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Coins of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia in the Territory of Medieval Ukraine and Neighboring Lands: The Contemporary Scholarly Discourse

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The article examines the distribution and historiography of coins of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia within the monetary circulation of Eastern Europe, with particular attention to the Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Moldavian lands of the late Middle Ages. It has been established that the spread of Teutonic coinage exhibited a clearly defined regional differentiation, determined by the intensity of economic, political, and military contacts with the Order's state. While in the border regions of the Kingdom of Poland these coins could play a significant role in monetary circulation, in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania they functioned as a secondary element of a multi-currency system, whereas in the Principality of Moldavia their presence was episodic.

The article outlines the main directions in the development of historiography on this issue. Two interrelated levels of research are identified: the first, in which Teutonic coins are considered within broader archaeological, topographical, and regional numismatic studies; and the second, represented by specialized works in which this material is treated as an independent subject of analysis. Within the latter, key research problems are defined, including the topography of finds, the relationship between single finds and hoards, issues of attribution, the problem of counterfeiting, and the use of numismatic materials for reconstructing economic connections.

The historiographical analysis demonstrates that, despite the growing number of studies, Teutonic Order coinage has only relatively recently emerged as a distinct object of research. For a long time, it remained embedded within broader numismatic syntheses, which resulted in the fragmentary character of its study. Additional difficulties arise from terminological ambiguity and varying levels of source attribution. As a result, the current state of research is characterized by uneven development and requires further systematization of material and the development of coherent methodological approaches.

Mykola Shataylo

Monedele statului Ordinului Teutonic din Prusia pe teritoriul Ucrainei medievale și al regiunilor învecinate: discursul științific contemporan

Articolul examinează răspândirea și istoriografia monedelor statului Ordinului Teutonic din Prusia în circulația monetară a Europei de Est, cu un accent deosebit asupra teritoriilor ucrainene, belaruse și moldovenești din perioada târzie a Evului Mediu. Se constată că difuzarea monedelor teutonice a avut un caracter regional diferențiat, determinat de intensitatea contactelor economice, politice și militare cu statul Ordinului. În regiunile de frontieră ale Regatului Poloniei aceste monede puteau avea un rol semnificativ în circulația monetară, în timp ce în teritoriile Marelui Ducat al Lituaniei ele funcționau ca un element secundar al unui sistem monetar pluricomponent, iar în Principatul Moldovei prezența lor a fost episodică.

Articolul evidențiază principalele direcții de dezvoltare ale istoriografiei acestei probleme. Sunt identificate două niveluri interdependente de cercetare: primul, în care monedele teutonice sunt analizate în cadrul unor studii arheologice, topografice și numismatice regionale mai ample; și al doilea, reprezentat de lucrări specializate, în care acest material este tratat ca un obiect independent de analiză. În cadrul celui de-al doilea nivel sunt definite principalele probleme de cercetare: topografia descoperirilor, raportul dintre descoperirile izolate și tezaure, problemele de atribuire, fenomenul falsificărilor, precum și utilizarea materialelor numismatice pentru reconstituirea legăturilor economice.

Analiza istoriografică demonstrează că, în pofida creșterii numărului de studii, monedele Ordinului Teutonic au devenit doar relativ recent un obiect distinct de cercetare. Timp îndelungat ele au fost integrate în sinteze numismatice mai largi, ceea ce a determinat caracterul fragmentar al cercetărilor. Dificultăți suplimentare sunt generate de ambiguitatea terminologică și de nivelul inegal de atribuire a surselor. În consecință, stadiul actual al cercetării se caracterizează printr-o dezvoltare inegală și necesită o sistematizare suplimentară a materialului și elaborarea unor abordări metodologice coerente.

Introduction

As is well known, monetary circulation in the Ukrainian lands in the late Middle Ages, as in most of Central and Eastern Europe outside territories under Horde control, was based on Prague groschen. However, coins issued by other authorities also circulated alongside them. Among the minting centres whose coinage reached the Ukrainian lands, then part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, was the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

The founder of scholarly numismatic studies of the Teutonic Order, Friedrich August Voßberg, noted that within the monetary system of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia, the coin functioned primarily as a bearer of a specific quantity of silver, which determined its purchasing power [Voßberg 1843, 60-67, 74-77]. It was precisely this characteristic that made it possible for Teutonic coins to circulate beyond the borders of the Order's state, regardless of their nominal denomination.

