

PhD thesis

**Coin assemblages from Mohács
(I, II, and Pécs Alley) and coeval
find assemblages in light of the
events of the year 1526 (29
August–10 October)**

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1. Goals and focus of research

The primary goal of the dissertation has been to evaluate the medieval coin assemblages known from Mohács and shed light on their historical context. The work started with primary data collection, i.e., identifying and describing the two potfuls of silver coins found during earthworks in Duna Street in Mohács in 1969 and the coins of a purse from Pécsi Alley. The Mohács I and II coin hoards are amongst the most significant late medieval coin finds ever discovered in the territory of Hungary. Each coin was also inventoried and counted in one go with their description; this work has revealed that Hoard I consists of 18,979, while Hoard II of 25,102 coins. As for the inventory, all data were entered in accordance with the current legislative regulation. However, in many cases, the individual description and referencing of the *denars* proved difficult because previously unknown types had to be identified, described, and dated. Thus, the task that started as a simple one of defining coins slowly grew into a complex research

concerning the monetary history of the period between 1467 and 1521. Therefore, the final product—the dissertation—can hardly be categorised as a “typical” numismatic evaluation; it is better a study with a strong monetary-historical aspect and including economic, social, and political historical viewpoints. It was born of a monetary historical research carried out with a complex approach.

The results gained from the evaluation of the Mohács coin assemblages were interpreted in the context of coeval finds. This required research and data collecting in diverse museum collections, including those of the Janus Pannonius Museum, the Wosinszky Mór Museum, the City Museum in Paks, the Szent István Király [King St. Stephen] Museum, the Hungarian National Museum, the Ferenczy Museum Centre, and the Katona József Museum in Kecskemét. The work involved mainly checking find registers, records in data archives, and find descriptions in the museums’ inventories. Besides, data were collected from primary publications and

coeval documents. By the end of the data-collecting phase, a distinct find horizon had become unravelled, every coin and other hoard of which was connected to the historical events that followed the defeat in the Battle of Mohács in 1526.

2. Applied methods

Altogether, 35 coeval coin and other hoards could be associated with the coin hoards recovered from Mohács, Duna Street. Eight of these were discovered in the past few years and are the result of the work of metal detectorists working with diverse museums; up to the closing of the dissertation's manuscript, the author carried out excavations around the findspots of three. Based on find circumstances, the studied assemblages were classified into two categories: the ones I excavated (where I could glean methodological experience and make archaeological observations) and the rest (the find circumstances of which are known less in detail).

Until 2014, late medieval hoards were mainly discovered by chance, primarily during agricultural work. However, the trends turned in that year, and since then, find assemblages found by metal detectorists associated with museums have become prevalent. Nowadays, most such finds are discovered or identified by them. The work of these volunteers is

invaluable as it allows archaeologists to focus their resources better on particular targets. This requires knowledge to tell as early as during the exploration of a site whether the features observed include a coin assemblage or hoard. According to my observations, one may expect such a phenomenon when several similar coins, i.e., ones marking the same period, are found close to the surface in a small and distinct area, even if the respective field is under cultivation. The excavation method for such a phenomenon is fundamentally different from the traditional one (i.e., starting fieldwork with removing the topsoil layer). When the first coins are found close to the recent surface, the hoard probably had already been disturbed by ploughing. In this case, the observations made while exploring the remains are paramount. All archaeological fieldwork has to be done manually. The topsoil layer is removed in 10 cm-deep slices to enable us to find the original spot where the hoard was hidden. The observations made during the removal of each layer, i.e., the changes in the find concentration, may give a hint at the original location of the hoard. If

possible, the findspot must also be assessed in a settlement-historical context, as that may allow one to deduce who had the hoard hidden and, eventually, the social position of the one-time owner.

