## "THE AFTERLIFE" OF MONEY. THE COINS FOUND IN THE NECROPOLIS OF BRAD (NEGRI COMMUNE, BACĂU COUNTY)

BY

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## Abstract:

The medieval necropolis of Brad overlaps the fortified section of the Geto-Dacian fortress of Zargidava, located on the left bank of the Siret River. Altogether, 962 graves were researched here during the years 1963-2004. The numismatic material consists of 158 coins that were discovered in 146 graves. The coins are small silver and bronze denominations that belong to various issuers and date back to an extremely generous chronological range (14th-19th centuries). More than half of the coin finds from Brad were issued by the Ottoman Empire (86 pcs.). Those originating in the Christian world came mainly from German (34 pcs.), Polish (21 pcs.) and Austrian territories (9 pcs.). Besides these, there are also small amounts of Russian (3 pcs.), Swedish (2 pcs.), Moldavian (1 pc.) and Hungarian (1 pc.) coins. Based on the numismatic discoveries, the commencement of the necropolis of Brad can be dated at the beginning of the 15th century. But the site starts to be used intensively only from the second half of the  $16^{th}$  century and the beginning of the next one. Immediately after the church was rebuilt (in 1697), the burial place attained its maximum level of use, which extended throughout the 18th century, reaching the peak of exploit to its end and continuing at the beginning of the next century. In these times the Ottoman paras and the Austrian small denominations of silver (late denars and duarii) and bronze (Kreuzer) have been deposited inside the graves. The coins from the studied batch can be interpreted as having a special status since they were part of grave inventories. Only hypotheses can be assumed in regard to the possible meanings of these coins in the funerary practices of the epoch. A significant part of the coins from Brad are pierced (66 pcs.). We believe that the perforations are not connected to funeral customs, but rather had a practical role, facilitating the activity of the usurers, who used to gather the small change into a certain unit of account, using a thin wire or thread.

**Keywords:** Brad, medieval necropolis, coin finds,  $14^{th}$ - $19^{th}$  centuries, funeral inventory, piercings.

The medieval necropolis of Brad (Negri commune, Bacău County) overlaps the fortified section of the Geto-Dacian fortress of *Zargidava*<sup>1</sup>, located on a promontory ("The Rock" spot), on the left bank of the Siret River. The establishment of the cemetery is associated with the existence of a rural community (Drăgeşti village, from which the hamlet of Brad will develop in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) and of a religious settlement (a male monastic community). During Ştefan cel Mare (15<sup>th</sup> March 1489), the village of Drăgeşti is mentioned for the first time, as belonging to Petru Tudora<sup>2</sup>. Only in the following attestation, dated from the time of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu (18<sup>th</sup> April 1558), there is mentioned the presence of a monastery, as well, on the "lower" side of the village<sup>3</sup>. Despite these late references, the researchers have dated back the beginnings of the rural settlement and the monk hermitage in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>, a situation that seems to be confirmed by the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ptolemy, Geographia, III, 10, 8 (in: FHDR I: 555).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> DRH, A, III: 98-99, No. 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> DRH, A, VI: 422-423, No. 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> COSTĂCHESCU 1933: 138; BURLACU, MĂZĂREANU 1991: 119-120 and notes 7-8; UNGUREANU 2002: 148.

archaeological finds from the necropolis. Probably in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the monastery was destroyed and, afterwards, its place became a meadow, which was owned by the villagers of Drăgeşti<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that a small religious building had been improvised in the very same place, thus the cemetery continuing its existence<sup>6</sup>. The church of "Drăgeşti monastery" was rebuilt only in 1697, under "Saint John the Baptist's Beheading" patronage<sup>7</sup>. On this occasion, the hermitage took a new step in its development, being marked by numerous events and transformations (destruction, rebuilding, improvements, annexes, etc.) in the coming centuries<sup>8</sup>.

The identification of the necropolis was occasioned by the investigation of the ancient site, much more known, since 1962. The first systematic excavations in the cemetery were carried out by Alexandru Vulpe (Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archeology, Bucharest) during the years 1963-1964. Since 1965 the archaeological investigations in this ancient and medieval site were taken over by Vasile Ursachi (the History Museum of Roman), ending in 2004. The evolution of the systematic research of the necropolis from Brad can be outlined by two distinct phases. In the first phase, established between 1963 and 1983, 20 trenches (T1-2, 2b, 4-10, 13-14, 16, 22-27, 29) and a box (B1) were drawn, where 588 graves were discovered. During the second phase, which took place between 1984 and 2004, another 14 larger size trenches (T29-42) and two boxes (B2-3) were opened and only 374 graves uncovered. By comparison to the previous period, the smaller number of graves discovered in the second phase may be explained by the fact that the research area has been affected by many modern buildings (houses, pavements, roads, irrigation systems) that led to the partial destruction of the burying place.

Altogether, 962 graves were preserved in the cemetery of Brad. They generally concentrated in the middle of the promontory, around the wooden church, disposed on several overlapping levels. The burial pit depth, ranging from 0.40m to 2.75m, was not a criterion for identifying the burying period of those deceased, graves of different centuries being discovered as dug at the same depth. The central area was preferred due to the stability of its terrain, while the relatives of the defunct adapted to the shape of the surface, avoiding the edges exposed to successive collapses. Some of the graves had funeral signs, consisting of large stones that ultimately slid into the ground, in different positions, indicating the likelihood that monks or priests of the hermitage had been buried there.

The necropolis contained both graves of adults and children, buried in the Christian tradition, with the head to the West and the feet to the East, sometimes with deviations. The skeletons were placed on the back, in dorsal decubitus position, with the legs stretched out or, less often, bent at the knees and the hands placed on the chest or basin, and, at times, with one hand on the chest and the other one on the basin. In the areas clustered with overlapping graves, the older skeletons were disturbed or re-inhumed, sometimes even sectioned. Usually, the deceased was placed in a simple, oval or rectangular pit, but graves with remnants of wooden coffins were also found. Along with the single graves, there were discovered double graves (generally adults) or triple graves (adults or adults and children) as well.

With few exceptions, the grave inventory was a poor one. It only consisted of coins and adornment objects, the latter comprising finery for the head (earrings, tiaras), neck (beaded necklaces, pendants) and hands (rings), as well as garments (buttons, fasteners, one buckle).

In regard to the numismatic material harvested in the necropolis of Brad, it consists of 158 coins that were discovered in 146 graves. Most burial pits contained a single coin (133), few of them two (10), and as an exceptional case, three coins  $(G\ 2/1973)$ , while a double grave  $(G\ 30-31/1974)$  had only one coin.

The analyzed batch of coins is extremely heterogeneous. It consists of a variety of denominations that belonged to various issuers and date back to an extremely generous chronological range, throughout the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> DIR, A, XVII/IV: 108, No. 147 (8<sup>th</sup> March 1617).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> BURLACU, MĂZĂREANU 1991: 121-122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> BURLACU, MĂZĂREANU 1991: 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> BURLACU, MĂZĂREANU 1991: 123-131, 141-142; UNGUREANU 2002: 152-159.

medieval and modern period. Therefore, we tried to organize the Coin Catalogue following their currency areas<sup>9</sup>, at the same time taking into consideration and starting with the oldest discovered coin; then, within these areas, the coins were arranged on issuers, denominations and mints. More than half of the pieces discovered at Brad (54%) were issued in the Ottoman Empire. Those originating in the Christian world came mainly from German (22%), Polish (13%) and Austrian territories (6%). Besides these, there are also small amounts of Russian, Swedish, Moldavian and Hungarian coins (Chart 1).

The oldest coins were issued by the **Principality of Moldavia**. The *groat* from Peter I (Cat. no. 1) $^{10}$  belongs to the type with two lily flowers within the shield on the obverse $^{11}$ . This coin is different from the others of this group by the position of the heraldic elements accompanying the aurochs' head on the reverse (rosette on the right and crescent on the left), and especially by the shape of the three six-petalled rosettes (two on the field and one on the legend) $^{12}$ . Also, the legends on both sides contain errors. In the current scientific literature it is considered that, in general, the coins with two lily flowers represented on were introduced as a result of the monetary reform that probably took place starting in  $1387^{13}$ . Our coin is in a poor state of conservation, being torn and perforated.

The second local coin, a *double groat* from Alexander I (Cat. no. 2), was made of a good quality metal; on the obverse it wears the aurochs' head with the horns curved in, and on the reverse, seven lily flowers inside the shield and various symbols outside of it. It is believed that this kind of coins had been introduced following a revolutionary monetary reform or a succession of partial reforms, which took place in the first part of Alexander I's reign<sup>14</sup>. It is worth mentioning the symbols and letters outside the heraldic shield on the reverse which have been interpreted as mint marks<sup>15</sup>. The T letter has been hypothetically attributed to some monetary craftsmen from the workshop of Krakow, to a certain Tanrod<sup>16</sup> or more likely Simon de Talentis<sup>17</sup>, who would have worked for Alexander I.

In general, the circulation of the Moldavian coins struck at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the next one was rather limited. As a result of the numerous monetary reforms in the epoch, starting from Alexander I's radical one up to those of the time of Stephen III, the early local coins were withdrawn, often being re-melted and serving as a raw material for subsequent coins. They also could not find

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  For this method of treating medieval coinage, see especially the works of V.M. Butnariu (BUTNARIU 1998: 161; BUTNARIU 2004: 76; BUTNARIU 2005: 265 etc.).

