

THE CONTEXT OF THE SZEGED-ÖTHALOM FIND: CAROLINGIAN COINS IN HUNGARIAN GRAVES AND COMPARABLE COINS IN OTHER CONTEMPORARY HOARDS

*Simon COUPLAND – Luca GIANAZZA**

The present article will look at the five Carolingian coins found in the Szeged-Öthalom hoard in their numismatic context, namely how they compare with other finds of Frankish coins in Hungarian graves of the early tenth century, including one found, remarkably, in south-eastern France.¹ We shall also compare these five Italian deniers with other coins from the same period discovered in other contexts, including not only hoards concealed by Franks on the Continent but also others representing the loot taken by Scandinavian invaders, who were raiding the Carolingian kingdoms from a different direction at the same time (COUPLAND 2011; COUPLAND 2014). This analysis will bring out a number of significant new insights, perhaps the most important being the reattribution of a number of the previously published Frankish and Italian coins found in other Hungarian graves. The majority of these were described in two seminal works by Lajos Huszár (HUSZÁR 1955) and László Kovács (KOVÁCS 1989). Both were ground-breaking and highly significant surveys, and provide an invaluable overview of a huge range of material, but it is important to appreciate that neither author was a Carolingian numismatist, which led to a number of errors in their identification of the west Frankish, German and Italian coins.² We will also list a few additional finds which have come to light since Kovács' book was published.³ Study of the Hungarian hoards will permit a new hypothesis concerning the dating of the coins

of Berengar from the Venice mint (with the reverse legend *Christiana religio*). Comparison with other contemporary finds will underline not only the vital importance of these Magyar graves for our knowledge of the Frankish coinages of the early tenth century,⁴ including otherwise unknown types for Louis IV, Raoul and Berengar (*Fig. 1. 1–3*; KOVÁCS 1989, nos. 302, 384–385, 65–66 and 281–282 respectively), but also the near total breakdown in circulation of coinage between the Frankish west and Italy in the early tenth century. Drawing in part upon this information, in part upon an analysis of the composition of the various Hungarian grave finds, and in addition upon the contemporary records of the Magyar raids, the article will also propose a range of possible historical contexts which lie behind the acquisition and subsequent deposition of the Carolingian coins (both west Frankish and Italian) in these graves, including of course the coins found at Szeged-Öthalom (*Fig. 2*).

The five Szeged-Öthalom coins were all minted in Italy, probably by Berengar I (King 888–915, Emperor 915–924), but other graves are said to have contained Frankish coins issued by a wide variety of rulers from the ninth and tenth centuries, from Louis the Pious (814–840) onwards.⁵ The earlier western coins are of particular interest, because we know that Magyar incursions into Frankish territory did not begin until the turn of the tenth century, and regular recoinages in the west Frankish kingdom in

* Simon Coupland, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, VikingVicar@btinternet.com; Luca Gianazza, e-mail: sibrium@libero.it

¹ Aspres-lès-Corps (Hautes-Alpes): SCHULZE 1984; SARAH 2014.

² A few of these were noted in COUPLAND 2011, but access to higher quality images thanks to Csaba Tóth has meant that even some of those 'corrections' have now been revised.

³ Hoards: Gnadendorf 2000, Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, Karos-Eperjesszög II 1987, Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999, Levice-Géňa 2005; COUPLAND 2011, nos. 200, 219, 228, 267–268. Also single finds from Levice-Géňa, Komjatice and Mostová. We are again indebted to Csaba Tóth for information about these finds.

⁴ A point already made concerning Italy in MEC 1: GRIERSON–BLACKBURN 1986, 252.

⁵ These are summarised in KOVÁCS 1989, Abb. 17, 101–102.

the course of the ninth century removed old coin from circulation extremely efficiently until Charles the Bald's reform of 864 (COUPLAND 2014a, 286). Thereafter natural wastage tended to remove older coinage from circulation, although over a longer period. The west Frankish coinage also merits closer scrutiny because the overwhelming majority of coins in the Hungarian graves are, like those at Szeged-Öthalom, Italian in origin, and in the latter part of the ninth century there was an evident breakdown of circulation between the eastern and western Frankish kingdoms (METCALF 1988; COUPLAND 2014a, 279–280), a trend which, as we shall see below, clearly continued in the early tenth century. The first important task is thus a re-examination of the Carolingian coins recorded in Hungarian graves, which will reveal that most of the earliest reported specimens have unfortunately been incorrectly identified (the findings are summarised in *Table 1* below).

Five coins of Louis the Pious are said to have been found in four graves: Sóshartyán-Aranyodgödör (*Fig. 1. 3*; KOVÁCS 1989, IC, no. 302), Szered (KOVÁCS 1989, CXIVb, no. 342), and two graves at Tiszaeszlár (KOVÁCS 1989, CXXIX, no. 375, CXXXII, nos. 384–385). Kovács himself rightly questioned an earlier attribution to Louis the Pious in the case of two *Christiana religio* coins from Piliny-Leshegy (KOVÁCS 1989, XCII, nos. 274–275). As his plate XI clearly shows, both these fragmentary coins were struck on larger flans, 'scodellati' as they are described in Italian, and can be attributed to Berengar I as emperor from the mint of Pavia.⁶ The Szered coin (no. 342), though described as a denier of Louis the Pious from Trier ('Trèves' in French), is in fact a coin of Louis IV (936–954), minted in Nevers (NEVERNISCIVIS).⁷ The other four coins said to have been minted by Louis the Pious are all, remarkably, issues from Bourges (BITVRICES), an astonishing coincidence unless there is a connection between them. The Sóshartyán-Aranyodgödör coin (no. 302) is de-

scribed as an obole, but is the size and design of a denier (see KOVÁCS 1989, 59, note 304), just like the other three coins of Bourges, which were found in two separate grave fields at Tiszaeszlár. Of these, no. 375 is clearly an imitation, as it is of 'versilberter Bronze' (KOVÁCS 1989, 69). It is therefore not a coin of Louis the Pious from Bourges. The three remaining coins, no. 302 from Sóshartyán-Aranyodgödör and nos. 384–385 from Tiszaeszlár, are very similar in appearance, and have a significant difference from the deniers of Bourges known from the reign of Louis the Pious, in that they include several points in a line between the two lines of the reverse legend (BITV-RICES).⁸ These points are not found on any coins minted (*Fig. 1.3*) in 816–823, but they can be seen on the reverse of the Bourges deniers of the French king Lothaire (954–986), which are of an identical style to these Hungarian coins (DUMAS-DUBOURG 1971, 237, pl. XXIII, nos. 8359–8360; MORRISON-GRUNTHAL 1967, no. 1678, not illustrated). Although the obverse of the Hungarian coins reads HLVDVVICVSIMP rather than HLVDVVICVSREX, they are much more likely to be coins of Louis IV than of Louis the Pious, given firstly that the reverse design matches that on coins of Lothaire, and secondly that coins of Louis IV or V are known from Paris with the obverse legend +HLVDVVICVSIMP (DHÉNIN 1999). Although the latter have been ascribed to Louis V (986–987), they could equally have been coins of Louis IV, particularly if one was present in the Fécamp hoard, as Dhénin suggests. The forged Tiszaeszlár coin of Bourges (KOVÁCS 1989, no. 375) may thus also be an imitation of this type, rather than of Louis the Pious, though the extremely poor condition of the coin makes this impossible to determine.

Turning next to the coins ascribed to Charles the Bald (840–877), there are supposedly ten of these in six graves: Deszk-Újmajor (KOVÁCS 1989, XXVIII, no. 76), with no mint-name proposed, Rád-Kishegy, said to be a denier from Blois (KOVÁCS 1989, XCVc,

⁶ The most helpful guide to the Italian coins of the late ninth and tenth centuries is no longer CNI, which is now very dated and not always reliable, but GIANAZZA 2013. This can be consulted online: http://www.numismadellostato.it/pns-pdf/materiali/BdNonline_Materiali_10_2013.pdf. On the types and their dating see also MEC 1 (GRIERSON-BLACKBURN 1986) 249–259; HAHN 2006.

⁷ The end of the mint-name is missing, but it is clearly a variant: MORRISON-GRUNTHAL 1967, no. 1634; cf. DUMAS-DUBOURG 1971, 177, pl. XIII, nos. 6772–6784. Other coins at Szered which have been incorrectly described are nos. 343 and 344 (see below); 345, which is not Italian at all, but German: a denier of Conrad I (911–918) from Mainz; 347, which is of Rudolf II rather than Hugh, and 349, which is of Hugh and Lothar II from Pavia rather than Lothar II only.

⁸ A possible further anomaly is that one coin (HUSZÁR 1955, pl. XXXII, no. 476 = KOVÁCS 1989, no. 384) appears to have been struck on a large flan, although this is not repeated on Kovács' plate.

no. 280), Szered, described as a denier from Thér-ouanne (KOVÁCS 1989, CXIVb, no. 343), Tiszaeszlár, two deniers from an 'unknown mint' (KOVÁCS 1989, CXXXII, nos. 386–387), Tiszanána-Cseh-tanya, four deniers from Orléans (KOVÁCS 1989, CXXXIII, nos. 388–391) and Vereb, reportedly a denier from Chalon-sur-Saône (KOVÁCS 1989, CXL, no. 418). Careful re-examination of these coins reveals that only one of these descriptions is correct, and that even that is not necessarily a coin of Charles the Bald.