In 1969, two coin hoards were found, only 5.5 m apart, in Duna Street in Mohács. Their findspots fell in the area of the late medieval town, in its southwestern corner, inside the moated settlement northwest of the Church of St. Barbara [*Szent Borbála*]. The findspot of the other coin assemblage, found in Pécsi Alley, was actually only a few hundred metres away from the courtyard of Fülöp Mór, Bishop of Pécs (around 1470/1475–29 August 1526). All three assemblages contain only a low number of Aquilean mints and Hungarian *denars*, mainly ones issued by King Matthias I of Hungary (1458–1490) after 1467, King Vladislaus II of Hungary (1490–1516), and King Louis II of Hungary (1516–1526) in 1520/1521 and before, as well as silver fakes. The number of coins per assemblage of the two hoards from Duna Street is unusual; besides, the wide variety of the *denars*

minted between 1467 and 1503 suggested that the evaluation should include the development of a new coin identification handbook. This was made using the coin catalogues by Lajos Huszár, Artúr Pohl, Emil Unger, and András Lengyel, as well as the PhD dissertation by Márton Gyöngyössi, published in 2003, which includes a study on the coinage of the Matthias era and its continuation until 1521.

Describing the obverses and reverses of each *denar* included their identification with a distinct type. Besides, the obverse and reverse images were arranged in plates; after completing their descriptions, the two sides of every coin issued in the Kingdom of Hungary were traced and arranged in a numismatic catalogue. This work allowed for a detailed study of the typological development of the *denars* minted between 1467 and 1521, a research topic last summarised by Márton Gyöngyössi in his PhD dissertation in 2003. Accordingly, I could rely on his work and some methods and results related to the associated fields of history in determining the precise

dating of the new, previously unknown type variants. After an independent evaluation, the sigillographic records available from coeval charters were compared with the obverses of all Hungarian coins from that era to determine the types of heraldic representations that characterised the coins issued by the king in a particular period. Additionally, I attempted to reconstruct how the coat of arms variations, mainly on silver coins, fit the political roles taken by King Matthias I. A comparative analysis with heraldic analogies yielded an indisputable answer on how to interpret the motifs appearing in the fourth quarter of the escutcheon on the coins issued by King Matthias I—this observation alone was enough to link certain *denar* and *obolus* types to monetary historical periods. The detailed chronological framework presented in the study also relies on a collection of the legends of the coins analysed. Note that after 1467, the obverse and reverse legends were not permanent; at the same time, recurring patterns can be observed in the division of the legend, which indicate the existence and operation of a well-established minting system, dissimilar to the

common practice of the previous periods. In most cases, the inscriptions appearing in the legend of the last variants of a type also appear unchanged on the first variants of a new type. The process of determining the precise chronological positions of the *denars* included analysing all their imageries and regional coin minding, which proved extremely useful.

After the detailed chronological framework had been established (based on data from charters, coin imagery, and the legends of the studied coins), the evaluation was continued with a statistical assessment of the coin assemblages from Mohács to determine their characteristics related to the distribution of the coins by their monetary historical associations, places of minting, and chronological positions. The new results that emerged from the detailed chronological framework and the data gleaned from charters allowed one to reconstruct, with a month's precision, the date of issuance of each coin; thus, the quantity of the coins with identical mint marks could be observed (hinting

at the original size of the batch) and its significance in the respective monetary historical periods estimated.

I believe the internment of the three coin assemblages from Mohács is probably linked to the events following the defeat suffered in the Battle of Mohács, while the 1520/1521 closing date of the series has financial reasons. These hypotheses served as a starting point in the next phase of research, which involved collecting coeval coin and other assemblages and hoards. Each of the 38 collected find assemblages could be linked to the conquest and raids of the Ottoman army between 29 September and 10 October 1526. Their compositions show similarities; this was worth comparing primarily in geographical units, Transdanubia vs the Great Hungarian Plain. The significant differences unravelled by the analysis corroborated the relevance of linking the coin assemblages that comprise series with a 1520/1521 closing date to the events of the year 1526. The final step of the work was presenting on a map the assemblages assigned to this find horizon, which

resulted in a detailed illustration of the destruction caused by the Ottoman army in 1526.