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  The identification of this coin was done with the support of Mrs. Lilia Dergaciova (Bucharest), to whom we are grateful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> We agree with the recent opinion, according to which the Angevin shield, belonging to the upper-sovereign power, appears on the obverse of this issuer's coins, while an aurochs' head, representing the dynastic emblem of the Muşatins, is placed on their reverse (DERGACIOVA 2019: 108-122).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In general, the rosette is represented in different ways when it comes to similar coins (PÂRVAN 2003: 435, No. 6; 446, Pl. I.6; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2006: 247-250, Nos. 20-42, Pl. 2.20-21; 3.22-32; 4.33-38; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2007: 390, No. 11; 406, No. 11). In the MBR catalogue there are mentions of a few specimens which have "a six-pointed thick star" to the right of the aurochs' head (MBR 1977: 55, Nos. 278-282). The identification of this coin was done with the support of Mrs. Lilia Dergaciova (Bucharest), to whom we are grateful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Detailed information about the changes following "the first Moldavian monetary reform" (the lowering of the fineness, iconographic changes, etc.) see at: PÂRVAN 2000: 565, note 3; PÂRVAN 2003: 432-434; PÂRVAN 2008: 364; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2001: 633; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2006: 244-245; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2007: 379; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2010: 412.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> These significant monetary events, whose chronology remains under question, were more recently discussed, by: PÂRVAN 2000: 566; PÂRVAN 2001: 366, 370 (year 1406); PÂRVAN 2002: 191-192 and note 18 (year 1408); PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2006: 243; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2007: 380-381; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006a: 305, 312, 331 (year 1409); OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006b: 410; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2007: 283-290 (years 1408-1420); OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2010: 412-414 (years 1406-1414).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> ILIESCU, FOIT 1967: 158-159; ILIESCU 2000: 84 (only the letters); OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006a: 305-306 (symbols and letters); OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2007: 287-289 and note 59; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2007: 381-382.

<sup>16</sup> PÂRVAN 2002: 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> PÂRVAN 2002: 192; PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2007: 381.

their place anymore in the new legal systems  $^{18}$ . Only in exceptional circumstances such issues remained for a longer period in the coinage pool of the time. This is the unique case of the hoard from Iaşi – Vasile Lupu Street, no. 28 (discovered in 2002), probably buried in the third quarter of the  $17^{th}$  century, and including a coin from Peter I, that subscribes to the same type with two lily flowers represented on  $^{19}$ .

Dated back before the Battle of Mohács, the **Kingdom of Hungary** is represented by a single coin, issued during Vladislav II (Cat. no. 3). On the territory of Moldavia, such high silver content coins<sup>20</sup> are predominantly found in the composition of two types of saving hoards<sup>21</sup>. These hoards formed in the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the Ottoman *akçe* depreciation, and especially in close relationship to the massive ingress of Austrian devalued denars to the East of the Carpathians<sup>22</sup>. After the year 1600, the Hungarian coins rarely come up in emergency hoards<sup>23</sup> and isolated finds<sup>24</sup>, in which case they have been preserved due to the special quality of their precious metal.

The coinage of the **Holy Roman Empire** consists of small denominations issued by various secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The most numerous are the Austrian denars, struck by the emperors of the House of Habsburg, as kings of Hungary, in the Kremnitz (Körmöcbánya) mint (Cat. nos. 27-44). In reference to the monetary discoveries from Brad, the chronology of these coins covers almost uninterruptedly two centuries. Throughout this period, they enjoyed a remarkable stability despite successive devaluations<sup>25</sup>. The Kremnitz mint was the most important in Hungary during the Habsburg reign and it was mainly used for striking the silver coinage (bearing the K-B letters on the reverse)<sup>26</sup>. The production of these mintage workshops was considerable, since most of the Austrian monetary issues (minted in Royal Hungary) discovered in the Romanian Principalities originated from here<sup>27</sup>.

The Austrian denars arrive to the East of the Carpathians mainly by commerce  $^{28}$  only after the middle of the  $16^{th}$  century and they spread in the local currency landscape probably in the last twenty-thirty decades of this century  $^{29}$ . They come up in different amounts, in the composition of all three categories of emergency hoards constituted in Moldavia during the  $17^{th}$  century. Together with the Polish p'olgroszki, these denominations provide the basic structure of the A type emergency hoards / "previous to Vasile Lupu's reign"  $^{30}$  (t.p.q. – first third of the  $17^{th}$  century). Sporadically, they are found in the subsequent emergency hoards, such as the B type / "Vasile Lupu's reign"  $^{31}$  (t.p.q. – the middle of the century) and even the C type ones / "the prephanariot reign"  $^{32}$  (t.p.q. – the second half of the century). It is possible that such coins, especially the late ones, had remained in circulation the next century, both because of the high silver composition content and the continuous appreciation enjoyed by the previously issued Hungarian coins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> OBERLÄNDER-TÅRNOVEANU 2006a: 331-332; OBERLÄNDER-TÅRNOVEANU 2006b: 410-411; OBERLÄNDER-TÅRNOVEANU 2007: 283-286, 290; OBERLÄNDER-TÅRNOVEANU 2010: 413-416.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> MUNTEANU, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, OBERLÄDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006: 57, No. 1; MUNTEANU 2006b: 502; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006b: 409, 412; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2007: 281, 290-291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> HUSZÁR 1979: 13; POHL 1982: 32-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> BUTNARIU 1998: 165 (tA and B1 types saving hoards).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> BUTNARIU 1998: 165; MUNTEANU 2005: 248.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$ MÄTASÄ, ILIESCU, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1972: 371; MUNTEANU, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, OBERLÄDERTÂRNOVEANU 2006: 209-210, 258-259, 298, 322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> POPOVICI 1991: 528; MUNTEANU, POPOVICI 2012: 171, 173-174; MUNTEANU, POPOVICI 2013: 180, 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> HUSZÁR 1979: 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> HUSZÁR 1979: 24; CHIRILĂ et al. 1980: 67; POHL 1982: 48-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> MURGESCU 1996: 105, note 1; 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See MURGESCU 1996: 241-244, 258-260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> MUNTEANU 2005: 248; MUNTEANU 2006a: 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BUTNARIU 1994: 70; BUTNARIU 1998: 165, 171; BUTNARIU 2009: 408; MUNTEANU 2005: 241-260; MUNTEANU 2006a: 442, 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> BUTNARIU 1994: 70; BUTNARIU 2009: 410-411; MUNTEANU 2006a: 447-450, 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> MUNTEANU 2006a: 450; BUTNARIU 2009: 413-414.

Although they were only struck for a short period (in the years 1695-1705 and *postum*, 1707) and exclusively in the Kremnitz mint, the Austrian *duarii* are present in the grave inventories from Brad (Cat. nos. 45-49) as well. Probably they passed around at the same time as the denars struck in the same chronological period, as they both had the same value<sup>33</sup>. Both monetary types were mainly discovered in isolated finds and appeared sporadically in the hoards of Moldavia. Other similar low-value silver coins, belonging to the various secular (Cat. nos. 65-57) and ecclesiastical (Cat. no. 25) authorities of the Holy Roman Empire<sup>34</sup> were used in the monetary circulation of the epoch, along with the late Austrian denars and *duarii*.

A relatively unitary batch consists of the Austrian coins dated at the end of the Holy Roman Empire and the beginning of the **Austrian Empire**. These are pieces with values of *1 Gröschel*, *1 Kreuzer* and *3 Kreuzer*, respectively, most of them out of bronze<sup>35</sup> and just a few of silver. They were produced in various coin mints from territories owned by the House of Habsburg: Vienna (Cat. nos. 26, 150-153), Schmöllnitz (Cat. nos. 154-156), Kremnitz (Cat. no. 53), Baia Mare (Cat. no. 54) and Alba Iulia (Cat. nos. 55, 157-158).

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the coinage pool in Moldavia consisted of various foreign monetary issues, struck in different metals, which circulated in parallel<sup>36</sup>. Among them was the Austrian *Kreuzer*, with its multiples and divisions, and mentioned as well in many internal documents and various literary works of the period<sup>37</sup>. Such brass denominations were pointed out by J. F. Neigebaur among the coins frequently circulating in Moldavia while he was the Consul of Prussia in Iaşi<sup>38</sup>. The presence of low-value Austrian coins to the East of the Carpathians is explained not only by trade but also by the political-military events of the epoch, such as the Russian-Austro-Turkish Wars of the 18<sup>th</sup> century or the Habsburg domination in Bukovina.

The **Russian Empire** is represented by two denominations of different metals. The silver *kopeyka* from Peter the Great found in the analyzed batch (Cat. no. 61) is subsequent to the monetary reform of 1698, being struck in the Kadashevsky mint, opened in Moscow in 1701<sup>39</sup>. Such coins are extremely rare among the discoveries in Moldavia. The copper *denga* (Cat. nos. 62-63) was introduced in 1700 and had a half-*kopeyka* value<sup>40</sup>. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century such pieces were struck in impressive quantities in the workshops of Moscow and Ekaterinburg<sup>41</sup>. They frequently appear in the East Carpathian area, where they were probably spread out mainly by the Russian troops during the many conflicts and occupation periods<sup>42</sup>.

The typological diversity of the **Kingdom of Poland**'s coinage reflects the particular evolution of its monetary system, amid the political and economic events of the  $15^{th}$  –  $17^{th}$  centuries<sup>43</sup>. In the monetary batch from Brad, the oldest are the *pólgroszki*, struck in different quality of silver and belonging to the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland (Cat. nos. 4-5) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Cat. no. 17)<sup>44</sup>. It is believed that the penetration of these denominations in the Moldavian money market took place only after the mid- $16^{th}$  century and intensified in its last decade as a result of Poland's direct involvement in the territory to the East of the

<sup>33</sup> HUSZÁR 1979: 16, 227-228; HERINEK 1972: 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> A relative concentration of small silver change of similar origin and dated in the same period, may be found in the composition of the hoard from Iaşi – Vasile Lupu Street, no. 28 (MUNTEANU, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, OBERLÄDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006: 231-237, 324-325, 346-347).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> About the Monetary Policy of 1760, which establishes the cooper small change ("Scheidemünze"), see: ENGEL, SERRURE 1897: 132; CLAIN-STEFANELLI, CLAIN-STEFANELLI 1979: 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> KIRIȚESCU 1997: 113, 116-119, 131-132, 135-137, 141. It is estimated that, in this period, in the Romanian Principalities' monetary circulation there were approx. 80 types of coinage. It is even believed to have been a real "monetary chaos", given the simultaneous use of variable measurement units and the absence of locally issued coins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> ZANE 1930: 104, 163, 201, note 1; 211, notes 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> NEIGEBAUR 1854: 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> BORODOVSKY, GOROKHOV 2016: 103-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> BREKKE 1977: 22; CLAIN-STEFANELLI, CLAIN-STEFANELLI 1979: 315.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> BREKKE 1977: 76 (Anna Ivanovna); 87-88 (Elisabetha Petrovna).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> VÎLCU, BOLDUREANU 2015: 274-275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> MURGESCU 1996: 115-132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> GUMOWSKI 1960: 201, 205; MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 30.