The pair of coins from Tiszaeszlár (KOVÁCS 1989, nos. 386–387) bear the mint-name BRIVIOVICI, and are issues of neither Charles the Bald nor Charles the Simple, as has also been proposed,⁹ but a common immobilised type minted at Brioude in the name of Count William of Auvergne and his successors. The Rennes hoard is the earliest in which one was present, from c. 920, while the Fécamp hoard of the early 980s still contained thirty (LAFURIE 1965, 287–290; DUMAS-DUBOURG 1971, 254–258, pl. XXVI, nos. 8491–8521).¹⁰ Deszk-Újmajor (KOVÁCS 1989, no. 76) is similarly a coin of this type, rather than of Charles the Bald (as incidentally are no. 344, from Szered, described by Kovács as a 'Französischer Denar des 9. (-10?) Jahrhunderts', and no. 257, from Orosháza-Pusztaszentetornya, incorrectly identified as a coin of Charles the Fat from Arles). As for the four deniers from Orléans from Tiszanána-Cseh-tanya, one (no. 389) does indeed bear the KRLS monogram of Charles, but the other three (*Fig. 1. 4*; nos. 388, 390–391) all clearly have the RDFS monogram of King Raoul (923–936) (DUMAS-DUBOURG 1971, 183, 185, pl. XIII, nos. 6788–6791; MORRISON-GRUNTHAL 1967, no. 1598). The coin from Szered (KOVÁCS 1989, no. 343), clearly also reads AVRELIA(NI)SCIVITA and thus comes from Orléans rather than Thér-ouanne, and while the monogram is damaged and thus harder to make out, likewise appears to read RDFS, making this, too, a coin of Raoul. The Rád-Kishegy coin (KOVÁCS 1989,

no. 280) is clearly an obole of Blois (MORRISON-GRUNTHAL 1967, no. 924) rather than a denier, unless there is a mistake in the scale of the reproduction on the plate, and the same is almost certainly true of no. 418 (Vereb), from Chalon-sur-Saône.¹¹ With its short royal title (CARLVSREX) the latter is undoubtedly a coin of Charles the Simple (898–923) rather than Charles the Bald,¹² and the same is very likely true of the Orléans denier from Szered and the Blois obole from Rád-Kishegy, since we know that both mints were active under the later Charles (MORRISON-GRUNTHAL 1967, no. 1409; GARIEL 1884, pl. XLIX, 15 respectively). This means that, as in the case of Louis the Pious, there are no coins of Charles the Bald in the Hungarian graves. One further coin was correctly attributed to Charles the Simple, a denier of Cologne from Bakonyszombathely (KOVÁCS 1989, V, no. 9).¹³

The earliest West Frankish coins are thus coins of Charles the Fat (885–887) and Odo (888–897). The Kiskunfélegyháza hoard (KOVÁCS 1989, LVI, nos. 158–196) contained coins of both: five deniers of Charles the Fat from Toulouse (nos. 158–162) and two of Odo from the same mint (nos. 163–164), as well as six coins of Berengar I, one as king and five as emperor (nos. 165–170), five from Pavia and maybe one from Verona,¹⁴ four coins of Rudolf II of Burgundy from Pavia (nos. 193–196), and twenty-two of the deniers of Count William from Brioude discussed above (nos. 171–192). Two other graves included coins of the emperor Charles the Fat, and two others coins of Odo. At Vereb two coins of Charles the Fat from Toulouse (KOVÁCS 1989, CXL, nos. 419–420) were found with the obole of Charles the Simple from Chalon-sur-Saône mentioned above, along with five of Berengar I (nos. 421–425) and four papal antiquiores (nos. 417, 426–428). The papal coin of Nicholas I and Louis II (858–867) has the honour of being the oldest Italian coin in the Hungarian graves, though the other papal deniers are significantly later.¹⁵ As was

⁹ MORRISON-GRUNTHAL 1967, Find 285 ('Charles the Simple'); HAERTLE 1997, 775/003–004 ('Karl der Kahle').

¹⁰ Twenty-two were present at Kiskunfélegyháza: see below.

¹¹ DEPEYROT 2008, no. 259 is the only recorded parallel. A denier of this type is known: one was sold in OGN and Künker Auction 227, 11 March 2013, Dr Edoardo Curti collection, no. 2275, but at 22 mm it is considerably larger than this coin, which appears from HUSZÁR 1955, pl. XXXII to be c. 18 mm. The cramped nature of the inscriptions also suggest an obole rather than a denier.

¹² The denier in the Curti sale (see previous note) is also attributed to Charles the Simple.

¹³ We are grateful to Peter Ilisch for confirming this attribution.

¹⁴ KOVÁCS 1989, no. 166 clearly bears the legend BERENIKARIVS I on the obverse. MEC 1 would assign this coin to the mint of Verona (GRIERSON-BLACKBURN 1986, 253–257), but this attribution may now need to be revised: see GIANAZZA 2013, 8–9.

noted earlier, the coin from Orosháza-Pusztaszentetornya (KOVÁCS 1989, LXXXIII, no. 257) said to be of Charles the Fat from Arles is actually a denier of William of Auvergne from Brioude. By contrast, the coins of the *Christiana religio* type in the Szakáld-Mulatódomb find (KOVÁCS 1989, CIII, nos. 319–320) were not recognised as minted by Charles the Fat, but the fact that they are 25 mm in diameter with a wide rim suggests that they are probably Italian issues from this date rather than ‘aus dem 10. Jahrhundert’ as Kovács stated. A supposed ninth-century obole from Nyitra-Kostolík (KOVÁCS 1989, LXXVII, no. 251) is not of Charles the Fat, Bald or Simple, as Kovács proposed, but is an eleventh-century issue in the name of a King Charles from Lons-le-Saunier (CRINON–DESFRÉTIER–DHÉNIN 1996).

As for Odo, a single denier from a find made near Győr described as of ‘the German king Louis the Child (899–911)’ (KOVÁCS 1989, no. 1023) is rather a coin of Odo, probably from Blois.¹⁶ Kovács was unable to study the coins from Győr, which were already lost, and so we are reliant on Huszár’s description (without illustration). The grave definitely included one denier of Lothar II from Verona; one coin bearing a temple on the reverse, possibly of Berengar I, or perhaps later, while this third coin was tentatively attributed by Huszár to Louis the Child.¹⁷ However, he recorded the obverse legend as MISERICORDIAD-I, which is found not on coins of Louis the Child but on West Frankish coins of the late ninth century. Coins of Louis II/III all read MISERICORDIAD-IREX, but the shorter title is found on coins of Odo from *Curtisasonien* (a Neustrian mint whose precise location is still uncertain), Tours and Blois.¹⁸ Of the three, Blois (BLESIANISCASTRO) seems to offer the most likely interpretation of the barbarous reverse legend, but this must be seen as a tentative attribution. The final coin of Odo was found in the Tiszaeszlár I hoard of 1945, a denier of Limoges (KOVÁCS 1989, CXXIX, no. 376), although this

type continued to be struck long after Odo’s death in 897.¹⁹

Kovács listed three coins of Raoul (923–936): oboles from Dijon and Chalon-sur-Saône (KOVÁCS 1989, XXVa, nos. 65–66) found at Čakajovice with a denier of William of Auvergne from Brioude (no. 64) (DUMAS 1981), and a single denier from Orléans, found in Budapest (KOVÁCS 1989, XIX, no. 57), but to these should now that be added the four further coins of the same mint identified above: no. 343 from Szered and nos. 388, 390 and 391 from Tiszanána-Cseh-tanya, as well as an obole of Chartres found in 1997 in a child’s grave at Komjatice.²⁰ The latest coins minted by West Frankish kings are six of Louis IV, found in four graves: the three from Bourges and one from Nevers discussed earlier, which Kovács attributed to Louis the Pious, and two from Langres, correctly attributed, found at Szigetmonostor (KOVÁCS 1989, CXIX, nos. 360–361). The only feudal French coins recorded are those from Brioude, struck by William I or II of Auvergne, and datable to between c. 920 and 980. The fact that these coins have turned up in seven graves makes this the most common west Frankish type in the Hungarian graves, while the twenty-two coins of William found at Kiskunfélegyháza were all discussed above; the two additional finds, not in Kovács, are a single find from Mostová, and perhaps coin no. 14 in the Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát hoard of 1999.²¹ This is too corroded to identify with any confidence, but does not appear to bear the GRATIAD-IREX legend, and possibly has the monogram characteristic of these coins of William II from Brioude. Table 1 brings all these conclusions together in a simple summary form.

There are a few finds of German coins, including just three from the Carolingian period: the coins of Charles the Simple from Cologne and Conrad I from Mainz mentioned above (KOVÁCS 1989, V, no. 9; CXIVc, no. 345) and twelve coins of Louis the Child (900–911) from Mainz, found at Karos-Eperjesszög II 1987.²⁴ However, by far the most

¹⁵ One of Sergius III (905–911) and two of John X and Berengar I (915–924). See FUSCONI 2012, nos. 35/A, 38/C.

¹⁶ As previously noted, with more hesitation (COUPLAND 2011, no. 266).

¹⁷ HUSZÁR 1955, LXIV, with no inventory numbers.

¹⁸ MORRISON–GRUNTHAL 1967, nos. 1289 (CVRTISASONIEN), 1295–1296, 1300–1303 (Tours), 1311, 1314 (Blois).

¹⁹ DUMAS–DUBOURG 1971, 250–253. On the Tiszaeszlár coin the mint name ends in CIVS, as nos. 8463–8467, but with a retrograde S.

²⁰ Komjatice (Nové Zámky, SK): NEVIZÁNSKY 2008, 269.

²¹ Mostová (Galanta, SK) (Hidaskürt in Hungarian): HUNKA–TAKÁCS 2002. Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát-halom: BENDE–LŐRINCZY–TÜRK 2002, 11. kép.

Ruler	No. of graves	No. of coins	Mints represented	Kovács 1989 reference
Charles the Fat (885–887) ²²	2	7	Toulouse	LVI, CXL
Odo (888–897)	3	4	Blois, Limoges, Toulouse	LVI, CXXIX, no. 1023
Charles the Simple (898–922) ²³	3	3	Blois, Chalon-sur-Saône, Orléans	XCv, CXXXIIIa, CXL
Raoul (923–936)	5	8	Chalon-sur-Saône, Chartres, Dijon, Orléans	XIX, XXVa, CXIVb, CXXXIIIa, Komjatice
Count William I or II of Auvergne (c. 920–980)	7–8	29–30	Brioude	XXVa, XXVIII, LXXXIII, LVI, CXIVc, CXXXII, Mostová, Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát-Halom, grave 100
Louis IV (936–954)	4	6	Bourges, Langres, Nevers	IC, CXIVb, CXIX, CXXXII

Table 1: Finds of West Frankish coins in Hungarian graves

1. táblázat: Nyugati frank érmék magyar sírokban

common finds are Italian coins of the late ninth and the early tenth centuries, like the coins found at Szeged-Öthalom.