3. Summary of results: theses

The recent participation of non-professional volunteers in the work of the museums has been a success: in the past nine years, they discovered nine of the 38 assemblages of the coin hoard horizon linked with the events of the year 1526. Until the closing of the manuscript of the dissertation, I managed to conduct excavations, in collaboration with said volunteers, on four of the nine related sites. Besides, I discovered and unearthed one of the coin hoards on the outskirts of Újlengyel during a community archaeological survey trip. These metal detector survey campaigns resulted in the discovery of several coins and coin assemblages, expanding and improving our knowledge of the medieval settlement history of the respective settlements and the monetary history of the Late Middle Ages.

The evaluation of the Mohács I and II coin hoards included identifying and describing 44,081 *denars* in total. The author also corrected the mistakes in the original publication of the purse assemblage found at

Pécs Alley and reconstructed all three respective findspots in the context of the settlement structure of the late medieval market town of Mohács.

The results corroborated the previous statement that the monetary reform of King Matthias I in 1467 resulted in establishing a stable administration of inland revenue in the Kingdom of Hungary, which kings before him could reach only temporarily and with varying success. The introduction of a high-quality currency opened the way for the economy to bloom, bringing about the political and military strengthening of the country. The coins issued by the king were such a success that his *denars* made up about 40–50% of the daily cash flow still in 1526. People preferred to use and accumulate these coins, and the actions of King Vladislaus II, who in coin issuance followed the traditions of Matthias I, strengthened this trust even further.

The classification and interpretation of the heraldic representations appearing on the obverses of the silver coins and gold *florins* with a coat of arms issued by

King Matthias I has long been a question of numismatic research. The problematic part is the fourth quadrant in the quartered square-Iberian escutcheon, which is, in some cases, filled with the arms of the Counts of Beszterce, while in other cases, with that of the King of Bohemia. For a proper interpretation of these occurrences, I relied on both sigillography and heraldry. The heraldic representations appearing on the coins are not uniform and seem to change by denomination as the following:

The lion of the King of Bohemia appears on the gold *florins* with a coat of arms issued after 1458, with only a few different pieces issued after 1466, the imagery of which includes the Lion of Beszterce instead. The obverse of the farthings [*garas*] issued after 1467 differs from that of all other notes: every variation bears the image of the Lion of Beszterce with a crown in its front claw. The *denar* and the *obolus* remained the most significant notes in the daily monetary circulation even after 1467, and no differences could be detected between the obverses of

such coins struck in the same mint. From 1467, the coat of arms appearing on small silver coins was unified amongst all mints to be identical to the heraldic representation on the secret sigil of the king—a sigil that King Matthias I used from the very start of his reign. The Lion of Beszterce appears holding not a crown but an inescutcheon on all these coins and the few gold *florin* types. However, the mint of Körmöcbánya introduced some changes in the obverse imagery of their coins; thus, the *denars* and *oboli* struck there all bear a—heraldically correct—Lion of Beszterce. It must be stressed that this only holds for the *denars* and *oboli* minted in Körmöcbánya, as Nagybánya did not alter the obverse and reverse imagery of the small silver coins minted there. Coeval gold *florins* could be omitted from this comparative evaluation as their obverses were adorned exclusively with an image of the Holy Mary. The obverses of all *denars* and *oboli* minted in Körmöcbánya between 1486 and the death of King Matthias I in 1490 included the Lion of Bohemia, a motif also appearing on gold *florins* issued after 1458.

The evolution of the Holy Mary representation on the coins is also interesting. The first (and rather uniform) version, used from 1467, depicts the veiled Holy Mary. This was refined and modified in 1470, but the representations appearing on different notes minted simultaneously in the same mint are identical. There seems to have been a policy or guideline introduced around then to have all mints strike their diverse notes with identical reverses, which was carried out more or less successfully. From 1478, the depiction of the Holy Mary was changed to that of the Virgin Mary. While this reform was introduced in the mints of Körmöcbánya and Nagybánya already in 1478, the imagery of not all notes in Körmöcbánya was altered: farthings [*garas*] and *oboli* remained struck with a reverse design identical to the coins issued in 1470–1477 until 1486.