Carpathians<sup>45</sup>. *Pólgroszki*, especially the Lithuanian ones, had a dominant position for several decades in the local currency, representing the basis of the A type emergency hoards/ "previous to Vasile Lupu's reign". Most of these hoards end in the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but in some cases these limits go even beyond the midcentury<sup>46</sup>.

Another Polish currency, which has had a major impact on the Moldavian market, is the *szelag*, struck in various centres (Cat. nos. 16, 20, 22-24). Against the backdrop of the of the neighbouring kingdom's growing influence, the oldest such (repeatedly) devalued coins<sup>47</sup> appeared at the East of the Carpathians at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Towards the mid-century they prevailed in the monetary circulation of this province. The significant quantities of *szelagi*, most of them from Riga's workshops, dated in Sigismund III Vasa's time, composed the B type emergency hoards / "Vasile Lupu's reign", ended between the '40s and '70s of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>48</sup>. The similar copper coins of John II Casimir Vasa (*boratynki*) from Ujazdów mint (near Warsaw) date back to a more recent period<sup>49</sup>. They are part of a new wave of low-quality change, of Polish-Swedish origin (and their imitations as well), that invaded the Moldavian money market, leading to the appearance of the C type emergency hoards, dated, at the latest, in the '90s<sup>50</sup>.

Other denominations, that belonged to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the territories under its authority, were also identified in the investigated batch. *Trojaki* (Cat. no. 19) were considered to be genuine "war coinage", their emergence at the East of the Carpathians being connected with the political and military events of 1595 <sup>51</sup>. All *grosze* (Cat. nos. 6-7, 18) are issued after the reform of 1623, according to which the amount of silver in their composition was decreased to half <sup>52</sup>. Although they were only minted for a short period (1614-1627), *półtoraki* are the most numerous among the Polish coins discovered at Brad (Cat. nos. 8-15). They were struck in great amounts in Bydgoszcz mint <sup>53</sup>. These last three average value denominations are mostly devalued coins, resulted from the frequent monetary reforms. They were most likely part of the early flow of small Polish coins, which penetrated Moldavia at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They may be found in small quantities in the composition of the A type emergency hoards <sup>54</sup> and rarely of the B type emergency hoards <sup>55</sup> from the following period.

In close connection with the Polish space are the issues of the **Swedish Empire** (Cat. nos. 59-60). After occupying the cities of Riga and Elbing, Gustav II Adolf used the already existing mints to struck small change (*Schilling* and *Dreipölcher*), very similar to the Polish one. These coins invaded the financial market in Poland<sup>56</sup>, at the same time benefiting from its deficient monetary policy<sup>57</sup>. Most likely, the Swedish coins dated to this period and discovered at the East of the Carpathians originated from here. They were traded in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> BUTNARIU 1994: 65; BUTNARIU 1998: 169-171; BUTNARIU 2009: 406-407; MUNTEANU 2005: 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> BUTNARIU 1994: 70; BUTNARIU 1998: 165, 171; BUTNARIU 2009: 408; MUNTEANU 2005: 241-260; MUNTEANU 2006a: 442, 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> GUMOWSKI 1960: 211; MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 50, 64, 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> BUTNARIU 1994: 70; BUTNARIU 2009: 406-407, 410-411; MUNTEANU 2006a: 447-450, 459 (the hoard from Iași – Vasile Lupu Street, no. 28 contains over 8,000 such denominations, representing more than half of the entire discovery); MUNTEANU, POPOVICI 2012: 176.

 $<sup>^{49}</sup>$  MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 152-156; ŚNIEŻKO 2017: 1286 (it is estimated that more than 1.5 billion *boratynki* were issued in all the mints of the kingdom until 1667).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> MUNTEANU 2006a: 450; BUTNARIU 2009: 413-414.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> BUTNARIU 1998: 171; BUTNARIU 2009: 406, 408; BUTNARIU 2012: 81-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> GUMOWSKI 1960: 210; MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 64, 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 64, 66-68, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> BUTNARIU 1998: 165; BUTNARIU 2009: 408-409; BUTNARIU 2012: 85; MUNTEANU 2005: 252 (the three Polish denominations are the main medium-sized coins discovered besides the small change in this type of hoards); MUNTEANU 2006a: 452, 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> MUNTEANU 2006a: 452, 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 95-100 (only in Riga, the Swedes struck about 800,000,000 Schillingen between 1621 and 1644).

 $<sup>^{57}</sup>$  By the monetary regulation of  $11^{th}$  January 1627 the striking of silver coins under the value of the *talar* has ceased) (GUMOWSKI 1960: 45; MIKOŁAJCZYK 1988: 69).

the first flows of similar Polish devalued coins, and, therefore, associated with them in the Moldavian emergency hoards<sup>58</sup>.

The best represented coins in the necropolis of Brad are the *paras* issued by the **Ottoman Empire**. This denomination, originating from the pre-Ottoman Egypt, has overtaken its local coin status in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, being adopted at the central level, with a double role, as real money and as an account currency. Under Ahmed III the *para* was definitively imposed throughout the Empire, thus becoming the currency indispensable to everyday transactions. It was struck in large quantities, both in Constantinople and Cairo <sup>59</sup>. The monetary discoveries show a significant presence of this denomination on the Romanian Principalities' market. Unlike in Wallachia, where a large number of hoards composed of *paras* were discovered, in Moldavia it was seldom hoarded, the high-value Ottoman gold and silver denominations being preferred for storage instead <sup>60</sup>. On the other hand, the isolated discoveries prove a significant presence of *paras* on the market of Moldavia, among small change, a situation that is confirmed by the 84 examples discovered in the necropolis of Brad.

The earliest coins in the analyzed batch are *paras* issued in the name of Ahmed III (Cat. nos. 64-76). The types represented by these coins demonstrate the stylistic changes that para has incurred during this period. Thus, the first type, close to Sultan Ahmed II's similar coins, issued in small quantities at the beginning of his reign<sup>61</sup>, is illustrated by a single piece, struck at Cairo (Cat. no. 76). This type of coins is very rare in the Romanian space, and certified, until now, only in the necropolis of Enisala (Tulcea County)<sup>62</sup>. Equally rare are the coins minted in the Empire's capital, known to us only by about 12 pieces, out of which seven come from the territory of our country<sup>63</sup>. The second type of *para* is characterized by the exclusion of the traditional legend and the introduction on the obverse of the Sultan's tughra. This type of coins is common in the Moldavian and Wallachian monetary discoveries and it is represented in the above mentioned batch by 11 pieces, all bearing the name of the Kostantiniye workshop (Cat. nos. 64-74). One coin from this batch corresponds to the third type of para, as it distinguishes from its precedent by the presence of "Islâmbol", a name used to designate the capital's workshop<sup>64</sup> (Cat. no. 75). The analysis of monetary production from the time of Ahmed III suggests the use of the name "Islâmbol" on post-1716 coinage. It has not yet been possible to achieve a closer chronological frame of this issuer's coins, despite the presence of marks<sup>65</sup> and ornaments, which would suggest a control of monetary output. For these reasons, Ahmed III's paras, as well as those of his successor, Mahmud I, retaining the same typology, are still dated according to the years of reign.

In the necropolis of Brad, 13 coins were found to have the surname Mahmud I on them, of which 10 were issued in Kostantiniye and three in Mısır (Cairo). In Sultan Mustafa III's first year of rule (1757/1758) the coinage marking system was changed, the initial marks/letters were dropped and the year of reign was introduced<sup>66</sup>. This was initially applied in the capital's workshop, and since the sixth year on the throne it was taken over by the workshop in Cairo. After Sultan Mustafa III's ninth year of reign, a new way to mark the date the coin was struck was introduced, the last two digits of the year being engraved on the reverse. Thus, instead of year 10, there is number 80, which corresponds to the Hegira year 1180, instead of year 11, it is marked with number 81 (1181 AH) etc. (e.g., Cat. nos. 92-96). At Brad there were eight *paras* issued in the capital, again marked with "Islâmbol" (Cat. nos. 90-97) and other seven struck by the Egyptian workshop (Cat. nos. 98-104).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> MUNTEANU 2005: 252; BUTNARIU 2009: 409 (A type emergency hoards / "previous to Vasile Lupu's reign"); MUNTEANU 2006a: 449; BUTNARIU 2009: 411 (B type emergency hoards / "Vasile Lupu's reign").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> VÎLCU 2009: 210, 240.

<sup>60</sup> VÎLCU, BOLDUREANU 2015: 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> PERE 1968: 194, No. 527.

<sup>62</sup> MAXIM, NICOLAE 1991: 559-573, Nos. 110-116.

<sup>63</sup> VÎLCU 2009: 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> VÎLCU 2009: 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> The most complete list of these marks (initial letters) was conceived by Samuel Lachman, whose work we referred to in regard to some of the pieces in the Catalogue) (LACHMAN 1974: 199-224).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> LACHMAN 1974: 121.

The largest batch consists of Abdülhamid I's *paras*, nine of which were struck in Kostantiniye (Cat. nos. 105-113) and 14 in Mısır (Cat. nos. 114-127). At that time, the capital's workshop, as well as the Egyptian one, issued an impressive amount of *paras*, as evidenced by the numerous discoveries in Wallachia and Moldavia. Among the *paras* struck in Mısır, we noticed a few coins showing an intentional non-imprinting of the issuing year (Cat. nos. 121, 123, 126, 127). A similar situation was reported in other discoveries, such as the one of the hoard from Cărămidarii de Jos, Bucharest<sup>67</sup>. One possible explanation would be that the Egyptian workshop was known for failing to meet the standards imposed by the central authorities<sup>68</sup>.

Towards the end of the  $18^{th}$  century, the Ottoman Empire crossed a massive financial crisis as a result of the war of 1787-1792, which caused the depreciation of the gold and silver denominations. This is confirmed by the three coins from Selim III from the batch under discussion, which are characterised by much lower weights than those from the previous reigns (Cat. nos. 128-130).

The most recent coin of the Catalogue is a gold piece – *yirmilik*, from Mahmud II (Cat. no. 148), which was found under uncertain conditions, in the cemetery area<sup>69</sup>.