The attribution of the Italian coins of the early tenth century has several elements of uncertainty. The years of the Hungarian invasions in Italy coincided with the time when the struggle for the throne of the *regnum Italiae* had become more violent, and the king or emperor was often only nominally ruler of the kingdom. In considering the coins issued during this period there is considerable doubt over the precise dates of minting. The use of the title of *rex* or *imperator* in the legends is not always meaningful: on the coins of Milan, for example, Hugh of Arles appears as *pius imperator*; whereas we know that after the death of Berengar the imperial title remained vacant until 962. Furthermore, there are several coins in Berengar's name from the mint of Venice which do not bear any title: their style places them after the reign of Louis the Blind, that is, in a period when Berengar had already been crowned king, but the exact years of their production remain uncertain.²⁵ It cannot therefore be ruled out that some of these coins bear a title which their is-

suer had no right to use, but had usurped during his short- or long-term occupation of a city while he was contending for rule over the *regnum Italiae*.

Table 2 lists the number of graves containing coins of each ruler and the overall number of coins found. In a few cases we have suggested different attributions to those reported by Kovács, and these are recorded in Table 4. Without having access to the coins themselves, which are generally in poor condition and often reproduced in poor quality illustrations, these altered attributions must be regarded as suggestions. With regard to the coins of Berengar I, the poor condition of the coins and/or reproductions means that in numerous cases it is unclear whether they were minted during the royal (888–915) or imperial period (915–924). Omitting them all would lead to an excessive underrepresentation of Berengar's coinage, so an additional row has been included in Table 2 listing coins which are definitely of Berengar I but of uncertain date. In addition, coins of Venice without any title have also been accorded a separate row, for reasons which will be set out below.

²² In addition, two Italian Christiana religio deniers on large flans (KOVÁCS 1989, CIII).

²³ In addition, a denier from Cologne in the East Frankish kingdom (KOVÁCS 1989, V).

²⁴ Kovács discusses the German finds, including Ottonian coins, which are not included here, on pp. 103–105. The only correction is that a coin of Strasbourg from Bodroghalom (KOVÁCS 1989, XII, no. 39) is of Henry I (919–936) rather than Bishop Richwin, as it lacks the characteristic RS above and below the mint-name.

²⁵ In GIANAZZA 2013, these coins have been assigned to the period 902–915, that is after the reign of Louis the Blind but before the coronation of Berengar as emperor by Pope John X. This classification does not appear entirely satisfactory, however, especially when we consider the existence of coins in the name of Berengar I from the Venice mint, some without any title, others bearing the royal title and yet others — extremely rare — with the imperial title. See below for further details.

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Number of graves</i> ²⁶	<i>Number of coins</i>
Louis the Blind (900–902)	2 ²⁷	2+
Berengar I as king (888–915)	16 ²⁸	27
Berengar I as emperor (915–924)	15 ²⁹	49
Berengar I w/o title (902?–924?)	7 ³⁰	17
Berengar I uncertain title (888?–924?)	7 ³¹	11
Rudolf II of Burgundy (922–926)	5 ³²	11
Hugh of Arles (926–947)	29 ³³	65–66
Hugh of Arles and Lothar II (931–947)	15 ³⁴	24–25
Lothar II of Italy (946–950)	11 ³⁵	20

Table 2: Finds of Italian coins in Hungarian graves
2. táblázat: Itáliai érmék magyar sírokban

What must be emphasised in interpreting this table is that recoinages no longer took place in Italy at this time, so that coins of Berengar I (d. 924) continued to turn up in hoards from the late tenth century, such as the Viking hoard from Chester (c. 965) or a Tuscan hoard from the 970s (COUPLAND 2011, nos. 276, 278). It may be somewhat surprising that no

Hungarian grave has yet been found containing coins of the late ninth-century rulers of Italy: the very first minting period of Berengar I (888–889), Guy of Spoleto (891–894), Arnulf (894–896) or Lambert (894–898). These are by contrast found in contemporary hoards elsewhere such as Zuidlaren (c. 900), Zuidbarghe (900–911), Ilanz I (901–915) and Cuedale (c. 905) (COUPLAND 2011, nos. 206, 212, 216, 218).³⁶ What is more, among the many coins of Berengar I found in Hungarian graves, only a very small number — six in total — are of his second early coinage type, and all but one of these are found with later issues.³⁷ Even though the Hungarians' first major triumph came in 899, when they defeated Berengar and overwintered in Italy,³⁸ this absence of early coins and preponderance of later hoards suggests that the majority of those coins of Berengar as king which have been found by themselves, without coins from other reigns, should similarly be regarded as having been deposited after the first decade of the tenth century.

As *Table 2* demonstrates, the Italian coins that are most frequently found in the Hungarian graves are

²⁶ These include graves listed by Kovács which contain fewer than three Carolingian coins and which are therefore not included in COUPLAND 2011. Details can be found in the Appendix.

²⁷ COUPLAND 2011, no. 219 (only one coin unquestionably attributable to Louis); single find from Levice-Géňa, type MORRISON–GRUNTHAL 1967, no. 1575.

²⁸ KOVÁCS 1989, L, LIIa, LVI, LXI, LXXXIII, XCVI, CII, CVII, CX, CXVa, CXL, 1004, 1049–1050; COUPLAND 2011, nos. 219, 228; Szeged-Óthalom.

²⁹ KOVÁCS 1989, II, XXI, XXVII, LVI, LXI, LXXIV, XCIb, CII, CX, CXXXIIIa, CXL, 1002–1003; COUPLAND 2011, nos. 228, 240; Szeged-Óthalom.

³⁰ KOVÁCS 1989, VII, XXVII, XLIVf, LIIa, LXXI, CII; COUPLAND 2011, no. 240.

³¹ KOVÁCS 1989, XLIX, LIIa, LXI, XCIb, CII, CIV; COUPLAND 2011, no. 219.

³² KOVÁCS 1989, LIIa, LIIIa, LVI, LXVI, CXIVc (no. 347).

³³ KOVÁCS 1989, I, V, VII, XXVII, XLb, XLIVf, XLIVg, LIIa, LXIV, LXIX, LXXI, LXXII, XCII (including HUSZÁR 1955, 379–380, apparently omitted from Kovács in error), C, CI, CX, CXIVa, CXIVb, CXVb, CXXXa, CXXXIIIa, CXXXIIIc, CXL, 1005, 1025, 1051; COUPLAND 2011, nos. 219, 240, 267 (note coin E3 may be Hugh with Lothar II).

³⁴ KOVÁCS 1989, V, VII, XLb, LIIa, LXIV, LXVI, LXXXII, CI, CXIVc, CXIX, CXXIa, CXXIb, CXLIV; COUPLAND 2011, nos. 267 (E3 may be Hugh alone), 268.

³⁵ KOVÁCS 1989, V, XX, LXXII, CXIVc, CXXIX, CXXXa, CXXXIX, CXLIV, 1027; COUPLAND 2011, nos. 267, 268.

³⁶ COUPLAND 2011, no. 196 is an error, in that the three coins found at Mikulčice (two of Lambert, one of Berengar) did not constitute a hoard, but were found in two separate graves. We are not convinced by Suchodolski's arguments that these coins reached Moravia with the Hungarians: KUCEROVSKÁ 1979, 217, 225.

³⁷ One bearing a temple and the legend *Christiana religio*, from Milan (KOVÁCS 1989, CXL, no. 422), and five with the same reverse type from Pavia (KOVÁCS 1989, LXI, no. 208, XCVI, no. 282, CX, no. 324, 1049–1050). This type was dated by MEC 1 to between 898 and 900 (GRIERSON–BLACKBURN 1986, 256), but in view of the large number of dies known, in particular from the mint of Milan, this dating appears too restricted: see GIANAZZA 2013, 31–36. The Pavian coins are of particular significance as they are of a type not found in either CNI or MEC. This represents an intermediate step between the type with the temple and legend *IN PAPIA CIVITAS* known from the royal period (CNI IV, 471–472, nos. 1–4) and previously used by Arnulf (CNI IV, 473, n. 1), and the type with *PA/PIA/CI* enclosed within *Christiana religio*, which was issued in both the royal and imperial periods.

³⁸ A survey of the raids can be found in BAKAY 1999, as well as the references in KOVÁCS 1989, 92–105. For a more detailed discussion of the Hungarian invasions in Italy see FASOLI 1945. Since completing the article we have also become aware of the valuable discussion in BÍRÓ–LANGÓ 2013.

in the name of Berengar or Hugh of Arles. This may appear unsurprising given the long reigns of these two kings, but it is noteworthy that most of these coins (including one at Szeged-Óthalom) are of the type with the temple and *Christiana religio* legend, which can be assigned to the mint of Venice.³⁹ Coins from Milan and Pavia, as well as those which have in the past more doubtfully been ascribed to Verona, are also present, but in much smaller numbers.