An important line of research in contemporary European medieval numismatics concerns the distribution of Teutonic Order coinage in Prussia across the territories of other states, considered within the broader context of interregional economic, political, and social contacts in the late Middle Ages. Relations between the medieval Ukrainian lands and the Order's state have traditionally been reconstructed on the basis of written sources from the second half of the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. However, material evidence, above all numismatic finds, also provides direct archaeological indicators of such contacts. In recent decades, Teutonic Order coinage and its finds in Ukraine and neighbouring regions have attracted increasing attention from both Ukrainian and international scholars.

Main Body of the Study

To understand the place of Teutonic Order coinage in the monetary circulation of the medieval Ukrainian lands, it is essential to compare the situation in these territories with that in regions of Central and Eastern Europe directly adjacent to the Order's state, above all the Polish lands, as well as in neighbouring regions, including the Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and medieval Moldavia.

As demonstrated by Maria Meclewska, the influx of Teutonic coinage into the Polish lands, primarily Pomerelia (Gdańsk Pomerania), Kuyavia, Mazovia, and northern Greater Poland, continued throughout the entire existence of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia (1226-1525) [Meclewska 1969, 81]. The author regards this phenomenon as one of the key elements in the monetary history of medieval Poland. Particularly illustrative is the situation in the border regions of the Polish Kingdom, especially in Kuyavia and Mazovia, which maintained direct contact with the Order's state. From the very first decades of its minting, Teutonic coinage effectively dominated monetary circulation in these areas until the end of the fifteenth century, as evidenced by both hoard material and written sources [Meclewska 1969, 82].

Moreover, it functioned not only in large-scale exchange but also in everyday economic practices, such as peasant rents, urban payments, and judicial fines, indicating its deep penetration into all levels of socio-economic life [Meclewska 1969, 83].

This situation was determined by intensive trade connections, within which Mazovia and Kuyavia functioned both as a transit zone for large-scale international exchange and as a space of active local trade. These regions thus acted as an economic intermediary between the Polish lands and the state of the Teutonic Order, facilitating a steady inflow of Order coinage [Meclewska 1969, 84-85]. At the same time, other mechanisms of its distribution were also significant, including credit operations, advance payments for goods, merchant activity, as well as non-economic factors such as military service and political contacts [Meclewska 1969, 86-87].

By contrast, in regions more distant from the direct influence of the Order's state, such as Lesser Poland, Silesia, and, to some extent, Greater Poland, Teutonic coinage did not play a leading role and circulated alongside other foreign coins as one element within a broader international monetary system [Meclewska 1969, 82-83]. Thus, even within the Polish lands, its role was uneven and directly dependent on the intensity of economic contacts with Prussia.

Thus, the Polish material demonstrates that in the border regions of the Kingdom of Poland adjacent to the Teutonic Order, Teutonic coinage

could constitute the foundation of monetary circulation. In contrast, in Polish lands more distant from the Order, Teutonic coins functioned merely as one component within a multi-currency system shaped by diverse economic connections. It is precisely this model of the functioning of Teutonic coinage in Eastern Europe that is reflected in the works of modern scholars.

Teutonic Order coins discovered in the territory of Ukraine reflect patterns of monetary circulation connected with everyday economic activity and provide evidence of real economic links between regions. Numismatic material obtained both through archaeological research and from other sources, particularly as a result of detector finds, makes it possible to refine the scale and directions of coin circulation, as well as to reconsider certain historiographical assumptions. At the same time, the specificity of the source base lies in the fact that Teutonic coins in the Ukrainian lands are predominantly represented by single finds and only much more rarely as part of monetary or mixed coin-and-object hoards. Such a character of the material complicates interpretation, yet at the same time reflects the actual mechanisms of coin circulation and loss.

The first references to finds of Teutonic coins in Ukrainian territories date back to the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, particularly in the works of Konstantin Strashkevich [Strashkevich 1866] and M. Greim [Greim 1891].