Ottoman *paras* that were dated back to the same period as those from Brad were found in significant quantities in other Moldavian necropolises also. We only mention the important batches composed of such denominations from the archaeological excavations from Dobrovăț monastery (Iași County)<sup>70</sup> and Iași – "St. Sabbas" church<sup>71</sup>. They were also found in the inventory of several graves on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, such as those from Căușeni – the "Virgin's Assumption" Church<sup>72</sup>, Chișinău – "Măzărache" Church<sup>73</sup> etc. In necropolises were found even hoards of *paras*, such as the one from Dobrovăț monastery<sup>74</sup>, and two other batches were discovered in different graves at Căpriana monastery, Strășeni district<sup>75</sup>.

From a chronological point of view, the coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad date back to a very long period of almost six centuries. More than half of them belong to the  $18^{th}$  century (59%). Apart from these, only the coins from the  $17^{th}$  (21%) and the  $19^{th}$  centuries (10%) hold a relatively high share (Chart 2). But results with a higher degree of accuracy can be obtained by dividing the chronological frame on narrower intervals. We may notice, therefore, that the first concentration of coin finds occurs in the first third of the  $17^{th}$  century. High figures are present throughout the  $18^{th}$  century and reach the peak in the last third of it, continuing in the next interval (Chart 3).

All this chronological information is based exclusively on the coin issuing dates. In order to have a true picture of the grave dating, we must try to appreciate the approximate period in which all these denominations, most of them foreign, were circulating in a different area from the original one. In this sense, the different political, economic and monetary events of different epochs have had a particular influence.

According to the presence of the two Moldavian coins, if we are to base exclusively on the numismatic discoveries, the commencement of the necropolis of Brad is dated at the beginning of the  $15^{th}$  century. Generally, the cemeteries in this early phase of the local economy, when monetary mass started to accumulate at the East of the Carpathians, contain very few coin finds<sup>76</sup>. As regards the studies batch, it draws attention to the absence or quasi-absence of common denominations, frequently encountered among the coin discoveries from Moldavia dated in the  $15^{th}$ - $16^{th}$  centuries, such as the Moldavian *groats* (after Alexander I's reign), Ottoman *akçe* or

<sup>69</sup> The coin was bought from one of the workers on the archaeological site, who had a private property, close to the cemetery area. He claimed to have found the piece on his land and intended to sell it at the antique shops in Bacău.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> PÎRVULESCU, VÎLCU 2011: 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> VÎLCU 2009: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> BUTNARIU 2001: 113-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> BUTNARIU 2001: 123-134.

 $<sup>^{72}</sup>$  TENTIUC, BUBULICI 2009: 323-330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> TENTIUC, BUBULICI 2011: 301-309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> BUTNARIU 2001: 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> BOLDUREANU 2006: 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> MUNTEANU 2015: 49-50.

Hungarian denars<sup>77</sup>. Under these conditions, we believe that the necropolis began to be used intensively only from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the next one. During this period, the Austrian denars make their presence felt on the Moldavian market and, at the same time with the flow of Polish (and Swedish) small change denominations, favoured by the political and economic changes of the time. Among the findings from Brad we note the surprising lack of the Swedish *Schillingen*, subsequent to Gustav Adolf's reign, especially those from Christina (and their imitations), coins that flooded the money market at the East of the Carpathians in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>78</sup>. The absence of certain coins at different times might reflect fluctuations in the necropolis' activity in the period following the destruction of the monastery<sup>79</sup>.

Immediately after the church was rebuilt (in 1697), the cemetery attained its maximum level of use, which extended throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, reaching the peak of exploit to its end and continuing at the beginning of the next century. In these times, the Ottoman *paras* and the Austrian small change denominations of silver (late denars and *duarii*) and bronze (*Kreuzer*) have been deposited inside the graves; Polish coins were also present, although sporadically. Extremely interesting is the long retention of early coins, as the denars of Matthias II or *szelągi* and *półtoraki* of Sigismund III Vasa. In the inventory of some graves, such coins appear along with the Ottoman *paras*, some of them struck at a distance of nearly two centuries (G 2/1973; G 24/1973; G 42/1974; G 67/1987; G 218/1987; G 224/1988).

The most recent monetary discovery in Brad dates back to the year the national monetary system was adopted<sup>80</sup>. The absence of the coins issued after this date, which are frequently met in the archaeological excavations<sup>81</sup>, could be an indication of ceasing the use of the necropolis in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at least in the investigated side of it.

There are many analogies between the monetary discoveries in the cemetery of Brad and those in similarly functioning sites on the territory of Moldavia, such as: Bătinești (Vrancea County)<sup>82</sup>, Bogdana (Bacău County)<sup>83</sup>, Ceahlău – "Schitișor" (Neamţ County)<sup>84</sup>, Dobrovăţ (Iaşi County)<sup>85</sup>, Galaţi – "Precista" Church (Galaţi County)<sup>86</sup>, Hangu (Neamţ County)<sup>87</sup>, Iaşi – "St. Sabbas" Church (Iaşi County)<sup>88</sup>, Joldeşti (Botoşani County)<sup>89</sup>, Liteni (Suceava County)<sup>90</sup>, Netezi (Neamţ County)<sup>91</sup>, Piatra-Neamţ – "Princiary Court" (Neamţ County)<sup>92</sup>, Suceava – "St. Demetrios" Church (Suceava County)<sup>93</sup>, Suceava – "St. Nicholas" Church (Suceava County)<sup>94</sup>, Târgu Trotuş (Bacău County)<sup>95</sup>, Vaslui – "St. John the Baptist" Church (Vaslui County)<sup>96</sup>. In most cases, the same types of money have been used, given the fact that they were part of the coinage pool at the time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> See the A type saving hoards (BUTNARIU 1998: 165).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> MUNTEANU 2006a: 450; MUNTEANU, POPOVICI 2012: 177-178; BUTNARIU 2009: 413-425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> BURLACU, MĂZĂREANU 1991: 121-122.

<sup>80</sup> MBR 1977: 255.

<sup>81</sup> HÂNCEANU, MUNTEANU 2015: 163.

<sup>82</sup> PARAGINĂ, BOBI 1993: 499, 502-503, 505-507, 509-510.

<sup>83</sup> ARTIMON 1998: 79-80.

<sup>84</sup> MITREA 2003: 269-272.

<sup>85</sup> BUTNARIU 2001: 113-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> ANGHEL 1992: 118, 122; ILIE 2001: 5-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> MITREA 2003: 266-269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> PUŞCAŞU, PUŞCAŞU 2005: 83-99, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> ŞOVAN, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1995: 218-219, 224-227.

<sup>90</sup> MATEI, EMANDI 1982: 76-89, 144 (Annex I).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> BĂTRÎNA, BĂTRÎNA 1985: 305-307.

<sup>92</sup> BUTNARIU 2016: 323-335.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> ARTIMON, RĂDULESCU 1981: 90-97.

<sup>94</sup> MAREŞ, HĂU, DEJAN 2012: 89-96.

<sup>95</sup> ARTIMON 1999: 113-119.

<sup>96</sup> BUTNARIU 2007: 102-106.

In the necropolis of Brad coins were found only in 146 of the 962 investigated graves. Such a percentage (15%) appears to be relatively modest among similar sites in the region, which have been operating for a long time <sup>97</sup>. While excluding the subjective factors, we can advance some probable explanations for this situation. Thus, it should be borne in mind that many of the graves that do not have a recorded numismatic inventory might date back to a previous time, to the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the coins were hard to obtain <sup>98</sup>. Moreover, the presence of early-dating ornaments could support such a timeline for the graves in which they came up <sup>99</sup>. Also, the small number of coins discovered may be due to the monastic component of the cemetery, the monks from the hermitage being buried here <sup>100</sup>. Lastly, it is possible to rely on the predominantly rural nature of the site, which is not in the immediate vicinity of any urban centre or of a well-known commercial road, making it difficult, to a certain extent, to connect the settlement to a constant source of money circulated at the time <sup>101</sup>.

The coins in the studied batch can be interpreted as having a special status since they were part of grave inventories. Only hypotheses can be formulated about the possible meanings of these coins in the funerary practices of the epoch: Charon's obol <sup>102</sup>, offerings, souvenirs, *pars pro toto*, apotropaic objects, *status* symbols, jewellery etc. <sup>103</sup>. Some information in this regard could be obtained by studying the contexts of the findings at the moment of their recording. Unfortunately, very few skeletons coming from graves that contain coins have been analyzed anthropologically. In these cases, the deceased are adults, mostly males (10), fewer females (5) and a significant number of children (9) (see the Catalogue). In general, for the medieval period, but also for earlier times, there is a sort of predilection for coins in the funerary pits containing women <sup>104</sup>, various arguments being put forward in this sense <sup>105</sup>. It is possible that the particular situation in Brad, which is based only on the analysis of a small sample, not be characteristic of the entire necropolis <sup>106</sup>.

The information referring to the position of the coin in the funeral pit was registered in one case only. The coin of G 24/1973 was deposited on the deceased's chest. In the medieval necropolises researched in the northern area of the Lower Danube, including the Moldavian territory, money is deposited most frequently in the hand of the dead  $^{107}$ . Some of the graves containing coins (11) had also other categories of artefacts within, consisting of ornaments (earrings, buttons, rings, hook and loop fasteners, of bronze or copper, sometimes of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Bătineşti (67% of the graves discovered contain coins), Bogdana (60%), Ceahlău – "Schitişor" (30%), Galați – "Precista" Church (35%), Hangu (40%), Iași – "St. Sabbas" Church (32%), Joldeşti (52%), Liteni (16%), Netezi (13%), Suceava – "St. Demetrios" Church (53%), Suceava – "St. Nicholas" Church (20%), Târgu Trotuş (20%).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> See the case of the early necropolises from: Giuleşti (Suceava County) (14% of the graves discovered contain coins) (BĂTRÎNA, BĂTRÎNA, SION 2013: 476-478), Hudum (Botoşani County) (9%) (SPINEI, POPOVICI 1985: 74-76; SPINEI, POPOVICI 1988: 234, 237-239, 245), Piatra Neamţ – "Dărmăneşti" (Neamţ County) (21%) (MUNTEANU 2015: 41-60), Rădăuţi – "St. Nicholas" Church (Suceava County) (5%) (BĂTRÎNA, BĂTRÎNA 2012: 93-110), Suceava – "The field of ditches" (Suceava County) (13%) (BATARIUC 1993: 234, 239-249). With a few exceptions, coins from Peter I and Alexander I appear in their inventory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Information from Silviu Ota, to whom we thank. See also the above-mentioned views, which place the beginning of the rural settlement and the monks' hermitage in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (or even earlier) (COSTĂCHESCU 1933: 138; BURLACU, MĂZĂREANU 1991: 119-120 and notes 7-8; UNGUREANU 2002: 148).