What is particularly interesting is that the majority of these Venetian coins in Berengar's name bear no royal or imperial title (unlike the one at Szeged-Óthalom, which is of Berengar as king). At Szabadegyháza (KOVÁCS 1989, CII) there are six deniers of this type (nos. 310–312, 314–315, 317), alongside other coins of Berengar, several of which are not easily datable because of their poor condition but — with the exception of one specimen from Pavia (no. 318) — were clearly all minted in Venice. At Nagyvázsony (KOVÁCS 1989, LXXI), four such deniers are present (nos. 238–241), together with a coin of Hugh (no. 242), all again from the Venice mint. At Csorna (KOVÁCS 1989, XXVII) there is one of these coins (no. 69), with others in the name of Berengar as emperor from Milan (no. 68) and perhaps Verona (no. 70), and four coins of Hugh, also from Venice (nos. 72–75). The Kenézlő hoard (KOVÁCS 1989, LIIa) contains two coins of this type (nos. 125–126), along with coins of Rudolf II, Hugh, Hugh and Lothar II (nos. 128–140). Two further coins were found at Halimba (KOVÁCS 1989, XLIVf, nos. 106–107), buried together with four deniers of Hugh (nos. 108–111), again all issued by the mint of Venice. In Slovakia, the Bátorove Kosihy hoard (KOVÁCS 1989, VII) includes a Venetian coin of Berengar with no title (no. 19) alongside five or six coins in the name of Hugh (nos. 21–22 from Milan; nos. 20, 23–24, and maybe 26 from Venice) and one issued with Lothar II, from Pavia (no. 25). Finally, the Aspres-lès-Corps grave, in France, similarly contained a coin of Berengar from Venice without any title, together with

two others of Berengar as emperor and three in the name of his rival Hugh.⁴⁰

The presence of these coins of Berengar with no title alongside other issues of the imperial era and even of Hugh, coupled with the almost complete lack of coins of Berengar from Venice bearing the imperial title,⁴¹ strongly suggests that this type should be seen as Berengar's imperial issue from the Venice mint.⁴²

As this discussion brings out, the Hungarian graves contain a remarkably large number of coins of Venice, especially of Berengar and Hugh, and there are very few finds which do not include Venetian coins. These rare exceptions are Kiskunfélegyháza (KOVÁCS 1989, LVI), in which the Italian coins are all of Pavia — and perhaps one of Verona — in the name of Berengar (nos. 165–170) and Rudolf II (nos. 193–196); Kecel (KOVÁCS 1989, L), which includes just three coins of Berengar, one from Milan (no. 121) and two from Pavia (nos. 120, 122); Levice-Géňa (NEVIZÁNSKY–HUNKA 2007), with one from Milan and two from Pavia in the name of Hugh and Lothar II, together with a Milanese coin in the name of Lothar II alone; and Červeník (KOVÁCS 1989, CXLIV), which has coins from Verona and Milan minted by Lothar II, again either alone or in combination with his father Hugh (nos. 434–441). These last two graves undoubtedly postdate the period of contention for the *regnum Italiae* between Berengar and Hugh.

Why might the Hungarian graves be so dominated by coins of Venice, with so comparatively few coins from other mints? One possible answer is that the Hungarian invasions took place mainly through the eastern Alpine crossings in northern Italy, in particular the pass where the Vipacco river meets the Isonzo near Gradisca, before continuing along the extension of the ancient 'via Postumia', which consequently became known as '*Hungarorum strata*'.⁴³ This brought them into immediate contact with the areas where we would expect the largest circulation of Venetian coinage, and would explain the pres-

³⁹ Not to Milan, as used to be assumed (in CNI, for instance, and subsequently also in KOVÁCS 1989).

⁴⁰ For a new perspective on the coins in the name of Hugh in this grave see GIANAZZA–VAN HERWIJNEN FORTHCOMING.

⁴¹ Only one Venetian coin with the legend BERENCARIVS IMP is known, from Aspres-lès-Corps (SARAH 2014, no. 2).

⁴² The coins in the Gnadendorf hoard have not been included in the discussion because the very poor condition of the coins, the result of both fragmentation and corrosion, means that a number of Hahn's identifications must be regarded as uncertain (HAHN 2006). If we follow the inscriptions proposed by Hahn, the hoard contained coins of Louis the Blind (nos. 5(?)–6), Berengar as king (nos. 1, 7–10), Berengar with no title (no. 11) and Hugh of Arles (no. 4). However, the latter might equally be attributed to Berengar as king, and the spacing of the letters forming the obverse legend of no. 11, which Hahn records as bearing no title, suggests rather that it should be read as BERENCARIVS R.

⁴³ Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, IX, s.v. Berengario del Friuli.

ence of such a remarkably large number of deniers from this mint in the Hungarian graves.

Is it possible that the West Frankish coins found in the Magyar graves could also have been acquired in the same region? Were they also circulating in northern Italy in the early tenth century? In fact, analysis of contemporary coin hoards from the rest of western Europe shows that this was definitely not the case. As early as the mid-ninth century a clear division opened up between the currency circulating in the Frankish north and east (the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland and Italy) and that found in the south and west, and this became more pronounced in the latter part of the century, with West Frankish coins rarely found in Carolingian Frisia or Italy, and Italian issues only reaching the Frankish west in very small numbers (METCALF 1988; COUPLAND 2006, 252–253; COUPLAND 2014a, 279–280).

The following table brings out very clearly how this was also the situation in the first half of the tenth century: the majority of the hoards listed come from the modern countries of Italy, Switzerland or the Netherlands, or in Frankish terms from the ‘Middle Kingdom’, that is, the territory sandwiched between the West Frankish and East Frankish kingdoms and first ruled by the emperor Lothar I. The finds from the British Isles and Scandinavia almost certainly did not come directly from Italy itself, but were rather acquired by Vikings in the Netherlands (Carolingian Frisia) either through trading or raiding (ARCHIBALD 1992; COUPLAND 2011a). The striking fact is that among 31 French hoards known from the period *c.* 890 to *c.* 950, just two contained Italian coinage: Langres 1 (1880), containing a single denier of Berengar as king, and Rennes, with just one denier of Berengar as emperor.⁴⁴

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Italian hoards (no. of coins)</i>	<i>Swiss hoards</i>	<i>French hoards</i>	<i>Dutch hoards</i>	<i>Hoards of Scandi- navian character</i>	<i>Total no. of hoards</i>
Berengar I as king (888–915)	Pavia (?), Briosco (?), Ornavasso (?)	Ilanz (?), Lauterach (1), Ellikon an der Thur (7+), Zillis (1) ⁴⁵	Langres (1)	Zuidlaren (1), Zuidbarge (9)	Chester (1), Cuerdale (13), Harkirke (?), Koldemosen? (1); Terslev (1)	14–15 ⁴⁶
Berengar I as emperor (915–924)	Tuscany (22), Ornavasso (?), Rome 1883 (1)		Rennes (1)	Midlum (1)		5 ⁴⁷
Rudolf II of Burgundy (922–926)	Ornavasso (?), Rome 1928 (2)					2 ⁴⁸
Hugh of Arles (926–947)		Zillis (1)				1 ⁴⁹
Hugh of Arles and Lothar II (931–947)	Rome 1883 (1), Tuscany (68)	Zillis (1)			Jynde vad (1)	4 ⁵⁰
Lothar II (946–950)	Lucca (2)					1 ⁵¹

Table 3: Finds of Italian coins in non-Hungarian coin hoards

3. táblázat: Itáliai érmék nem magyar éremkincsekben

⁴⁴ COUPLAND 2011, nos. 204 and 227; cf. nos. 186–187, 189–190, 192–194, 197, 199, 201–203, 207, 213–214, 226, 232–234, 238–239, 249–250, 254, 256, 260–261 (as noted earlier, 240 is actually a Hungarian hoard); COUPLAND 2014, S24–S25.

⁴⁵ Neither the type or mint is recorded, just a brief reference to ‘ein Solidus [sic] des K. Berengarius’: Numismatische Zeitung 29 (1862), col. 139.

⁴⁶ COUPLAND 2011, nos. 191, 195, 198, 204, 206, 212, 216–218, 221, 237, 253, 258, 276, 278. It is unclear whether the single coin of Berengar I found in the Danish Koldemosen hoard was from the earlier or later part of his reign, but the fact that all other Scandinavian finds are of Berengar as king suggests the former is more likely: SKOVMAND 1942, 133, n. 2.

⁴⁷ COUPLAND 2011, nos. 209, 227, 237, 259, 278.

⁴⁸ COUPLAND 2011, nos. 237, 247.

⁴⁹ COUPLAND 2011, nos. 253.

⁵⁰ COUPLAND 2011, nos. 253, 259, 278; GALSTER 1951, no. 56 (from Pavia).

⁵¹ COUPLAND 2011, no. 277.

Closer analysis of the hoards in *Table 3* makes the breakdown in circulation between the West Frankish and Middle Kingdoms even more evident. Naturally the two French hoards contained West Frankish coinage, but apart from them just two other Continental hoards included West Frankish coins, and in each case it was only a single specimen. A coin of Limoges in the Roman Forum hoard represents the one find among the seven Italian hoards, a *Christiana religio* denier of Charles the Bald⁵² in the 1811 hoard from Ilanz was the only western coin among the four Swiss hoards, while none of the three Dutch hoards contained any West Frankish coinage at all. Only in the Scandinavian hoards from the British Isles and Denmark were West Frankish coins present in larger numbers: very many coins from a wide range of mints at Cuerdale, and in small numbers in the other hoards. This undoubtedly reflects the widespread trading and raiding of the Scandinavian war bands which operated on the Continent in the early tenth century, which resulted in a mixture of Anglo-Saxon, German, Arabic and Frankish coins turning up in Viking hoards in Scandinavia and elsewhere, but it should not be taken to reflect internal monetary circulation on the Continent at the time.