While processing the coin assemblages from Mohács, I realised that their assessment expands the frames of usual coin identification because most appearing variants were not included in any available

coin identification handbook. Therefore, typological plates, description catalogues, and legend classifications must have been made. The plates contain altogether 94 previously unknown type variants with 152 legend variants assigned to their respective type variants with ID numbers. After identifying the new types and type variants, I focused on the existing chronological framework and specified, where necessary, the date of issuance, relying mainly on observations related to the obverse and reverse imagery of the coins. This in-depth analysis opened new paths leading, in some cases, even to the reconstruction of the coin minting structure and organisation behind the numismatic record. For example, it could be proven that two *officinas* operated parallel in the Chamber of Kőrmöcbánya between 1499 and 1501, supervising the issuance of *denars* with a ‘k – h’ and a ‘k – H’ mint mark, respectively; separate issuance events could also be identified based on legend variations.

The statistical analysis of the coin assemblages from Mohács helped the author reconstruct the characteristics of the monetary circulation in 1526, the chronological distribution of the issuance of *denars* in the context of the established monetary historical periods, and the significance of each mint in the issuance of *denars*, as well as develop a detailed understanding of the chronological distribution of *denar* circulation. The differences between the intensity of the *denar* issuances related to diverse peoples responsible could also be investigated, and the periods when a mint was working at full capacity could be determined. In the 1467–1521 period, coin issuance seems to have been the most intensive between 1486 and 1490: based on the composition of the coin assemblages from Mohács, almost as many coins were minted in these four years as in the previous eight (1478–1486). The intensity of issuance of money under the reign of King Vladislaus II settled at the level right after the start of the monetary reform and could be maintained, with minor fluctuation, until 1510. Under the reign of Louis II, the intensity

decreased by half compared to the levels of the Vladislaus II era, and the negative trend continued until 1521.

The coin assemblages from Mohács have been presented in a historical context to make their scientific importance easy to access. Similar assemblages with an identical closing date were collected and involved as analogies in their processing and evaluation, and the results outlined an independent find horizon of purse assemblages and accumulated hoards, both including find assemblages with a closing date of early 1520/1521, 1526, and before that. This slight difference in the closing dates of the find assemblages assigned to the outlined find horizon is related to the *Moneta Nova* monetary reform in 1521. The quality of the four-*lat* [ca. two-ounce] copper coins issued between 1522 and 1525 decreased strongly throughout the period, causing a financial crisis. Interestingly, many fake coins made in this period are better quality than the original. As a result, high-quality *antique monetae* featuring 'old'

obverse and reverse designs became in demand, which made the unauthorised minting of fake silver *denars* a prosperous business in only a few years. The *denar*–gold *florin* exchange rate was determined by law, thus securing a profit rate for coin minting; the measure was introduced as part of the *Nova Moneta* monetary reform. Based on the studied find assemblages, one of every 200 or 250 coins was a silver fake.

The outlined find horizon helped reconstruct the patterns of monetary circulation and currency use in Transdanubia and the Great Hungarian Plain. In contrast to the Great Hungarian Plain, the use of *nova moneta* types was not characteristic of Transdanubia; the pattern is different only in the close area of Buda and the settlements in the border zone in the south (the latter probably reflecting an influence of the soldiers' pay of the border fortress system).

Three coin assemblages of the outlined find horizon are worth mentioning in the context of the pay of the soldiers garrisoned in the area of Mohács. As this is the only area where such big coin assemblages

have ever been found, the Mohács I, II, and Szederkény hoards are likely best interpreted as military monetary deposits. While the remaining 35 assemblages assigned to the horizon contained less than 10,000 coins, the three hoards mentioned above consist of about 22,000 pieces on average; this sum equalled the monthly pay of 628 cavalrymen in 1526.

The outlining of the numismatic find horizon has shed completely new light on the history of the months after the defeat suffered in the Battle of Mohács, creating a novel narrative from elements with a chronological value of the archaeological record. The results presented in the dissertation will hopefully contribute to improving our understanding of the monetary and economic history, archaeological record, and military history of the period.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

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