About the negative connotations of money in the Christian tradition, see: TRAVAINI 2004: 169-174, 176-180; TRAVAINI 2015: 214-215. A relatively similar situation could arise in the necropolis in Iaşi - "St. Sabbas" Church (MUNTEANU 2015: 46, note 85).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> MUNTEANU 2015: 49-50; MUNTEANU, POPOVICI 2013: 186. We express our reservations, about the use of the coin in Moldavia as being generalized both in urban and rural areas, starting with "Vasile Lupu's time" (BUTNARIU 2009: 411).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> COMŞA 1983: 156-157. We believe, however, that such a tradition, continued from Antiquity, must be cautiously interpreted in regard to its use during the medieval period (TRAVAINI 2004: 160; TRAVAINI 2015: 214, note 15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> TRAVAINI 2004: 160; TRAVAINI 2015: 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> MUNTEANU 2015: 50-51 (such a hypothesis is difficult to confirm at the present stage of study of the anthropological materials found in the medieval necropolises of this region).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> One recent hypothesis is about women's predisposition to believe in superstitions and the more frequent use of magic by these at the time (TRAVAINI 2004: 161).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> A similar situation see at MUNTEANU, GARVĂN 2018: 193 (vs. MUNTEANU 2015: 50-51).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> ROSETTI 1971: 189; COMȘA 1983: 156-157, 160-161; see also MUNTEANU 2015: 51, note 88.

silver or silvered). In the funeral inventory of the north-Danubian medieval necropolises, at the South <sup>108</sup> and East of the Carpathians <sup>109</sup>, the discovery of coins together with ornaments and, in some cases, with different utensils, is a usual association.

A significant part of the coins from Brad are pierced (66 ex.). Besides these, we are convinced that such interventions would have existed on some of the coins fragmentarily preserved as well. In most cases, we are talking about perforations we have described as "round". These were made with thin needles, prickers or even with a fine punch. Seldom, the perforations are "sharp", in which case a sharp blade (perhaps a knife) was used. Sometimes two or more piercings appear on the same piece, all of which have a round shape. It can be noticed that certain denominations, especially of silver, such as the Ottoman *paras* (41%), Austrian denars and *duarii* (55%) and Polish *półtoraki* (50%), have been pierced.

There have been attempts to try to explain in various ways the role of these piercings on the coins. It is difficult to admit that, in certain situations, the perforations could be the result of an electro-chemical corrosion process that occurred in the soil<sup>110</sup>. They were deliberately made and some specialists correlate them with the funeral role played by the coins. The pierced coins inside the graves would have been linked by a thread to different parts of the dead's body (fingers, especially) in order not to be lost but used to "pay the customs" 111. Such a scenario does not explain the absence or rarity of perforations on common metal coins, especially on those of large dimensions, from the  $17^{th}$  –  $18^{th}$  centuries. We believe that this technical process is not connected to funeral customs, but rather has to be linked to various monetary practices of the time. And in this case, several possible interpretations have been advanced. One of them associates perforation with demonetization. Such coins were losing their purchasing power, being hoarded for the value of their precious metal, or used for the manufacture of ornaments or accessories 112. Sometimes, such treasured coins in the form of bracelets or necklaces were back in circulation even "mutilated" 113. The deliberate damage of money was also explained by the illicit practices of the time. In particular, the usurers were accused of drilling out and taking some of the precious metal<sup>114</sup>. Lastly, the possibility that the perforations had a practical role, facilitating the activity of the same usurers, who used to gather the small change into a certain unit of account, using a thin wire or thread 115, should also be considered. We believe that this last explanation may be plausible if we take into account that many of the perforated coins had a very low silver content, which did not make them attractive at all for hoarding or gaining a dishonest profit<sup>116</sup>.

The coins from the necropolis of Brad have been extracted from the coinage pool of the time and represent a sample of the small change, available on the local market, at various times during the  $14^{th}$  –  $19^{th}$  centuries. The composition of this batch is a heterogeneous one, including silver and bronze denominations of different quality, originating from extremely varied monetary spaces.

 $<sup>^{108}</sup>$  A detailed and documented discussion on the role of the two categories of artefacts in different periods, in the graves of Wallachia see at ROSETTI 1971: 187-192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> With little exceptions (Ceahlău and Liteni), in all Moldavian necropolises mentioned herein, we noticed that coins and ornaments appear in the same graves, thus denouncing the hypothesis that they would exclude each other (MATEI, EMANDI 1982: 83).

 $<sup>^{110}</sup>$  OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006b: 409; to refute this view, see even the same author: OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2007: 282, note 10.

<sup>111</sup> COMŞA 1983: 156.

 $<sup>^{112}</sup>$  OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2006c: 416; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2007: 282-283; KIRIŢESCU 1997: 140-141 ("the necklaces and bracelets [...] a naive way of coin hoarding").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> KIRIŢESCU 1997: 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> KIRIŢESCU 1997: 140.

<sup>115</sup> MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006: 407.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Most of the pierced coins from a discovery we have frequently mentioned, the hoard from Iași – Vasile Lupu Street, no. 28 are Polish *szelagi* of Sigismund III Vasa (over 6,000), denominations that contained an insignificant amount of silver (MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006: 407-409).

## CATALOGUE<sup>117</sup>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
	_		YOFM			A								
		, ,	. 1375-13	392)										
	; Suc		10.10	12	1 /D	1	1207 1201 /2	DÎRVAN GONGTANT TEGUL	1000	C2			ITTO	24 (17
1.	AK	0.41	10x18	3	VP	r	138/-1391/2	PÂRVAN, CONSTANTINESCU 2007: 390, No. 1	1985	G3			Т30	34.617
Alex	andr	u cel B	un (1400	-143	2)									
Dub	lu gro	s; Suce	ava											
2.	AR	1.56	21	9	P		1408-1409	ILIESCU 2000: 80, No. 5	1963	UI			T1; B33	9.167
			•				•		•				•	•
KIN	GDO	OMO	FHUNC	ARY	Y									
II. U	lászló	5 (1490	0-1516)											
Dena	ír; Kö	örmöc	bánya											
3.	AR	0.37	14x15	1	P		1497	POHL 1982: 121, No. 238-234	2001	G12			B2	37.872
KIN	GDO	OMO	F POLAI	ND										
POL	ISH	CROV	/N											
Jan I	Olbi	racht (	1492-150	)1)										
Pólgi	rosz; ]	Krakóv	v											
4.	AR	0.60	16x17	5	P		1492-1499	KOPICKI 1995: 42, No. 387	1973	UI			T10; B3	15.305
Alek	sand	er I Jag	iellończy	k(15	501-1	506)	•		•				•	•
Pólg	rosz; ]	Krakóv	v											
5.	AR	0.27	14x17	6	VP	r	1501-1506	KOPICKI 1995: 42, No. 389	1963	G29			T1; B42	7.842
Zygı	nunt	III Wa	za (1587	7-163	32)		•						•	
Gros	z; By	dgosza	cz											
6.	AR	0.65	18	12	VP	r	1623	KOPICKI 2007: 65, Nos. 312-313	1988	G185			T33	28.008
7.	AR	0.59	17x18	12	VP		1624	KOPICKI 2007: 65, Nos. 314-315	1987	G39			T32	27.985
Półto	rak;	Bydgo	SZCZ				l							· L
8.	AR	0.15	12x13	12	VP	r	1617(?)	KOPICKI 2007: 72, Nos. 359-360	1987	G124			T32	34.075
9.	AR	1.39	20	7	P		1619	KOPICKI 2007: 73, No. 366	1993	UI			T38	34.343
10.	AR	0.38	17	12	VP	r	1620	KOPICKI 2007: 73, No. 371	1987	G67			T32	27.981
11.	AR	0.40	18	6	P	r	1621	KOPICKI 2007: 74, No. 373	1988	G164			T33	27.991
12	AR	0.68	18	1	P		1622	KOPICKI 2007: 74, No. 377	1987	G218		1	T32	27.990
13.	AR	0.75	18x19	11	P		1623	KOPICKI 2007: 75, No. 379	1988	G224		1	T33; B9	24.904
14.	AR	0.18	10x14	1	VP		1624(?)	KOPICKI 2007: 75, Nos. 380-381	1987	G145	1	1	T32	34.081
		0.74	16x18	6	VP	r	1625	KOPICKI 2007: 76, Nos. 388-389	1973	G47	1		T10	9.172
			Waza (1			)	1	1	-//0	1~ "	1	1	1	17:-/-
_		jazdów	,	0 10	1000	,								
		1.21	15	6	VP	l	1664	SZWAGRZYK 1990: 234, No. 2977	1973	G29			T10; B5	9.190
10.	ΔL	1.41	13	U	V I		1004	52 VV1 GIVE 1X 1770: 254, 1NO. 27//	19/3	G27			110, 03	7.170

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 $<sup>^{117}</sup> Legend; \textbf{I} - Catalogue number; \textbf{II} - metal (AV - gold; AR - silver; AR^* - silver plated; AE - copper); \textbf{III} - weight (grams); \textbf{IV} - size (millimeters); \textbf{V} - axis (hours); \textbf{VI} - grade of preservation (VG - very good; G - good; P - poor; VP - very poor); \textbf{VII} - perforation (r - round; s - sharp); \textbf{VIII} - date; \textbf{IX} - reference; \textbf{X} - year of finding; \textbf{XI} - grave (G - grave; UI - unidentified); \textbf{XII} - skeletons - sex (M - male; F - female; I - infans)/age; \textbf{XIII} - associated metallic artefacts (jewelry); \textbf{XIV} - archaeological context (T - trench; B - box; P - pit); \textbf{XV} - inventory number (Roman History Museum, Neamț County Museum Complex).$ 