All this means that the West Frankish coins found in Hungarian graves (*Table 1*) must have been acquired during the very limited number of raids which penetrated to the west of Francia (and the German coins likewise from German or Swiss territory). They could not have been obtained in Italy, even if some of them ended up in the same graves as Italian coins. As *Fig. 1. 6* shows, virtually all the west Frankish mints represented in the graves are located in a distinct area of territory, a swathe of land running west from Burgundy to the Loire, with Chartres to the north and Bourges, Limoges, Brioude and Toulouse to the south. These coins were consequently acquired in the Frankish west, and it is striking that the few recorded incursions into the West Frankish realm targeted precisely these regions: Toulouse was threatened in 924, while the most far-ranging incursion, of 937, reached Orléans and menaced Bourges. Burgundy was traversed on both occasions, as well as in 935, even if it now appears that the destruction caused there by the Ma-

gyar invaders was less extensive than was previously believed (MOUILLEBOUCHE 2006). Tenth-century hoards from the west show that the range of western coins found in the Hungarian graves were plausibly all obtained during these raids, but that the coins of Toulouse were probably not acquired at the same time as those from the Loire valley. Thus the Rennes hoard of c. 920 contained issues of Blois, Bourges, Chartres, Nevers and Orléans, as well as one coin of William of Brioude (LAFURIE 1965). A Spanish hoard from a similar period (c. 925) likewise included issues of William of Brioude, but this time alongside Toulousan coins of Odo and Charles the Fat, as well as a single fragmentary coin of Berengar from Pavia (SANAHUJA-ANGUERA 2006). (Many further coins which have appeared on the market since 2006 suggest that the same hoard — or if not, one very similar from the same region — also contained coins of Odo from Limoges, as well as issues of Raoul from Bourges and Le Puy, Louis IV from Chinon and Rouen, Louis the Blind from Arles and Strasbourg, and immobilised coins of Charles from Melle.⁵³) Finally, the huge Fécamp hoard, from later in the century (c. 980), contained coins of Odo, Charles the Simple, Raoul, Louis IV and Lothaire among its nearly 10,000 coins, including coins from nearly all of the same mints as the Hungarian finds: Blois, Bourges, Brioude, Chalon-sur-Saône, Chartres, Langres, Limoges, Nevers and Orléans, with only Toulouse unrepresented (DUMAS-DUBOURG 1971).

The absence of Toulousan coins at Rennes and Fécamp thus indicates that Kovács was right to link the coins of Toulouse found at Kiskunfélegyháza and Vereb with the incursion of 924 (KOVÁCS 1989, 103). The fact that coins of William of Auvergne were present in both hoards, however, as well as in ‘Spain 2’ (12 deniers there, 31 at Fécamp) means that they are more likely to represent loot taken by the raiders than payment by the Count to the Magyars, as has sometimes been proposed (BÍRÓ-LANGÓ 2013, 283–284). The 22 found at Kiskunfélegyháza were after all found with coins of Odo and Charles the Fat from Toulouse, which were unquestionably booty rather than gift. As for the coins from the western mints of Blois and Orléans, Chartres and Bourges, found at Budapest, Győr, Komjatice,

⁵² As is noted by OVERBECK-BIERBRAUER 1979, if the original description of the coin as reading +CAROLVSREX on the obverse and bearing a temple on the reverse is accurate, an attribution to Charles the Bald is correct, even if a coin of Charles the Fat would seem more likely.

⁵³ This hoard (‘Spain 3’) is also being studied for publication by Xavier Sanahuja-Anguera.

Rád-Kishegy, Sóshartyán-Aranyodgödör, Szered, Tiszaeszlár and Tiszanána-Cseh, these should very probably all be associated with the raid of 937: considerably more coins than Kovács imagined (KOVÁCS 1989, 103). The Burgundian coins from Langres and Chalon-sur-Saône cannot however be so closely linked with one particular year.

Certain Hungarian finds containing Italian coins could similarly relate to specific well-known events from the invasions. As Kovács noted, it is not unreasonable to associate the Italian coins in the Kiskunfélegyháza hoard with the sack of Pavia in 924 (KOVÁCS 1989, 98–99), and the Ornavasso hoard may well have been concealed (and perhaps not recovered) due to the presence of the Hungarian raiders in the region at the time. It is well attested that the deposition of hoards has a stronger correlation to wars and the rumours of wars than to prosperity or economic expansion (ARMSTRONG 1998; COUPLAND 2006).

At the same time, it is conceivable that many of the Italian coins reached the hands of the Hungarians by a different channel. We know that Berengar I hired Hungarians as mercenaries, perhaps as early as 902, during his feud with Louis the Blind, and certainly around 920–923, during military operations against Hugh of Arles, Rudolf II and certain Italian feudal lords.⁵⁴ Then again in 937 groups of Hungarian soldiers were in the service of Hugh, who sent them against the cities of Monte Cassino, Capua and Naples (BAKAY 1999, 543). So some of the Italian coins in the graves could well represent the money given to Hungarians as mercenaries rather than loot taken during raiding.

Other coins may have been given to the Hungarians in tribute rather than taken in raids, since the chronicles of the time indicate that Berengar I agreed terms with the Hungarians during the invasion of 904, paying them a heavy tribute.⁵⁵ In so doing Berengar averted new raids for some fifteen

years, up to 919, and in 943 Hugh did the same, paying a tribute to the Magyars in order to persuade them to leave Italy for Spain.⁵⁶ A similar deal was struck by Berengar II in 947 when he was one of the leading magnates of King Lothar II.⁵⁷

It is worth noting the absence of coins of the successors of Lothar II in the Hungarian graves. Deniers in the name of Berengar II and Adalbert — either alone, or as co-regents — are not at all uncommon in other contexts, but none of the coins in the Hungarian graves are attributable to these rulers.⁵⁸ The last Hungarian invasions in Italy date from 951 and 954, affecting mainly the north-western territories, with the cities of Susa and Turin among those most affected (FASOLI 1945, 195–196; COGNASSO 2002, 66–67). The latest Italian coins in the Hungarian graves are, however, from the reign of Lothar II, from the years between Berengar II's payment of tribute on behalf of Lothar II and the king's death in 950. This is consistent with the dates of the West Frankish coins listed in *Table 1*: the latest are the coins of Louis IV (936–954), since the deniers of William II of Auvergne very likely date from the 920s (as in the Rennes and Spain 2 hoards) or at the latest, the western incursion of 937. This *caesura* reflects the effects of the military campaigns of Otto I, culminating in the decisive defeat of the Magyars in the battle of Lechfeld in August 955.

Turning now to the five coins found at Szegeď-Öthalom, all are Italian: one was minted by Berengar I as emperor in Pavia (*Fig. 2, 1*),⁵⁹ two by Berengar I as emperor in Milan (*Fig. 2, 3–4*), the fourth very likely by Berengar I again but as king, in Milan, although the coin is in such poor condition that the identification is tentative (*Fig. 2, 2*), and one by Berengar I as king, but in Venice (*Fig. 2, 5*).⁶⁰ Apart from graves containing just one or two coins, four other hoards consist exclusively of coins in Berengar's name: Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, Kecel (KO-

⁵⁴ ROSENWEIN 1996, 262–276; Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, IX, s.v. Berengario del Friuli.

⁵⁵ Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, IX, s.v. Berengario del Friuli, quoting Liutprand (Antapodosis, II, 42) and John the Deacon (Cronaca veneziana, c. 19: MONTICOLO 1890, 130–131). The same point is made by KOVÁCS 1989, 99.

⁵⁶ Liutprand (Antapodosis, V, 19): “*Hoc in tempore rex Hugo datis decem nummorum modis pacem cum Hungariis fecit, quos ab Italia acceptis obsidibus expulit, atque in Hispaniam dato eis paeduce direxit*”.

⁵⁷ Liutprand (Antapodosis, V, 33): “*Per id tempus Taxis, Hungariorum rex, magno cum exercitu in Italiam venit. Cui Berengarius non ex propria pecunia, sed ex ecclesiarum ac pauperum collectione 10 modios nummorum dedit*”. Cf. KOVÁCS 1989, 93–94.

⁵⁸ KOVÁCS 1989, no. 364 was incorrectly identified as a coin of Berengar II, and is more likely a coin of Hugh and Lothar II.

⁵⁹ Correcting here the catalogue above, at p. 32, where all five coins are mistakenly attributed to Milan.

⁶⁰ The legend on the obverse clearly shows the name of Berengar and the royal title, but it is not possible to read whether the inscription is BERENCARIVS REX (with ‘C’) rather than BERENKARIVS (with ‘K’) REX, see note 14 above. Regardless of this uncertainty, the concave shape of the flan (scodellato) attributes the coin to Venice.

VÁCS 1989, L), Ladánybene (KOVÁCS 1989, LXI) and Szabadegyháza (KOVÁCS 1989, CII). Eleven of the twelve Szabadegyháza coins are of the same *scodellato* type as the Venetian coin found at Szeged-Óthalom (KOVÁCS 1989, nos. 307–317), though none of them is definitely of Berengar as king. A comparable imperial coin of Pavia is also present (no. 318), but no coins from the Milan mint. At Karos-Eperjesszög twenty of the coins are of the imperial Pavian coinage found at Szeged-Óthalom, but the one royal issue present, which bears a pelted cross on the obverse, is very likely a temple type from Pavia rather than Venice (unfortunately the reverse is not illustrated). At Kecel there are just three coins, but only one appears similar to a coin at Szeged-Óthalom, namely a probable royal issue from Milan (KOVÁCS 1989, no. 121). The other two coins are both royal issues from Pavia, one bearing the Chi-Rho monogram (no. 120), the other a temple (no. 122). Finally, the ten coins found at Ladánybene provide the greatest overlap with the five from Szeged-Óthalom, in that this grave too contained royal and imperial issues from Milan with the Chi-Rho monogram (KOVÁCS 1989, nos. 202–203: royal title; 204, 209–210: imperial title; 211 is too damaged to determine), and at least one *scodellato* temple coin of Berengar as king from Venice (no. 207, perhaps also 205, although the title cannot be made out). The Ladánybene hoard did not include an imperial coin from Pavia, although it did contain a royal temple coin from that mint which is of particular interest as it appears to be a previously unrecognised type (*Fig. 1. 5*; no. 208). The final coin, a temple type from Milan (no. 206) is also noteworthy in that it displays an affinity with the issues of Lambert (thin cross with long arms on

the obverse, large O in the reverse legend) and thus probably dates from early in Berengar's reign.