Thus, K. Strashkevich, describing a hoard discovered in 1844 in the village of Kozyntsi (Bratslav district, Podolia Governorate), noted that it contained two coins of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia, namely shillings of Heinrich Reuss von Plauen (administrator of the Order, 1467-1469) and Heinrich Reffle von Richtenberg (1470-1477). M. Greim, in turn, published information on a hoard discovered in 1889 in the village of Tatarsky (Ushytsia district, Podolia Governorate), in which Teutonic coins accounted for seven specimens out of a total of 1,268 coins dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

Unfortunately, during the Soviet period, the issue of Teutonic coin finds not only failed to become a subject of specialized study but was, in fact, largely ignored. For example, in two monographs by the well-known Ukrainian Soviet-era scholar

Mikola Kotliar [Kotliar 1971; 1981], these coins are not mentioned at all. Moreover, numismatists who were formed within the Soviet scholarly tradition, for ideological reasons, generally avoided using the term "Teutonic Order" in numismatic studies, replacing it with generalized geographical designations such as "Prussia," "Prussian merchants," or "Prussian coins." Such an approach led to the obscuring of the political nature of the Order's state and made precise numismatic attribution of the respective emissions more difficult.

Representatives of the Soviet numismatic school, even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the banning of the Communist Party, continued to employ this inaccurate term "Prussian coins" in reference to coinage of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A particularly illustrative example is the work of the well-known Belarusian numismatist Valentin Riabtsevich, published in 1995 [Riabtsevich 1995].

With the shift in ideological paradigms, the terms "Teutonic Order" and "the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia" have come into use in contemporary Ukrainian historiography. In the works of modern Ukrainian scholars, particular aspects of the identification, attribution, and interpretation of Teutonic Order coin finds on the territory of Ukraine have been addressed.

Thus, in the work of the prominent Ukrainian archaeologist Hlib Ivakin [Ivakin 1996], relevant materials were examined within a broader historical-topographical context of the development of Kyiv. This approach made it possible to integrate individual numismatic finds into the general picture of urban life in the late Middle Ages. The scholar, in particular, mentions the discovery on the Podil of shillings issued under Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1450-1467) and Martin Truchsess von Wetzhausen (1477-1489).

The study by Olexander Pozikhovskiy and Roman Shust [Pozikhovskii, Shust 2005], devoted to monetary circulation in Volhynia based on hoard materials from the Ostroh Reserve collections, is of particular importance for the present topic. It contains data on complexes that included Teutonic Order coins. In particular, within a coin deposit discovered in 1995 in the city of Ostroh on Drevlianska Street, shillings of Michael Kuchmeister von Sternberg and Paul von Rusdorf were identified.

In a study by S. Demydko, O. Pohorilets, and S. Stopenchuk [Demydko et al. 2006, devoted to a late medieval fortification near the settlement of Medzhybizh, Teutonic coinage, specifically a shilling of Konrad von Erlichshausen, is discussed within the context of archaeological materials.

For the study of Podolian material, the work of R. Savvov [Savvov 2016] is also of considerable importance. In this study, the monetary circulation of the Podolian Principality is analyzed, and Teutonic Order coins are considered as one of the elements of external monetary influences. In particular, the researcher provides information on finds of Teutonic coins: single specimens of shillings were discovered on the outskirts of the village of Kuzmyn (Haisyn district) [Savvov 2016, 16] and near the village of Hrubna (Sokyriany district) [Savvov 2016, 18], as well as two shillings found near the village of Stara PISOCHNA in Khmelnytskyi region [Savvov 2016, 16].

References to regional finds are also contained in the work of A. Shostopal [Shostopal 2007], where coin hoards from the Cherkasy region are presented as part of a broader numismatic landscape of the area. The researcher notes the discovery, in May 2006, in the village of Pishchane (Zolotonosha district, Cherkasy region), of a shilling of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia; however, unfortunately, without identification of the Grand Master under whom it was issued.

The article by V. Bezpal'ko and D. Lukashov reports the presence of a groschen of Johann von Tiefen within a coin hoard discovered in the village of Teterivske (Ivankiv district, Kyiv region) [Bezpal'ko, Lukashov 2012].

