsou nejasná.

Vydavatelem byl s největší pravděpodobností (Svatý) Štěpán I. (1000–1038) král Uher, protože v té době žil v Evropě pouze jediný vládce jménem Štěpán ([STE]PHANUS).

Autor je toho názoru, že místem ražby nemohlo být město Prešpurk (Pressburg, dnešní Bratislava), a to z několika důvodů. Jedním z nich je ten, že uherské mince měly v opisech místní jména vždy v latině. Autor považuje minci za originál, a nikoliv za imitaci. Materiálové složení této mince se liší od složení ostatních mincí ražených v uherských mincovnách. Místo ražby by mělo ležet mimo Uhry, ale přitom na území, kde měl uherský král Štěpán I. právo razit mince, tj. na Moravě. Místem ražby mohl být Přerov. Všechny domněnky mohou být potvrzeny pouze novými nálezy. Do té doby by měla pokračovat diskuse o všech existujících možnostech.

*Přeložil Bořivoj Vančura*