None of the hoards listed in *Table 3* offer any parallel to Szeged-Óthalom. The only hoard which consisted entirely of coins of Berengar I, Ellikon an der Thur (also known as Wiesendangen) contained only *Christiana religio* temple issues from Berengar's early second period of minting (ZÄCH 2001, Anhang no. 1). In the Ornavasso hoard, which consisted of some four hundred coins but was unfortunately not described in any detail, the coins of Berengar I as king and emperor — and maybe without any title — were found with others of Rudolf II of Burgundy, all from Milan. Nor is the Pavia hoard comparable: although it too contained coins of Berengar I, these were accompanied by earlier issues of Charles the Fat and Guy of Spoleto, and the deposition date (*c.* 892) is much earlier than that of Szeged-Óthalom. The Szeged-Óthalom hoard is thus in one sense unique, but that is partly due to its small size, like many of these Hungarian finds; it is in a number of respects comparable to the Ladánybene hoard, and was probably deposited at a similar time. Its five coins were presumably acquired during the last years of Berengar's reign, between 915 and 924. It is quite plausible to propose that the owner of the Szeged-Óthalom coins passed through northern Italy during the new wave of invasions which started in 919. The money may represent the income of a mercenary, given by the emperor Berengar I, or it could represent the spoils of war, possibly but by no means probably from the sack of Pavia in 924. The owner presumably returned to Szeged-Óthalom soon afterwards, although we cannot deduce precisely when the coins were buried due to their having been pierced for wear as ornaments.

APPENDIX

HUNGARIAN COIN HOARDS: PUBLICATION DETAILS

- | | |
|---|---|
| Aspres-lès-Corps (Hautes-Alpes, France) COUPLAND 2011, no. 240, incorrect; SARAH 2014. | Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 241; HUSZÁR 1955, XXXIII, nos. 97–104; KOVÁCS 1989, XXVII, nos. 68–75. |
| Bakonyszombathely ('Magyarszombathely') 1912 (Komárom, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 255; HUSZÁR 1955, CXXIX, nos. 337–343; KOVÁCS 1989, V, nos. 9–15. | Gnadendorf 2000 (Niederösterreich, AT) COUPLAND 2011, no. 219; HAHN 2006. |
| Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajtó') 1957 (Komárno, SK) COUPLAND 2011, no. 263; KOVÁCS 1989, VII, nos. 19–26. | Győr 1902 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 265; HUSZÁR 1955, LXIII, nos. 188–191; KOVÁCS 1989, XLb, nos. 93–96. |
| Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Trnava, SK) COUPLAND 2011, no. 264; KOVÁCS 1989, CXLIV, nos. 434–444. | Nr. Győr pre-1915 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 266; HUSZÁR 1955, LXIV; KOVÁCS 1989, nos. 1022–1024. |

- Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 242; HUSZÁR 1955, CCLV, nos. 530–534; KOVÁCS 1989, XLIVf, nos. 106–110.
- Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 228; RÉVÉSZ 1996, 19, 249 (Grave 15).
- Karos-Eperjesszög II 1987 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 200; GEDAI 1993; RÉVÉSZ 1996, 26, 187, 307 (Grave 52).
- Kecel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 229; HUSZÁR 1955, XC, nos. 223–225; KOVÁCS 1989, L, nos. 120–122.
- Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 251; HUSZÁR 1955, CII, nos. 242–250, incomplete; KOVÁCS 1989, LIIa, nos. 124–140.
- Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999 (Csongrád, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 267; BENDE–LŐRINCZY–TÜRK 2002, 352–353 (Grave 100).
- Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 236; KOVÁCS 1989, LVI, nos. 158–196.
- Ladánybene ('Benepusztá') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 215; HUSZÁR 1955, IX, nos. 18–28; KOVÁCS 1989, LXI, nos. 202–213.
- Levice-Géňa 2005 (Levice, SK) COUPLAND 2011, no. 268; NEVIZÁNSKY–HUNKA 2007 (Grave 2).
- Nagyszokoly 1961 (Tolna, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 243; KOVÁCS 1989, LXIX, nos. 233–236.
- Nagyvázsony 1903 (Veszprém, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 244; HUSZÁR 1955, CXLVIII, nos. 362–366; KOVÁCS 1989, LXXI, nos. 238–244.
- Szabadbattyán 1927 (Fejér, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 252; HUSZÁR 1955, CLXXIX, nos. 392–394; KOVÁCS 1989, CI, nos. 304–306.
- Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 230; KOVÁCS 1989, CII, nos. 307–318.
- Szekszárd n. d. (Tolna, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 245; HUSZÁR 1955, CXC VII, nos. 417–421; KOVÁCS 1989, CX, nos. 327–331.
- Tiszaeszlár I 1945 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 269; KOVÁCS 1989, CXXIX, nos. 375–377.
- Tiszaeszlár II 1947 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 270; HUSZÁR 1955, CCXXXI, nos. 472–475, with errors; KOVÁCS 1989, CXXXa, nos. 378–381.
- Tiszanána 1960 (Heves, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 246; KOVÁCS 1989, CXXXIIIa, nos. 388–398.
- Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) COUPLAND 2011, no. 231; HUSZÁR 1955, CCXLIV, nos. 494–501, incomplete; KOVÁCS 1989, CXL, nos. 417–428.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARCHIBALD 1992: Archibald, M.: *Dating Cuerdale: the evidence of the coins*. In: J. Graham-Campbell (ed.): *Viking Treasure from the North West: The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*. Liverpool 1992, 15–20.
- ARMSTRONG 1998: Armstrong, S.: *Carolingian Coin Hoards and the Impact of the Viking Raids in the Ninth Century*. Numismatic Chronicle 158 (1998) 131–164.
- BAKAY 1999: Bakay, K.: 'Hungary'. In: T. Reuter (ed.): *The New Cambridge Medieval History, III*. Cambridge 1999, 536–552. vol. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521364478.022>
- BENDE–LŐRINCZY–TÜRK 2002: Bende, L. – Lőrinczy, G. – Türk, A.: *Honfoglalás kori temetkezések Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát-Halomról. — Eine land nahmezeitliche Bestattung von Kis kun-dorozsma-Hosszúhát-Hügel*. Móra Ferenc Múzeum – *Studia Archaeologica* 8 (2002) 351–402.
- BÍRÓ–LANGÓ 2013: Bíró, G. – Langó, P.: „*Deo odibilis gens Hungarorum*“ oder „*auxilium Domini*“ – *Die Ungarn und die christliche Welt im 10. Jahrhundert*. In: O. Heinrich-Tamaska (ed.): *Rauben, Plündern, Morden*. Hamburg 2013, 265–335.
- COGNASSO 2002: Cognasso, F.: *Storia di Torino*. Florence 2002.
- COUPLAND 2006: Coupland, S.: *Between the devil and the deep blue sea: hoards in ninth-century Frisia*. In: Williams, G. – Cook, B. (eds): *Coinage and History in the North Sea World*, c. 500-1250. Leiden 2006, 241–266.
- COUPLAND 2011: Coupland, S.: *A checklist of Carolingian coin hoards 751–987*. Numismatic Chronicle 171 (2011) 203–256
- COUPLAND 2011a: Coupland, S.: *Raiders, traders, worshippers and settlers: the Continental perspective*. In: Graham-Campbell, J. – Sindbæk, S. M. – Williams, G. (eds): *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, AD 800–1100*. Aarhus 2011, 113–131.
- COUPLAND 2014: Coupland, S.: *A supplement to the checklist of Carolingian coin hoards*. Numismatic Chronicle 174 (2014) 213–222.
- COUPLAND 2014a: Coupland, S.: *The use of coin in the Carolingian empire in the ninth century*. In: Allen, M. R. – Naismith, R. – Screen, E. (eds): *Early Medieval Monetary History – Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn*. Aldershot 2014, 257–293.
- CRINON–DEFRETIER–DHÉNIN 1996: Crinon, P. J. – Defretier, C. – Dhénin, M.: *La série au temple (denier, obole, pite) frappée à Lons-le-Saunier à partir de la fin du XI^e siècle*. Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique 51 (1996) 137–143.
- DEPEYROT 2008: Depuyrot, G.: *Le Numéraire carolingien: corpus des monnaies*. Wetteren 2008.