Certain information regarding finds of Teutonic coins is also contained in the works of A. Kryzhanivskyi. In his research, references to Teutonic coinage are largely contextual and arise in connection with the analysis of hoard compositions and trade routes [Kryzhanivskyi 2021]. The author does not provide a direct quantitative or typological analysis of these coins but records the very fact of their presence within monetary complexes. In particular, it is noted that the occurrence of Teutonic shillings in hoards is a documented phenomenon, confirmed both by tabulated find data and by previous studies (notably those of V. Orlyk).

These finds are primarily interpreted by the author as evidence of trade communications rather

than local monetary circulation. The text clearly advances the idea that the territory of Podolia and adjacent regions, particularly the borderlands of Halych Rus', the Belz land, and the Podolian Principality, functioned as transit zones of international trade, where heterogeneous monetary complexes accumulated. It was under such conditions that Teutonic coins appear in hoards.

Particularly significant is the author's observation concerning the directions through which these coins penetrated the region. Kryzhanivskyi connects their appearance with trade routes passing through Podolia and the Belz land, extending further toward the Baltic region. Special emphasis is placed on possible contacts via Mazovian and Belz territories, which opened routes toward Gdańsk and, consequently, to the economic sphere of the Teutonic Order. In this context, Teutonic coins function not as a local currency but as indicators of transit trade between the Baltic and Black Sea regions.

At the same time, the analysis of this study allows for an important conclusion: Teutonic coins do not form a distinct layer within the structure of finds but appear alongside a broad spectrum of other monetary systems, including Lviv, Prague, Polish, Moldavian, and Golden Horde coinages. This points to the polycentric character of monetary circulation and confirms that even in zones of intensive trade, Teutonic coinage did not occupy a dominant position but constituted only one component of a complex regional monetary system.

Equally important is the fact that the author effectively employs numismatic finds, including Teutonic coins, as a tool for reconstructing trade routes. Through the analysis of hoard compositions and the geography of finds, he demonstrates a shift in trade flows in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when Podolia transformed from a transit territory into a key center of commodity exchange. In this context, Teutonic coins emerge as one of the elements reflecting the integration of the region into the broader Baltic-Black Sea trade system.

Within the context of the aforementioned studies, the article by M. Ochkur is devoted to the analysis of the circulation of Western European coinage in the monetary system of Volhynia during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The finds of Teutonic Order coins in Volhynia, examined by Ochkur, demonstrate a model typical of

Eastern Europe, namely their limited yet stable penetration into regional monetary circulation.

First and foremost, the author emphasizes that all identified coins of this origin date to the fifteenth century and are represented both by single finds and as components of hoards, which defines them as a significant, though not dominant, element within the monetary structure of Volhynia [Ochkur 2022, 280]. Typologically, these finds are characterized by the predominance of small silver denominations, particularly shillings and groschen, whereas other types, such as halbschoter, bracteates, or klippe coins, occur much more rarely [Ochkur 2022, 280-281]. This suggests their primary use in everyday transactions rather than in large-scale trade, distinguishing them from, for example, Western European thalers or ducats, which functioned as high-value means of payment [Ochkur 2022, 274-275].

From a territorial perspective, the highest concentration of finds is observed in the western part of Volhynia, particularly in the Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Dubno, and Rivne districts, where 28, 27, and 20 coins respectively have been recorded, figures that significantly exceed those of other regions [Ochkur 2022, 280-281]. A smaller number of finds is associated with the Lutsk and Kovel districts, while in the Zhytomyr, Kremenets, and Sarny districts they are sporadic in nature [Ochkur 2022, 281-282]. Such a distribution clearly indicates a western vector of penetration and a direct connection with the Baltic region and the state of the Teutonic Order.

The chronological distribution of the finds demonstrates their concentration in the fifteenth century, with isolated cases extending into the early sixteenth century, for example a groschen-klippe of Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach [Ochkur 2022, 280]. At the same time, the most representative emissions are those from the reigns of Michael Kuchmeister von Sternberg, Paul von Rusdorf, Martin Truchsess von Wetzhausen, and Johann von Tiefen, corresponding to the broader pattern of intensive minting of small silver coinage in the Teutonic Order's state during the fifteenth century [Ochkur 2022, 280-281].