GRAND	DUC	HVOE	ודן	ЦП ТА	ŊΠ	I A							
Zygmuni						А							
Pólgrosz;			7-0-	13/2	')								
		14x18	3	VΡ	r	1545-1566	GUMOWSKI 1960:108-109,	1963	G36			T1	7.848
17.111	0.11	1 1210	5	V 1	1	13 13 1300	Nos. 596-608	1703	G50			11	7.010
Zygmun	t III W	aza (15	87-1	632	)		1						ı
Grosz; W		(-0			,								
18. AR		16x19	6	VP	T	1625	KOPICKI 2007: 230, Nos. 1214-1215	1971	G23	M/35-40		T6; B6	8.896
DUCHY					CI	TY)	,			<u> </u>		,	
Stefan Ba	itory (	1575-15	586)	)		,							
Trojak; R	liga												
19. AR	2.20	20	3	G		1585	IGER 2008: 60, No. R.85.1k	1988	UI			T33	34.341
Zygmun	t III W	aza (15	87-1	632	)								
Szeląg; R													
20. AR				VP		1616-1620	Gumowski 1960: 140, Nos. 1437-1440	1973	G24			T10	9.179
DUCHY													
Georg W				10)									
Dreipölke			_						1	1		I	ı
21. AR			10	VP	r	1625	NEUMANN 1998: 237, No. 10.112	1973	G28			T10	9.188
Schilling;									1	1		I	ı
22. AR		10x12	2	VP		1623-1633	NEUMANN 1998: 238, No. 10.113	1987	G43			T32	34.078
INCERT		(1.5	a <b>-</b> .	· (22)									
Zygmun	t III W	aza (15	87-1	1632	)								
Szeląg	0.07	7 10	1	ът.	1	1500 1/27	Γ	1074	C 12	E/27.40		D1	12.020
	0.07			VP VP	_	1588-1627		1974		F/35-40		P1 P1	12.020
24. AR	0.08	/X8		VP		1588-1627		19/4	G22	M(2)/35-40		PI	10.722
HOLY R					F.S	SALZBURG							
Guidoba				_									
1 Kreuzer						- /							
25. AR			10	P	r	1663	WORLD COINS 2018: 76, No. 159	1987	G129			T32	27.997
			ISTI	RIA: I	LC	WER AUSTR		I.					
Franz II.	(I.) (1	792-183	35)										
1 Kreuzer	; Wiei	1											
26. AE	4.05	24	12	VP		1800	HERINEK 1970: 222, No. 1060	1974	G12	I/1,5-2		P1	10.743
ARCHD	UCHY	OFAL	ISTI	RIA: I	KI	NGDOM OF	HUNGARY						
Ferdinan	d I. (1	526-150	63)										
Denar, K	remni	tz											
		11x14			_		UNGER 2000: 42, No. 745a	1963			yes	T1; B37-38	7.855
28. AR		14x15				1559	UNGER 2000: 45, No. 748a		G179			T33	34.066
	0.10			VP		1527-1559	HUSZÁR 1979: 143, No. 935	1963	G26			T1; B42	7.844
Maximili		•	576	)									
Denar; K			1_	I I						1		I	
30. AR				VP	r	1567	UNGER 2000: 54, No. 766a	1963	G35			T1; B42	7.847
Rudolf II	,		)										
Denar; K				ln I	1.	1.500	LD CER ASSO TO N. SIG	100=		T		maa.	20110
31. AR*					_	1579	UNGER 2000: 75, No. 810a	1987			yes	T32	28.148
		10x13			_	1601	UNGER 2000: 76, No. 811a	1987	G126		-	T32	34.076
		14x15		P VD	_	1602	UNGER 2000: 76, No. 811a		G60		1	T1; B41	7.841
		11x15			_	1579-1602	HUSZÁR 1979: 162, No. 1059	1963			-	T1; B38	7.840
35. AR 36. AR		11x15 10x12	/	VP VP	_	1579-1602 1579-1602	HUSZÁR 1979: 162, No. 1059	1988 1987	G190 G47			T33 T32	28.003 34.073
Matthias			0)	٧P		13/7-1002	HUSZÁR 1979: 162, No. 1059	198/	G4/			1 32	34.0/3
Denar; K			リナ										
37. AR			11	VD	r.	1612	UNGER 2000: 103, No. 869	1973	G2	1	1	T10	9.185
37. ZIX	0.73	TALO	11	v 1	1	1012	C14GLIC 2000. 103, 140. 007	1//3	02		<u> </u>	110	7.103

Ferdinan	nd II. (	1619-16	37)										
Denar; K			0,,										
38. AR	0.17	10x14	12	VP	s	1621 (?)	UNGER 2000: 123, No. 916b	1988	G211			T33	34.077
39. AR	0.26	9x10	9	VP	r	1621-1623	UNGER 2000: 123, No. 916b	1963	G59			T1; B40-41	7.846
Leopold	I. (165	57-1705	)				1			•			
Denar; K	remni	tz											
40. AR	0.21	12x13	12	VP	r	1675	UNGER 2000: 218, No. 1111	1973	G39			T10	9.189
		12x13	12	VP	r	1678	UNGER 2000: 217, No. 1107	1987	G79			T32	27.984
		13x14	12	VP		1687	UNGER 2000: 218, No. 1110	1987				T32	28.006
		14x15	6		r	1692	UNGER 2000: 219, No. 1114		G55			T1; B39-40	7.851
44. AR	0.32	7x13	7	VP		1659-1699	HUSZÁR 1979:	1963	UI			T1	7.850
							228-229, Nos. 1503-1509						
Duarius;			1			1	<u></u>			T	1	1	1
	0.40		12		S	1696	UNGER 2000: 216, No. 1104a		G56			T32	27.998
		12x14		VP	r	1698	UNGER 2000: 216, No. 1105		G173		yes	T33	28.154
				VP	r	1703	UNGER 2000: 216, No. 1105		G10			T10	9.170
		14x15	12		r	1703	UNGER 2000: 217, No. 1106	1987				T32	27.979
		13x15				1703	UNGER 2000: 217, No. 1106	1988	G166			T33	28.010
Ferdinan	1d I. – I	Leopold	1. (1	526-	170.	5)							
Denar 50 AD	0.24	70	1	VP	ı	XVI <sup>th</sup> c.	T	1072	C2(			T10	0.172
	0.24		9	VP		XVI"c. XVII <sup>th</sup> c.			G36 G25		-		9.173
	0.16		9	VP		1526-1705			G23			T1; B43 T1; B44	7.845 7.854
Maria Th			1780			1320-1/03		1903	G33			11; D <del>44</del>	7.034
1 Kreuzei			1 / 00	')									
53. AE			11	VP		1780	HERINEK 1970: 74, Nos. 1618-	1974	UП			P1	10.728
00. 122	,,	20				1,00	1619	1771					101,20
Franz II.	(I.) (1	792-183	5)			l	<u> </u>	I.	I				
1 Kreuzer													
54. AE	3.98	23	12	VP		1800	HERINEK 1970: 222, No. 1066	1974	G28	I/0,7-1		P1	10.732
ARCHD	UCHY	OFAU	STR	IA: P	RIN	CIPALITYO	F TRANSYLVANIA	1	1	1			
Maria Tl	neresia	(1740-)	1780	)									
1 Kreuzei													
55. AE				VP		1764	HERINEK 1970: 78, No. 1678	1974	G32	M(?)/40-45		P1	10.734
LOWER				OF I	BRIE	EG							
Leopold	,		)										
1 Kreuzer						ı	1	,				ı	1
56. AR				1		1701	HERINEK 1972: 147, No. 1808	1987	G7			T32	27.980
UPPER S				OF O	PPE	ELN							
Leopold			)										
Gröschel;			10	x /D	1	1704	HEDDER 1072 140 N. 1050	1007	C122		1	TT22	24.070
57. AR		10x15	10	VP	r	1704	HERINEK 1972: 149, No. 1858	198/	G122			T32	34.079
INCERT Franz II.		702 192	5)										
3 Kreuzer		/92-103	3)										
58. AE		28	12	VP	1	1799-1803	HERINEK 1970: 220-221,	1074	G39	F/30-35		P1	10.731
36. AL	0.47	20	12	VI		1/99-1003	Nos. 1038-1052	19/4	G39	I (4)/0-4		1 1	10./31
	L	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>			1.00.1000 1002	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	1-(1)/01	1	<u> </u>	1
SWEDIS	SHEN	IPIRE											
LIVONL			Y)										
Gustav II			_	2)									
Schilling;		`		,									
59. AR		12x13	8	VP		1628	AHLSTRÖM, ALMER, JONSS	ON	1973	G18		T10	9.191
							1980: 34, No. 20						
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EAG	TT D	DI ICC	TA ELI	DDIC (	OI TO	7)								
				BING (0		()								
		n Aac her; E		1-1632)	)									
	1	0.21	ibing	10x16	0	VP	1631	ALII CTDÖM ALMED IO	NICCONI	1973 G4			T10	0.192
60.	AK	0.21		10x16	9	VP	1031	AHLSTRÖM, ALMER, JO 1980: 56, No. 25	NSSON	19/3 G4			T10	9.182
								1900: 30,110.23						
DII	CCIA	NEN	ИPIRE											
				(1682-1	1725	:)								
				adashev			-)							
_	_			12	VP		1701-1709	KLESHCHINOV, GRISHIN	1963	G43			T1; B37	7.849
01.	1110	0.10	AIO	12	* -		1701 1707	2005:	1703	0.15			11,1557	7.017
								27-59, Nos. 1781-2084						
Anr	na Iva	anovr	na (1730	0-1740)	)					l				I
			•	shny mi										
		6.03		6	VP		1734	BITKIN 2003: 513, No. 291	1973	G45			T10	9.176
				1741-1	762	)			1					
				shny mi		,								
63.	AE	8.06	23	6	VΡ		1747	BITKIN 2003: 575, No. 357	1990	G1			T34; B3	27.343
			<u> </u>	l				· ·	1	l				1
OT	TO	MAN	EMPII	RE										
OT	TON	MAN	EMPIR	E										
Ahr	ned	III (1	115-11	43 AH /	/ 170	03-1	730)							
Para	a; Isl	âmbo	ol											
64.	AR	0.39	12		VP	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 522	1973	G2			T10	9.177
Para	a; Ko	ostant	iniye					•	•	'			,	
65.	AR	0.21	12		P	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1987	G83			T32	28.012
66.	AR	0.57	14		G	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1987	G37			T32	28.018
67.	AR	0.58	15		P	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1988	G184			T33	28.019
68.	AR	0.52	14x15		P		1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1973	G14			T10; B4	9.163
69.	AR	0.29	15		P	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1987	G82		yes	T32	27.987
70.	AR	0.30	13x14		P	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1973	G54		yes	T10	9.186
71.	AR	0.42	14		P	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1987	G77			T32	28.004
72.	AR	0.41	12x13		G		1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1987	G87			T32	27.992
73.	AR	0.18	11x12		P		1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1973	UI			T10; B2-3	9.168
								SULTAN 1977: 215, No. 19						
74.	AR	0.42	15		VP		1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1973	G11			T10; B6	9.165
75.	AR	0.24	14		Р	r	1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 523	1987	G57			T32	27.977
Para	a; M	ısır						•	•	'			,	
76.	AR	0.64	13x16		P		1703-1730	PERE 1968: 194, No. 527	1988	G210			T33	28.013
				68 AH	/ 17.	30-1	754)		•					
Para	a; Ko	stant	iniye											
77.	AR	0.63	16		P	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1973	G6			T10	9.184
78.	AR	0.23	9x15		P		1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1973	G22			T10; B3	9.183
79.	AR	0.52	15		G	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1973	G54		yes	T10	9.181
								SULTAN 1977: 227, No. 24						
80.	AR	0.10	9x11		P		1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1973	G14			T10; B4	9.187
								SULTAN 1977: 227, No. 15						
81.	AR	0.43	13x15		P		1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1969	G2	M/35-40	yes	T5	8.894
								SULTAN 1977: 227, No. 7						
82.	AR	0.26	13x15		P	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1988	G186			T33	27.983
83.	AR	0.14	10x13		VP	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1988	G171			T33	27.994
84.	AR	0.25	13x15		VP	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1987	G162			T33	28.000
		0.49			G		1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1987	G104			T32	28.009
86.	AR	0.37	14		G		1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 578	1987	G90			T32	28.017
Para	a; M	ısır						•		ı			•	•
87.	AR	0.21	10x14		P		1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 580	1973	G24			T10	9.180
			19x20		р	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 580	1988	G131			T33	28.002
		0.34			VP	r	1730-1754	PERE 1968: 203, No. 580	1973	G46			T10	9.174
ш						<b>.</b>		<u> </u>					Î.	i