- DHÉNIN 1999: Dhénin, M.: *A propos du denier de Paris de Louis V (986–987)*. Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique 54 (1999) 184–185.
- DUMAS 1981: Dumas, Fr.: *Grâce aux découvertes de Čakajovice (Slovaquie), un complément au monnayage de Raoul, roi de France*. Revue numismatique, Sixth Series, vol. 23 (1981) 101–106.
- DUMAS-DUBOURG 1971: Dumas-Dubourg, Fr.: *Le Trésor de Fécamp et le monnayage en Francie occidentale pendant la seconde moitié du X^e siècle*. Paris 1971.
- FASOLI 1945: Fasoli, G.: *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel sec. X*. Florence 1945.
- FUSCONI 2012: Fusconi, G.: *Gli Antiquiores romani. Le monete coniate dalla zecca di Roma da Adriano I (772–795) a Benedetto VII (975–983)*. Pavia 2012.
- GALSTER 1951: Galster, G.: *Karolingiske mønter fundne i Danmark*. Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 1951, 28–40.
- GARIEL 1884: Gariel, E.: *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne*. 2 vols, Strasbourg 1883–4 (1884).
- GEDAI 1993: Gedai, I.: *The denars of Louis the Child in a gravefind in Hungary*. Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche 22 (1993) 273–277.
- GIANAZZA 2013: Gianazza, L.: *La collezione di monete di Vittorio Emanuele III. La zecca di Milano. Da Ludovico II a Berengario II e Adalberto (855–961)*. Bollettino di Numismatica on-line – Materiali 10 (October 2013).
- GIANAZZA–VAN HERWIJNEN FORTHCOMING: Gianazza, L. – van Herwijnen, A.: *Un denaro inedito a nome di Ugo di Arles “imperatore”*. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini CXVII (2016).
- GRIERSON–BLACKBURN 1986: Grierson, P. – Blackburn, M.: *Medieval European Coinage*. Cambridge 1986, vol. 1, *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)*
- HAERTLE 1997: Haertle, C. M.: *Karolingische Münzfunde aus dem 9. Jahrhundert*. 2 vols, Cologne–Weimar–Vienna 1997.
- HAHN 2006: Hahn, W.: *Die Münzen*. In: Daim, F. – Lauerer, E. (Hrsg.): *Das frühungarische Reitergrab von Gnadendorf (Niederösterreich)*. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 64. Mainz 2006, 99–106.
- HUNKA–TAKÁCS 2002: Hunka, J. – Takács, M.: *Francúzska strieborná minca zo začiatku 10. stor. z Mostovej*. Slovenská Numizmatika 16 (2002) 190–192.
- HUSZÁR 1955: Huszár, L.: *Das Münzmaterial in den Funden der Völkerwanderungszeit im mittleren Donaubecken*. Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 5 (1955) 61–109.
- KOVÁCS 1989: Kovács, L.: *Münzen aus der Ungarischen Landnahmezeit*. Archäologische Untersuchung der arabischen, byzantinischen, westeuropäischen und römischen Münzen aus dem Karpatenbecken des 10. Jahrhunderts. Fontes Archaeologia Hungaricae 19. Budapest, 1989.
- KUCEROVSKÁ 1979: Kucerová, T.: *Die Zahlungsmittel in Mähren im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*. In: B. Chropovský (ed.): *Rapports du III^e Congrès international d’archéologie slave*. Bratislava 1979, 211–229.
- LAFaurie 1965: Lafaurie, J.: *Deux trésors monétaires carolingiens: Saumeray (Eure-et-Loir), Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine)*. Revue numismatique, Sixth Series, vol. 7 (1965) 262–305.
- METCALF 1988: Metcalf, D. M.: *North Italian coinage carried across the Alps. The Ostrogothic and Carolingian evidence compared*. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini 90 (1988) 449–456.
- MONTICOLORO 1890: Monticolo, G. (ed.): *Cronache veneziane antichissime I*. Fonti per la storia d’Italia IX. Rome 1890.
- MORRISON–GRUNTHAL 1967: Morrison, K. F. – Grunthal, H.: *Carolingian Coinage*. American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs 158. New York 1967.
- MOUILLEBOUCHE 2006: Mouillebouche, H.: *Les Hongrois en Bourgogne: le succès d’un mythe historiographique*. Annales de Bourgogne 78:2 (2006) 126–168.
- NEVIZÁNSKY 2008: Nevizánsky, G.: *Aktuálne problémy výskumu pamiatok staromaďarského etnika na území dnešného Slovenska*. In: Štefanovičová, T. – Hulínek, D. (eds): *Bitka pri Bratislave v roku 907 a jeho význam pre vývoj stredného Podunajska*. Bratislava 2008, 265–278.
- NEVIZÁNSKY–HUNKA 2007: Nevizánsky, G. – Hunka, J.: *Talianske mince zo staromaďarského jazdeckého pohrebiska v Leviciach-Géni*. Slovenská Numizmatika 18 (2007) 247–251.
- OVERBECK–BIERBRAUER 1979: Overbeck, B. – Bierbrauer, K.: *Der Schatzfund von Ilanz 1811*. Archäologie der Schweiz 2 (1979) 119–125.
- RÉVÉSZ 1996: Révész, L.: *A karosi honfoglalás kori temető. Régészeti adatok a Felső-Tisza-vidék X. századi történetéhez. — Die Gräberfelder von Karos aus der Landnahmezeit*. Archäologische Angaben zur Geschichte des oberen Theißgebietes im 10. Jahrhundert. Miskolc 1996.
- ROSENWEIN 1996: Rosenwein, B. H.: *The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888–924)*. Speculum 71:2 (April 1996) 247–289.
- SANAHUJA-ANGUERA 2006: Sanahuja-Anguera, X.: *La moneda de Barcelona al segle X, segons les troballes Espanya-1 i Espanya-2 (925)*. Acta Numismatica 36 (2006) 79–113.
- SARAH 2014: Sarah, G.: *Le trésor d’Aspres-lès-Corps (Hautes-Alpes): des monnaies italiennes dans la tombe d’un cavalier hongrois du début du X^e siècle*.

- Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique 69:6 (2014) 151–161.
- SCHULZE 1984: Schulze, M.: *Das ungarische Kriegergrab von Aspres-lès-Corps. Untersuchungen zu den Ungarneinfällen nach Mittel-, West- und Südeuropa (899–955 n. Chr.) mit einem Exkurs: Zur Münzchronologie altungarischer Gräber.* Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 31 (1984) 473–514.
- SKOVMAND 1942: Skovmand, R.: *De danske Skatetfund fra Vikingetiden og den ældste Middelalder indtil omkring 1150.* Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1942, 5–275.
- ZÄCH 2001: Zäch, B.: *Kanton St. Gallen I: Mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Münzfunde, Inventar der Fundmünzen der Schweiz* 6. Bern 2001.

A SZEGED-ÖTHALMI TEMETŐ ÉRMÉI: ÖSSZEFÜGGÉSEK A HONFOGLALÓ MAGYAR SÍROKBAN ÉS MÁS EURÓPAI LELETEKBEN ELŐKERÜLT KAROLING PÉNZEK KÖZÖTT

Simon COUPLAND – Luca GIANAZZA

Jelen tanulmány célja a Szeged-Öthalom V. homokbánya területén feltárt temető egyik sírjából előkerült öt karoling pénz vizsgálata és tágabb numizmatikai kontextusba helyezése. A pénzek mind Itáliában készültek, feltehetőleg I. Berengar (király: 888–915, császár: 915–924) nevére, ugyanakkor a cikk ezeken túlmenően újraértelmez minden egyéb olyan frank veretet, amelyek a 10. század eleji honfoglalás kori magyar sírokból származnak, köztük az Aspres-lès-Corps-ban (Délkelet-Franciaország) talált darabot. Sor kerül egyúttal a szeged-öthalmi pénzek más, ugyanebből az időszakból származó kincsekkel való összevetésére, de ezt nem csupán a vonatkozó magyar anyaggal teszi meg, hanem a kontinensen a frankok által elrejtett érmékkel éppúgy, ahogy a Skandináviában és a Brit-szigeteken előkerült viking leletekkel is, amelyek szintén tartalmaznak Karoling vereteket.

A tanulmány számos jelentős új felfedezéssel gazdagítja a kutatást. Közülük talán a legfontosabb annak a felismerése, hogy a Huszár Lajos és Kovács László munkáiban leírt, a honfoglalás kori magyar sírokból előkerült frank és itáliai pénzek jelentős részét tévesen határozták meg. Bár Huszár Lajos cikke (1955) és Kovács László monográfiája (1989) egyaránt úttörő munkának számít a honfoglalás korára nézve, hiszen továbbra is alapvető információkat adnak a sírok éremmellékleteire vonatkozólag, ám egyik szerző sem rendelkezett megfelelő szaktudással a Karoling pénztörténettel kapcsolatosan. Ez a hiányosság vezethetett számos nyugati frank, itáliai és német érme téves meghatározásához: fenti szerzők nem a megfelelő uralkodóhoz vagy verdehez kötötték ezeket a darabokat, sőt esetenként mind a kettő adat hibásan került közlésre.

A honfoglalás kori éremleletek jelen tanulmányban történő újraértelmezése, azon túlmenően, hogy számos olyan leletet is közöl, amelyek Kovács László 1989-es könyvének megjelenését követően kerültek napvilágra, messzemenően kihangsúlyozza a magyar éremmellékletes sírok jelentőségét a korai 10. századi frank pénzverés megismerésének szempontjából. Ezek a sírok többek között tartalmazzák IV. Lajos, Raoul és Berengar számos olyan verettípusát, amelyek egyébként ismeretlenek lennének a kutatás számára. Az utóbbi uralkodónak a Velencében vert *Christiana religio* köriratú, templomos éremképű pénzei egy új keltezés lehetőségét sugallják, mivel a leletadatok alapján ezek csak a Berengar által a velencei pénzverésben veretett császári pénzek lehettek. A magyarországi és Európa más részein előkerült korabeli leletek összehasonlítása nyomán a nyugati frank területek és az Itália közötti pénzforgalom teljes összeomlása rajzolódik ki a 10. század elején. Ez két különálló pénzforgalmi terület kialakulásához vezetett, amelyek között nagyon ritka volt az érmék cseréje, keveredése.

Ezen ismeretek alapján a különböző magyar leletek összetételének vizsgálatával, továbbá a magyar kalandozások útvonalának ismeretében a tanulmány kísérletet tesz a karoling érmék — mind a nyugati frank, mind az itáliai — megszerzése idejének és módjának meghatározására, amely éppúgy lehetett hadisarc vagy zsold, mint hadizsákmány. Habár minden ehhez hasonló következtetés csupán feltételezés, a tanulmány végkövetkeztetése egy lehetséges történelmi forgatókönyv a szeged-öthalmi temetőben talált pénzek megszerzésére és elrejtésére vonatkozólag.