A notable feature of the analyzed corpus is that a significant portion of the information on finds derives from materials associated with detector-based discoveries. This considerably

expands the source base, while at the same time raising questions regarding their scholarly verification and contextualization [Ochkur 2022, 280]. Nevertheless, this does not diminish their value for reconstructing the topography of finds; on the contrary, it allows for a much more detailed mapping of the distribution area of these coins.

Summarizing the material presented, the author arrives at an important conclusion: despite the considerable number of recorded finds and their wide geographical distribution, Teutonic Order coins did not play a significant role in the monetary circulation of Volhynia [Ochkur 2022, 282]. At the same time, their presence, attested both in hoards and in single finds, indicates stable economic and trade contacts between the Volhynian lands and the regions of the Baltic basin, as well as the state of the Teutonic Order. This allows these coins to be interpreted as important indicators of interregional connections, though not as a structural component of the local monetary system.

It should also be noted that, although in the aforementioned works the issue of Teutonic coinage did not always constitute an independent subject of research, these studies nonetheless formed an important empirical and historiographical foundation for its subsequent specialized investigation.

A significant turning point in the study of this topic, in our view, occurred from 2012 onward, when it became the subject of systematic scholarly analysis in the works of Vasyl Orlyk [Orlyk 2012; Orlyk 2015 a-c; Orlyk 2016 a-b; Orlyk 2017 a-b; Orlyk 2018 a-b; Orlyk 2019]. Already in his early publication, "False Coins of the Teutonic Order State in Prussia in the Currency of South-Rus Lands of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy" [Orlyk 2012], Professor V. Orlyk raises the issue of counterfeit Teutonic coins and their functioning within the monetary circulation of the Ukrainian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In this work, it is demonstrated that, despite the relatively small share of Teutonic emissions in the overall monetary circulation, they were sufficiently widespread in Volhynia and Podolia. At the same time, the existence of their imitations is documented, indicating the real integration of these coins into local economic processes. Particular attention is devoted to the problem of counterfeiting and the analysis of the technologies used in producing imitations, which allows such

forgeries to be treated as a distinct indicator of the intensity of circulation.

A separate group of Orlyk's studies is devoted to rare varieties and individual emissions, demonstrating that even uncommon types of Teutonic coinage penetrated the monetary market of the Ukrainian medieval lands, primarily as a result of economic contacts. The scholar has also examined certain aspects of minting technology, metal composition, and crisis phenomena within the monetary system of the Order's state in the early fifteenth century. This has led him to conclude that Teutonic coins circulated beyond the borders of the Order's state according to their intrinsic metal value.

Particularly informative, with regard to the adaptation of Teutonic coins to the local monetary environment, is a study devoted to a clipped shilling of the Teutonic Grand Master Michael K  chmeister von Sternberg, discovered in the Lviv region.

In his subsequent works, the researcher devotes considerable attention to the topography of finds. In particular, publications focused on the discovery of Teutonic Order coins in Ukraine have contributed to a clearer understanding of their regional concentration, primarily in Volhynia and adjacent territories, which correlates with the historical trade connections of these lands with Prussia. At the same time, it is emphasized that the majority of finds are isolated losses, which complicates the construction of a comprehensive topographical model, yet at the same time reflects the everyday character of the use of these coins.

This issue is most fully presented in the article "Topography of Finds in Ukraine of Coins of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Its Livonian Branch (Consolidated Data by Regions)" [Orlyk 2017b], where the known finds were systematized by region, the source base was outlined, and the importance of numismatic materials for reconstructing economic connections was demonstrated.

An important place within the body of Orlyk's works is occupied by studies that go beyond strictly numismatic analysis and employ coins as historical sources for broader reconstructions. In particular, in a study devoted to the localization of the Battle of the Vorskla River, numismatic finds, including Teutonic coins, are used as evidence to

refine the location of the historical event and to reconstruct the routes of troop movements. Such an approach demonstrates the potential of the interdisciplinary use of numismatic materials and significantly broadens the scope of their application in historical research.