90.	AR	0.29	15		Р	r	1758/1759	PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1963	UI			T1; B4	2	12.11
91.	AR	0.40	15	T	P	r		PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1988	G163		yes	T33		27.99
							(?)								
92.		0.24			Р	r	1767/1768	PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1987	G84			T32		27.98
93.	AR	0.23	15		Р	r	1769/1770	PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1973	G5			T10		9.169
94.	AR	0.42	14x15		VP	r		PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1973	G50			T10; B	8	9.171
95.			12x15		G			PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1987	G40			T32		28.01
96.	AR	0.23	18		VP	r	1771/1772	PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1974	G3	F (?)/25- 30		P1		10.74
97.	AR	0.32	14		P	r	1774/1775	PERE 1968: 216, No. 639	1963	G38			T1; B4	0	7.852
Para	ı; Mıs	sır							•		•		•		
98.	AR	0.26	14x15		G		1757- 1762/1763	PERE 1968: 217, No. 643	1987	G66			T32		27.99
99.	AR	0.25	14		P		1757- 1762/1763	PERE 1968: 217, No. 643 SULTAN 1977: 252, No. 16 LACHMAN 1974: 203	1987	G8			T32		28.00
100.	AR	0.18	12x14		Р	r	1757- 1762/1763	PERE 1968: 217, No. 643	1987	G3			T32		34.07
		0.25			VP			PERE 1968: 217, No. 643	1988	G150			T33		27.98
			14x15		G			PERE 1968: 217, No. 643	1963	G18			T1; B3	4	7.856
			14x15		Р			PERE 1968: 217, No. 643	1988	G152		yes	T33		27.98
		0.23			P	r		PERE 1968: 217, No. 643	1987	G62			T32		27.98
			,	203	AH	/ 17	774-1789)								
	*	stanti	,												1
		0.28		Ш	G			PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1988	G222			T33		34.06
		0.31		1	P	r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1988	G209			T33		28.01
			10x15	$\perp$	VP			PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1963	G28			T1; B4		7.853
		0.24	14x15	$\perp$	P VP	r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1963 1988	UI G139			T1; B3	9	12.11
			14x15	-	VP P			PERE 1968: 225, No. 681 PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1988	G139			T1; B3	4	27.99 7.857
		0.43		$\vdash$	r P	r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1988	G219			T33	4	34.06
			14x15	$\vdash$		S		PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1988	G219 G181			T33		34.06
			14x15	H	P	3		PERE 1968: 225, No. 681	1990	G181			T35; B	4	27.34
	ı; Mıs		14413		1		1//4-1/0/	1 ERE 1700. 223, 110.001	1770	G2		<u> </u>	133, D	T	27.37
		0.30	15	П	Р		1774/1775	PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1963	G19			T1; B3	3	7.843
		0.23		H	P	r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1987	G37			T32		28.01
			14x15			r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1987	G26			T32		34.07
	_		14x15			r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1988	G172			T33		34.05
118.	AR	0.19	19x20		VP	r	1774-1789	PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1963	G23			T1; B4	.5	7.858
119.	AR	0.14	9x15		P		1774-1789	PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1973	G2			T10		9.178
120.	AR	0.19	11		VP			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1974	G17	I/0,7-1		P1		10.74
		0.21			P			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1987	G60			T32		27.97
			12x14		P			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1987	G49			T32		27.99
		0.21		Ĺ	P			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1987	G70			T32		28.00
			14x15	Ш	P			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1988	G180			T33		34.06
			14x15	Ц	VP	r		PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1988	G221			T33		34.06
			14x15		Р			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1987	G218			T32		34.06
		0.29			P			PERE 1968: 225, No. 683	1988	G191			T33		34.07
			3-1222 A	H/	178	39-1	807)								
		mbol		1	n		1700 1700	DEDE 10/0 222 N. 712		1000	G122	ı		T-2.2	1240
ι 28.	AR.	0.13	13x15		P		17/89-1790	PERE 1968: 232, No. 713		1988	G132	l	1	T33	34.06

129	AR	0.15	14x15	<u>τ</u>	P	r	1796/1797	PERE 1968:	232 No 717	1988	G176			T33	34.080
		0.20	15		_	r	1802-1803	PERE 1968:		1988	G188			T33	34.062
				5-12	_	H / 1703-		12101700	202)1101717	1,00	Gree			100	011002
		stantini		0 12		1, 1,00	1007)								
		0.10	10		VP		1703-1807			1974	G17	I/0,7-		P1	10.717
132.	AR	0.18	10x12	2	VP		1703-1807			1974	G6	1	yes	P1;	10.718
					-		17.00 2007						/	B3	
Para	; Mıs	sır				l		I				1	l		
133.	AR	0.13	13x14		VP	r		1703-1807			1988	G224		T33; B9	24.905
Para														D9	
		0.29		I I	VP			1703-1807			1973	G15		Т10.	9.166
														B4	
135.	AR	0.37	10x15		VP			1703-1807			1973	G22		T10; B3	9.175
136.	AR	0.07	7x10		VP			1703-1807			1974	G37	M/55- 60	P1	10.735
137.	AR	0.28	12x13		P			1703-1807			1974	G42		P1	12.021
		0.07	6	Ħ	VP			1703-1807			1977	G13		T17	12.212
139.	AR	0.41	12x13		VP			1703-1807			1988	G200		T33	28.001
140.	AR	0.48	14x15		VP			1703-1807			1988	G151		T33	28.007
141.	AR	0.15	15		VP			1703-1807			1987	G55		T32	34.059
142.			13x14		VP			1703-1807			1988	G213		T33	34.069
143.	AR	0.03	7x8		VP			1703-1807			1987	G30		T32	34.071
144.	AR	0.05	4x12		VP			1703-1807			1988	G105		T33	34.082
145.	AR	0.33			VP			1703-1807			1971	G20	M/55- 60	Т6	8.895
146.	AR	0.25			VP			1703-1807			1988	G194		T33	34.083
		0.07	8x12		VP			1703-1807			2001	G14		P2	38.381
			23-1255			3-1839)		I					l	l I	
		Kostant		,		,									
		1.58	20		VG			1835/1836	PERE 1968:	246, No.	1977 (?)				
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				12	VP			1867	MBR 1977: 2	256, Nos. 6-	1976	UI		T13; B7	12.038
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150.	AR	1.59	18	12	VP			1820	HERINEK 1 No. 977	970: 218,	2001	G4		P2	37.870
151.	AR	1.13	17	12	VP	r		1832	HERINEK 1 No. 1009	970: 219,	1974	G33		P1	10.742
1 Kra	211701	; Wien	<u> </u>						110.1007			<u> </u>	l	Ш	
			24	12	VP			1812	HERINEK 1 No. 1078	970: 223,	1974	G27		P1	10.744
	-	seph I. ( ; Wien	1848-19	16)					1		<u> </u>	1	<u>I</u>	<u> </u>	
		3.39	18	12	P			1859	HERINEK 1 No. 896	970: 288,	1974	G13	I/0,5- 0,7	P1	10.719

ARC	HDU	JCHY	OF A	AUS	TRL	A: KINGDOM OF F	HUNGARY							
Fran	z II. (	(I.) (17	92-1	835	5)									
1 Kre	euzer	; Schm	öllni	tz										
154.	AE	2.85	23	12	VP		1812	HERINEK 1970: 223, No. 1084	1974	Gl	M/25-30		P1	10.745
155.	AE	8.34	25	12	VP		1816	HERINEK 1970: 223, No. 1090	1974	G18	M(2)/25-30		P1	10.729
3 Kre	euzer	; Schm	öllni	tz										
156.	AE	12.77	33	12	VP		1812	HERINEK 1970: 221, No. 1059	1986	UI			T31; B5	34.993
ARC	HDU	JCHY	OF A	4US	TRL	A: GRAND PRINCI	PALITY OF T	RANSYLVANIA						
Fran	z II. (	(I.) (17	92-1	835	5)									
1 Kre	euzer	; Karlsł	urg											
157.	AE	3.65	25	12	VP		1812	HERINEK 1970: 223, No. 1081	1974	G36	F(?)/20	yes	P1	10.746
158.	AE	3.03	24	12	VP		1812	HERINEK 1970: 223, No. 1081	1974	G30-31	F/40-50 I/5-6	yes	P1	10.726

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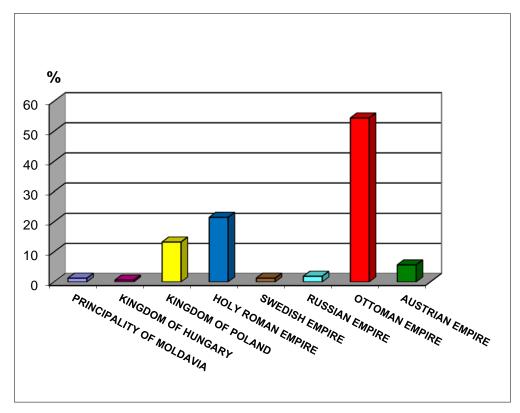


Chart 1. The origin of coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad.