Thus, in contemporary Ukrainian historiography, two interrelated levels of interpretation of this problem can be identified. The first is associated with the works of H. Ivakin, A. Pozikhovskiy and R. Shust, S. Demidko, O. Pohorilets and S. Stopenchuk, A. Shostopal, R. Savvov, and M. Ochkur, in which Teutonic coins were examined within broader archaeological, topographical, or regional numismatic studies. The second is represented by the corpus of works of Vasyl Orlyk, in which this issue acquired a specialized character and was developed as an independent field of research.

Within this body of work, a clearly defined set of key problems emerges: the topography of finds, the relationship between single finds and hoards, the role of Teutonic coins in the structure of monetary circulation, issues of attribution and identification of rare varieties, the problem of counterfeiting, as well as the use of numismatic materials for the reconstruction of historical events and economic connections. The principal conclusion that follows from these studies is that the coins of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia did not constitute a significant share of monetary circulation in the Ukrainian lands; however, they formed an organic component of it, associated with trade, and in some cases also military and political contacts, and left a noticeable trace in the numismatic record, primarily in the form of single finds and, to a lesser extent, within hoards.

An important element for the comparative analysis of the distribution of coins of the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia is also the material from the Belarusian lands, where the functioning of Teutonic coins can be traced within the broader structure of monetary circulation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and to which a number of works by Belarusian numismatists are devoted. In particular, in the study *Numismatics of Belarus* by Valentin Riabtsevich [Riabtsevich 1995], coins of the Teutonic Order's state are not highlighted as a separate group but are considered within the general context of monetary circulation in the Be-

larusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Their presence is traced indirectly, through the composition of hoards and generalized descriptions of finds, without specific analysis or quantitative assessment. In particular, the list of hoards includes complexes described as containing "Prussian and Polish coins of the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries" [Riabtsevich 1995, 178]. Such a formulation does not allow Teutonic emissions to be distinguished from the broader category of "Prussian" coins, yet it indicates their possible presence within these assemblages. Thus, information on Teutonic coins in most cases has a generalized character and depends on the level of attribution of the hoards.

V. Riabtsevich also directly points to the problem of the incompleteness of the source base: "Many monetary and mixed hoards... have not been officially recorded... and are sometimes known only from collectors" [Riabtsevich 1995, 178]. This means that the corpus of recorded finds, including coins of Teutonic origin, is incomplete, and their actual distribution cannot be determined with precision. In the summarized statistical data, V. Riabtsevich provides the total number of recorded coins (152 specimens); however, this figure refers to the entire body of finds of various origins and does not allow Teutonic emissions to be highlighted as a separate group [Riabtsevich 1995, 174–175]. Accordingly, their share within the overall structure of monetary circulation cannot be precisely determined on the basis of this work.

At the same time, the author emphasizes that in the Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, coins of the Livonian Order were more widespread: "...in the western Rus' (Belarusian) lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, silver shillings of the Livonian Order were widely circulated" [Riabtsevich 1995, 174]. This indirectly indicates the lesser significance of Teutonic (Prussian) emissions within the structure of monetary circulation.

Thus, according to the data presented by V.N. Riabtsevich, coins of the Teutonic Order's state in the Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are recorded primarily indirectly, as part of generally described hoards, and are not distinguished as an independent element of the monetary system. The absence of their separate accounting, as well as the dominance of other

coin groups, particularly Prague groschen and Livonian emissions, allows them to be regarded as a secondary and quantitatively indeterminate component of monetary circulation.

In the article "Monetary Circulation in the Belarusian Lands in the Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries" by V. Iurgenson [Iurgenson 2008], it is demonstrated that the foundation of monetary circulation in the region consisted primarily of Prague groschen, which dominated the coin stock, especially in the fifteenth century, as confirmed by both hoard complexes and single finds [Iurgenson 2008, 63–64]. It was these coins that determined the structure of the monetary system, whereas other coins, including those of foreign origin, played a secondary role. Against this background, coins of the Teutonic Order's state and the Livonian Order appear as one of the many components of a multi-currency circulation system.

As the researcher notes, their presence in the Belarusian lands is confirmed both by written sources and archaeological materials. Early emissions are represented primarily by shillings of the Teutonic Order and artigs of the Livonian Order, which in contemporary documents often appear under the common designation "shelagi" [Iurgenson 2008, 66]. The main influx of these coins is associated primarily with the military-political events of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, particularly the wars with the Teutonic Order, among which the Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic War (the Great War of 1409–1411) was of key importance [Iurgenson 2008, 66].

At the same time, later emissions of Teutonic and Livonian shillings, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, appear in the Belarusian lands in a different context, namely as a result of the intensification of trade relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia [Iurgenson 2008, 66]. Thus, the dynamics of their distribution reflect a shift in the nature of contacts, from military and political to economic.

At the same time, the author emphasizes that even with the presence of a relatively wide spectrum of foreign coins, including Teutonic ones, their share in the overall structure of monetary circulation remained insignificant. They functioned alongside Czech, Polish, Galician, Kyiv, and other emissions, forming a diverse yet clearly hierarchized system in which the leading position belonged to the Prague groschen [Iurgenson 2008, 63–66].

In the publication “A Hoard of the Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries from near Vawkavysk: Preliminary Results of Research” by A. Karach [Karach 2016], Teutonic coins are examined within the framework of a large monetary complex originating from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (near Vawkavysk, modern Belarus). Within this hoard, which numbers in the thousands of specimens, Order emissions are not highlighted as an independent or dominant group but are recorded merely as one component of the overall structure of coin circulation. The very manner of presenting the material indicates their quantitative insignificance and lack of determining influence on the composition of the hoard.

From the analysis of the data presented by the Belarusian numismatist, it follows that coins of the Teutonic Order's state were part of the region's monetary circulation but performed an auxiliary function, circulating alongside other European emissions. They do not form a separate complex and do not determine the chronological or structural parameters of the hoard, which is characteristic of the territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a whole. At the same time, the very fact of their presence within a large hoard testifies to the integration of the northwestern lands of the state into the sphere of economic contacts connected with the Baltic region and, in particular, with the state of the Teutonic Order.

Thus, the materials of the hoard from near Vawkavysk confirm a general pattern characteristic of Eastern Europe: coins of the Teutonic Order's state functioned as one of the secondary elements of a multi-component monetary system shaped by diverse economic connections. Accordingly, the materials from the Belarusian lands demonstrate a situation similar to that observed in Ukrainian territories. The appearance of Teutonic coins in the Belarusian lands was conditioned both by military-political and by trade contacts. This once again underscores the regional specificity of the functioning of Order emissions in Eastern Europe and contrasts with the situation in the Polish lands directly adjacent to the Teutonic Order's state in Prussia, where their role was considerably more significant.

The issue of finds of Teutonic Order coins in the territory of medieval Moldavia has been addressed in the works of Grigore Foit [Foit 1967]

and Lilia Dergacheva [Dergacheva 2011]. In particular, Foit recorded Teutonic coins within a hoard discovered in 1964 at Fântâna Mare (Suceava County, Romania). The composition of this hoard included 94 coins of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries of various denominations. The core of the assemblage consisted of Polish emissions (72 specimens), while Teutonic coinage was represented by a single specimen, described in the text as a divisional emission of the Order [Foit 1967, 35–36].

Our own visual analysis of the iconography of this coin indicates that it is a shilling of the Grand Master Johann von Tiefen (1489-1497). As can be seen, the share of Teutonic coins in this hoard amounts to 1 out of 94, that is, approximately 1.06%. The context of the find is a typical mixed late medieval hoard with a dominance of Polish denominations and a minor presence of other emissions. The study contains no description of single finds; the Teutonic coin is known only as part of this hoard, and it is emphasized that this represents the first such find in the region.