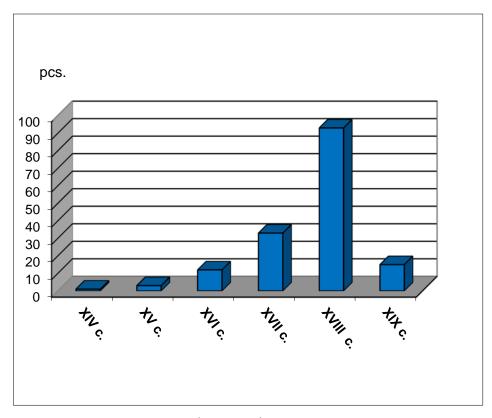
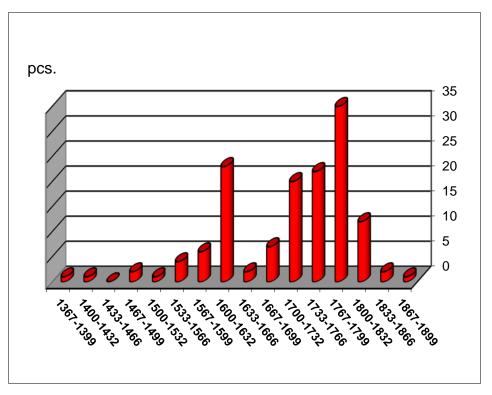


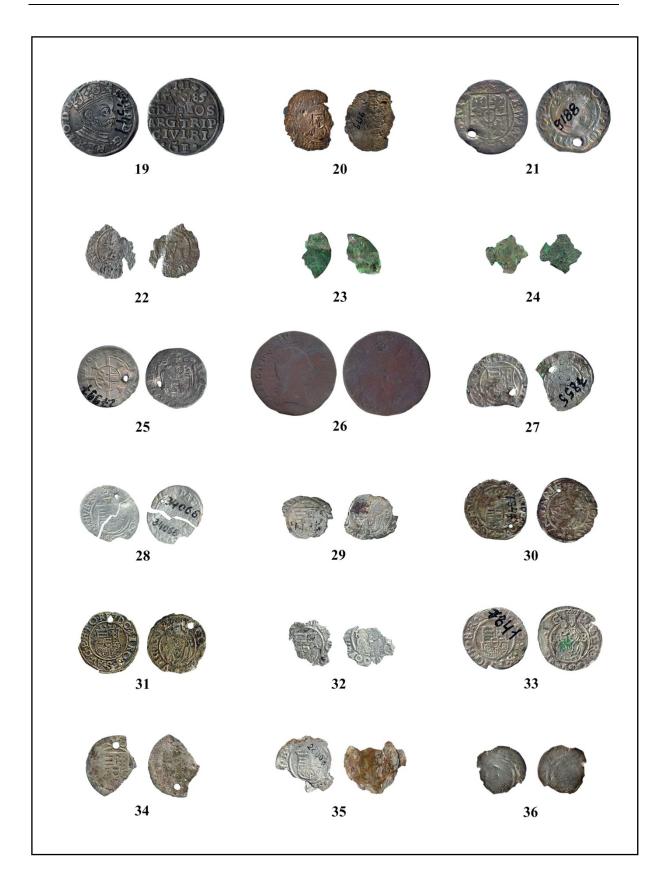
Chart 2. The chronological structure (by centuries) of coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad.



 $Chart\ 3.\ The\ detailed\ chronological\ structure\ of\ coins\ discovered\ in\ the\ necropolis\ of\ Brad.$ 



Pl. I. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 1-18).



Pl. II. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 19-36).



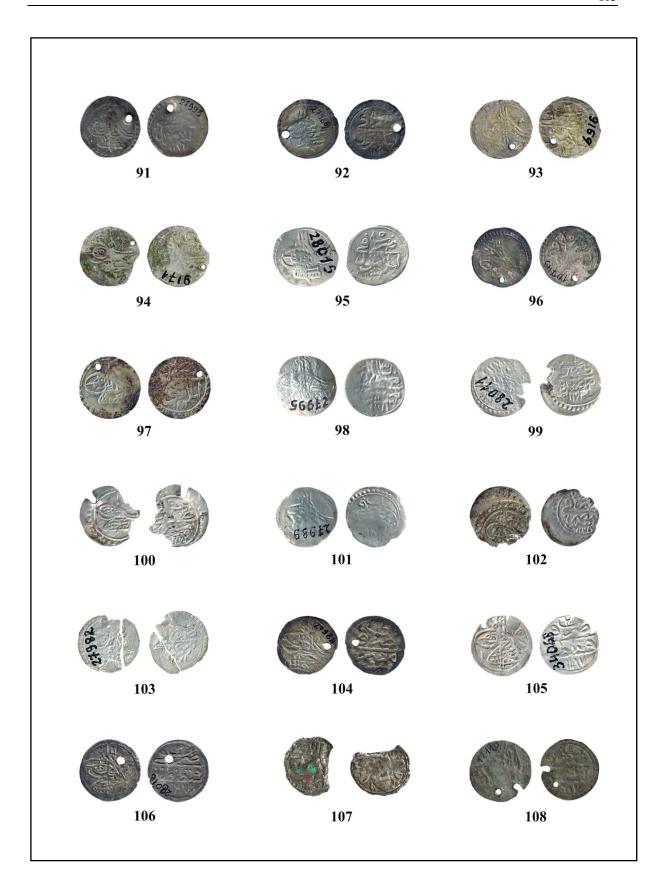
Pl. III. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 37-54).



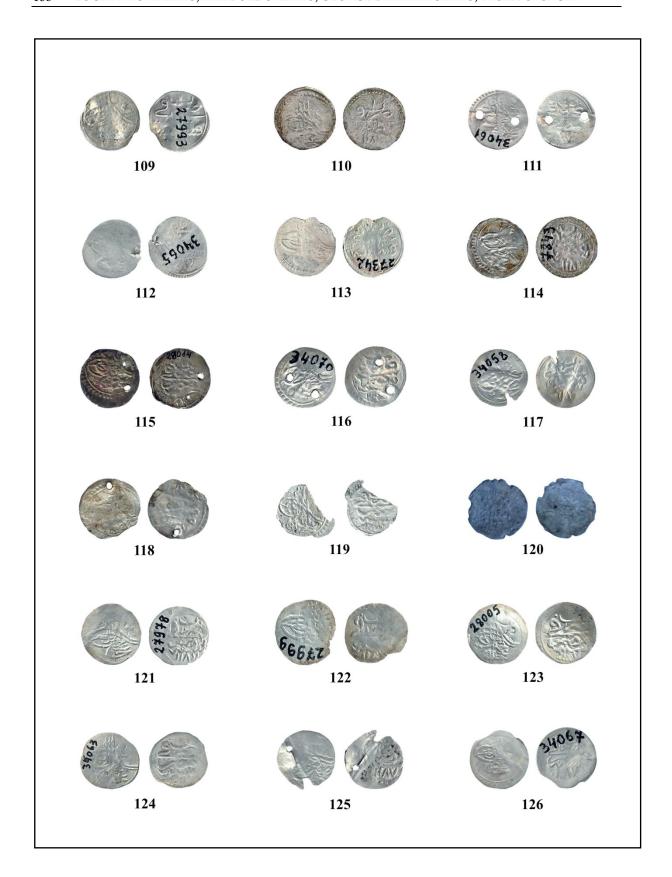
Pl. IV. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 55-72).



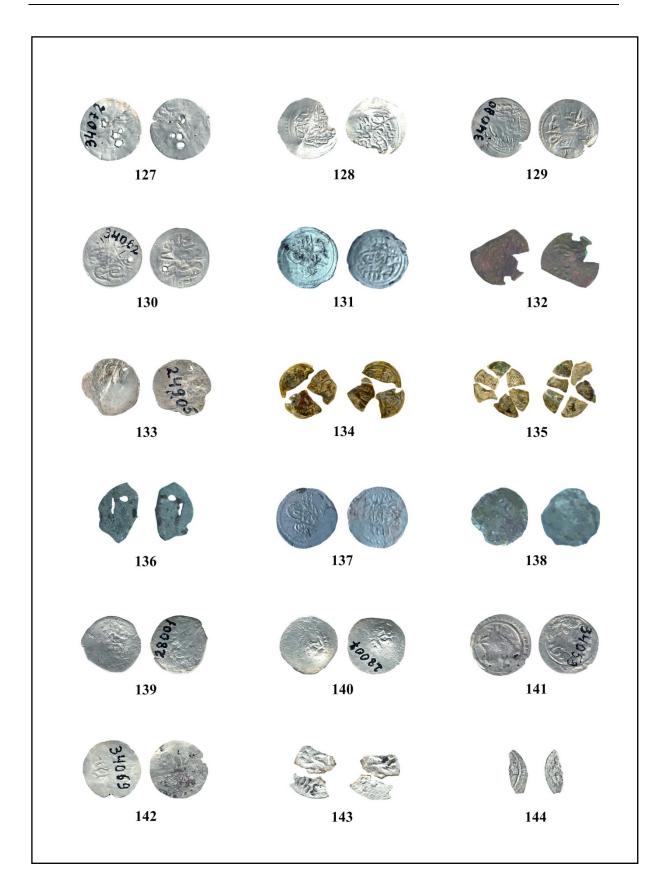
Pl. V. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 73-90).



Pl. VI. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 91-108).



PL. VII. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 109-126).



Pl. VIII. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 127-144).



Pl. IX. Coins discovered in the necropolis of Brad (Cat. nos. 145-158).