In the dissertation of Lilia Dergacheva, the situation is somewhat expanded. The author notes that the main corpus of Teutonic coins she analyzed originates from a hoard discovered in Iași (Romania), while outside of it only a single stray find is known – from the Trotuș region (the Trotuș River valley, modern Romania). The Iași hoard includes coins issued under the Grand Masters Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1450-1467), Heinrich Reuss von Plauen (1467-1469), Heinrich Reffle von Richtenberg (1470-1477), Martin Truchsess von Wetzhausen (1477-1489), and Johann von Tiefen (1489-1497). The number of coins for each Grand Master is not specified; however, their presentation as a group indicates a concentrated influx within a single complex. The overall proportion of Teutonic coins is not calculated, but the author explicitly notes that their quantity is “small” [Dergacheva 2011, 107-108].

For understanding the distribution of a particular type of coin within a given territory, information on single finds is important alongside hoard material, and evidence of concentrations of such finds is especially significant. However, Dergacheva records only a single stray find, a coin from the Trotuș region (modern Romania), which she identifies as a shilling of Heinrich Re-

uss von Plauen (1467-1469). Thus, in the territory of the former Principality of Moldavia, the corpus of single finds of Teutonic Order coins does not form a distinct category and is represented by only one case.

The context of the finds in the works of Romanian and Moldovan scholars is essentially the same: Teutonic coins appear within mixed hoards together with Prague, Polish, Hungarian, and other emissions and do not form separate groups. They do not determine the structure of the hoards but function rather as an incidental or secondary component of monetary circulation.

Conclusions

The synthesis of the material presented provides grounds to conclude that the distribution of coins of the Teutonic Order's state in Eastern Europe exhibited a clearly pronounced regional differentiation, determined by the intensity of contacts with the Order's state in Prussia. In the border regions of the Kingdom of Poland, Order emissions could play a significant role in the structure of monetary circulation, whereas in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania they functioned as a secondary component of a multi-currency monetary system. In these regions, their presence is recorded predominantly in the form of single finds and much less frequently as part of coin hoards, reflecting the episodic character of their circulation. Within the Principality of Moldavia, these coins were virtually absent; their presence, limited to a few specimens in two hoards, appears entirely incidental, as this principality did not maintain direct contacts with the commercial representatives of the Order.

At the same time, an analysis of the historiography indicates that the current state of research on the coinage of the Teutonic Order is shaped by a number of methodological and source-related limitations. First and foremost, it should be emphasized that in most studies these coins were not treated as an independent object of analysis but were considered within broader archaeological or numismatic syntheses. As a result, their study remains largely fragmentary and dependent on the degree of investigation of hoard complexes or materials from individual sites. A significant problem remains the lack of terminological precision, manifested in the use of generalized cate-

gies such as "Prussian coins," which encompass heterogeneous emissions, including those of the Teutonic Order's state. Such an approach, attested in a number of studies, complicates the identification of specific types and effectively hinders precise quantitative analysis. In this context, the problem lies not only in terminology but also in the varying levels of attribution of the sources.

Equally important is the condition of the source base. A substantial portion of finds, especially those originating outside systematic archaeological investigations, has not been properly recorded or introduced into scholarly circulation. This results in significant gaps in the corpus of materials and necessitates caution in reconstructing the scale of distribution of Order emissions. Another important issue is the unevenness of the source base in regional terms. Ukrainian lands are characterized by the presence of a considerable body of single finds, which has enabled scholars to form a corpus of studies and partially reconstruct the topography of the distribution of Teutonic Order coinage. By contrast, in the Principality of Moldavia, the source base is almost exclusively represented by hoards, while single finds are virtually absent. In the Belarusian material, in turn, a significant portion of finds is presented in a generalized form, which complicates their detailed analysis. This results in differing levels of representativeness of the data and complicates their direct comparison.

Thus, the current state of research on the coinage of the Teutonic Order in Eastern Europe is determined by a combination of objective and historiographical factors. On the one hand, the limited role of Teutonic coins in the monetary circulation of most regions accounts for their secondary character within monetary systems; on the other hand, the fragmentary nature of the source base, terminological ambiguity, and the uneven distribution of scholarly attention create specific challenges for their study. This determines the need for further systematization of the corpus of finds and the development of coordinated approaches to their analysis within the Eastern European scholarly discourse. Despite significant progress in the study of this issue, it has not yet achieved full institutionalization and requires further accumulation of source material, its critical analysis, and its integration into a broader historical context.

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