Fordította Tóth Csaba

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
1	1	I	Aldebrő 1962 (Heves, HU)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
1	2	I	Aldebrő 1962 (Heves, HU)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
1	3	II	Almásneszmély 1877 (Komárom, HU)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
1	4	II	Almásneszmély 1877 (Komárom, HU)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
1	10	V	Bakonyszombathely ('Magyarszombathely') 1912 (Komárom, HU) (C255)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
1	14	V	Bakonyszombathely ('Magyarszombathely') 1912 (Komárom, HU) (C255)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
1	15	V	Bakonyszombathely ('Magyarszombathely') 1912 (Komárom, HU) (C255)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
1	19	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	drawing	–
1	20	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
1	21	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles	Milan	photo	–
1	22	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles	Milan	drawing	–
1	23	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
1	24	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	Very similar to the one published in Gianazza and van Herwijnen (forthcoming)
2	25	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	drawing	–
2	26	VII	Bátorove Kosihy ('Bátorkeszi-Papajó') 1957 (Komárom, SK) (C263)	Hugh of Arles (?)	Venice	drawing	?
3	58	XX	Budapest-Pestlőrinc 1929 (HU)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
3	59	XXI	Budapest-Testvértégy n.d. (HU)	Berengar I, as emperor	Verona (?)	photo	BERENIKARIVS I (?)
3	68	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C241)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	drawing	–
3	69	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C241)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	drawing	–
3	70	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson-Moson, HU) (C241)	Berengar I, as emperor (?)	Verona (?)	drawing	BERENIKARIVS I (?)
3	72	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C241)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
3	73	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C241)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
3	74	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C241)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
4	75	XXVII	Csorna 1888 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C241)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
4	93	XLb	Győr 1902 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C265)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
4	94	XLb	Győr 1902 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C265)	Hugh of Arles	Milan	photo	–
4	95	XLb	Győr 1902 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C265)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
4	96	XLb	Győr 1902 (Győr-Sopron-Moson, HU) (C265)	Hugh of Arles	Milan	photo	–
4	106	XLIVf	Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) (C242)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
5	107	XLIVf	Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) (C242)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
5	108	XLIVf	Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) (C242)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
5	109	XLIVf	Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) (C242)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
5	110	XLIVf	Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) (C242)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
5	111	XLIVg	Halimba 1955 (Veszprém, HU) (C242)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
5	119	XLIX	Kál 1966-67 (Heves, HU)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Venice	photo	–
5	120	L	Keel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C229)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	–
5	121	L	Keel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C229)	Berengar I, as king (?)	Milan	drawing	–
5	122	L	Keel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C229)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	–
5	124 (1st)	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Berengar I, as king (?)	Venice	drawing	–
5	124 (2nd)	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Verona (?)	photo	[...].NKARIV[...], so as emperor?
5	125	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
5	126	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
5	127	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Verona (?)	photo	Same style as usually found on coins with legend BERENIKARIVS
5	128	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Milan	photo	–
6	129	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Milan	photo	–
6	130	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
6	131	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
6	132	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
6	133	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
6	134	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
6	135	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Pavia	photo	–
6	136	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
6	137	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
6	138	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
6	139	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
6	140	LIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Milan	photo	–
6	146	LIIIa	Kenézlő 1913 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU) (C251)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Pavia	photo	–
7	165	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	–
7	166	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Berengar I, as emperor	Verona (?)	photo	BERENIKARIVS [IMP] (?)
7	167	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
7	168	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
7	169	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
7	170	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
8	193	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Pavia	photo	–
8	194	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Pavia	photo	–
8	195	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Pavia	photo	–
8	196	LVI	Kiskunfélegyháza 1970 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C236)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Pavia	photo	–
8	202	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as king	Milan	photo	–
8	203	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as king	Milan	photo	–
8	204	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
8	205	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Venice	photo	–
9	206	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Milan	photo	Probably an early issue, as it shows an affinity with the issues of Lambert (thin cross with long arms on the obverse, large 'O' of Religio on the reverse)
9	207	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as king	Venice	photo	–
9	208	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	Unpublished type with temple and legend XPISTIANA RELIGIO
9	209	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
9	210	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
9	211	LXI	Ladánybene ('Benepuszta') 1834 (Bács-Kiskun, HU) (C215)	(?)	Milan	photo	Maybe Berengar I
9	223	LXIV	Mindszent 1936 (Csongrád, HU)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
9	224	LXIV	Mindszent 1936 (Csongrád, HU)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Milan	photo	–
9	227	LXVI	Mór 1960-62 (Fejér, HU)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Milan	drawing	–
9	228	LXVI	Mór 1960-62 (Fejér, HU)	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Milan	drawing	–
9	229	LXVI	Mór 1960-62 (Fejér, HU)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	drawing	–
10	233	LXIX	Nagyszokoly 1961 (Tolna, HU) (C243)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
10	234	LXIX	Nagyszokoly 1961 (Tolna, HU) (C243)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
10	235	LXIX	Nagyszokoly 1961 (Tolna, HU) (C243)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
10	236	LXIX	Nagyszokoly 1961 (Tolna, HU) (C243)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
10	238	LXXI	Nagyvázsöny 1903 (Veszprém, HU) (C244)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
10	239	LXXI	Nagyvázsöny 1903 (Veszprém, HU) (C244)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
10	240	LXXI	Nagyvázsony 1903 (Veszprém, HU) (C244)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
10	241	LXXI	Nagyvázsony 1903 (Veszprém, HU) (C244)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
10	242	LXXI	Nagyvázsony 1903 (Veszprém, HU) (C244)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
10	245	LXXII	Nádudvar 1957 (Hajdú-Bihar, HU)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
10	246	LXXII	Nádudvar 1957 (Hajdú-Bihar, HU)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
10	249	LXXXIV	Zemianska Olča 1870-1880 (Komaňom, SK)?	Berengar I, as emperor (?)	Pavia	photo	–
10	256	LXXXII	Orosháza 1966 (Békés, HU)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
10	258	LXXXIII	Orosháza 1966 (Békés, HU)	Berengar I, as king (?)	Venice	photo	D/ [...].IMP (?)
10	259	LXXXIV	Orşova n.d. (Mehedint, Romania)	(?)	Venice	photo	–
11	272	XCII	Piliny 1871 (Nógrád, HU)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
11	274	XCIIb	Piliny 1871 (Nógrád, HU)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Pavia	photo	As emperor (?)
11	275	XCIIb	Piliny 1871 (Nógrád, HU)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
11	281	XCVI	Rétőzberenes 1957 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	Unpublished type legend D/ BERENGARIVX R/ [...].APIA CIVITA
11	282	XCVI	Rétőzberenes 1957 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	Unpublished type with temple and legend XPSTIANA RELIGIO
12	303	C	Sóshartyán 1967-68 (Nógrád, HU)	Hugh of Arles (?)	Venice	photo	–
12	304	CI	Szabadbattyán 1927 (Fejér, HU) (C252)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
12	305	CI	Szabadbattyán 1927 (Fejér, HU) (C252)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
12	306	CI	Szabadbattyán 1927 (Fejér, HU) (C252)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
12	307	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Venice	photo	–
12	308	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	(?)	Venice	photo	–
12	309	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	(?)	Venice	photo	–
12	310	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
12	311	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
12	312	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
12	313	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Venice	photo	–
12	314	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
12	315	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
12	316	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, as king (?)	Venice	photo	–
12	317	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
13	318	CII	Szabadegyháza 1965-6 (Fejér, HU) (C230)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
13	319	CIII	Szakáld 1967 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU)	(?)	(?)	photo	–
13	320	CIII	Szakáld 1967 (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, HU)	(?)	(?)	photo	–
13	321	CIV	Szalkszentmárton 1961 (Bács-Kiskun, HU)	Berengar I, uncertain title	Venice	photo	–
13	324	CVII	Szeged-Óthalom 1859 (Csongrád, HU)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	Unpublished type with temple and legend XPSTIANA RELIGIO

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
13	327	CX	Szekszárd n.d. (Tolna, HU) (C245)	Berengar I, as emperor (?)	Milan	photo	–
13	328	CX	Szekszárd n.d. (Tolna, HU) (C245)	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	–
13	329	CX	Szekszárd n.d. (Tolna, HU) (C245)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
13	330	CX	Szekszárd n.d. (Tolna, HU) (C245)	(?)	Venice	photo	Late issue of Hugh of Arles, or Berengar II
13	331	CX	Szekszárd n.d. (Tolna, HU) (C245)	(?)	Milan	photo	–
13	335	CXIVa	Sered' 1952-58 (Galánta, SK)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
13	336	CXIVb	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde aus 1955'	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
13	337	CXIVb	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde aus 1955'	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
13	338	CXIVb	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde aus 1955'	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
13	339	CXIVb	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde aus 1955'	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
13	340	CXIVb	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde aus 1955'	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
13	341	CXIVb	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde aus 1955'	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
14	347	CXIVc	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde – später erworbene Münzen'	Rudolf II of Burgundy	Milan	photo	–
14	348	CXIVc	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde – später erworbene Münzen'	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
14	349	CXIVc	Sered' (Galánta, SK) 'Streuftunde – später erworbene Münzen'	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
14	350	CXVa	Sered' 1954-55 (Galánta, SK)	Berengar I, as king	Venice (?)	photo	Style similar to coins with legend BERENIKARIVS, but here 'C' instead of 'K'
14	352	CXVb	Sered' 1954-55 (Galánta, SK)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	drawing	–
14	358	CXIX	Szigetmonostor n.d. (Pest, HU)?	(?)	Venice	photo	Late issue of Hugh of Arles, or Berengar II
14	359	CXIX	Szigetmonostor n.d. (Pest, HU)?	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
14	364	CXXIa	Szob 1964-67 (Pest, HU)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II (?)	Pavia	photo	–
14	365	CXXIb	Szob 1964-67 (Pest, HU)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II (?)	Pavia	photo	–
15	367	CXXII	Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok n.d. (Szolnok, HU)?	(?)	Milan	photo	Maybe Berengar I
15	377	CXXIX	Tiszaeszlár I 1945 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) (C269)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
15	378	CXXXa	Tiszaeszlár II 1947 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) (C270)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
15	379	CXXXa	Tiszaeszlár II 1947 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) (C270)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
15	380	CXXXa	Tiszaeszlár II 1947 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) (C270)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
15	381	CXXXa	Tiszaeszlár II 1947 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU) (C270)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
15	392	CXXXIIIa	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
15	393	CXXXIIIa	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
15	394	CXXXIIIa	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
15	395	CXXXIIIa	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
16	396	CXXXIIIa	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
16	397	CXXXIIIa	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
16	398	CXXXIIIc	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	(?)	Venice	photo	–
16	400	CXXXVIIc	Tiszánána 1960 (Heves, HU) (C246)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
16	414	CXXXVII	Újfehértó 1912 (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, HU)	(?)	(?)	photo	–
16	416	CXXXIX	Vasasszonyfa n.d (Vas, Hu)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
16	417	CXL	Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) (C231)	Nicholas I, with Louis II	Rome	photo	–
16	421	CXL	Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) (C231)	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
16	422	CXL	Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) (C231)	Berengar I, as king	Milan	photo	–
16	423	CXL	Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) (C231)	Hugh of Arles (?)	Venice	photo	–
16	426	CXL	Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) (C231)	Sergius III	Rome	photo	–
16	427	CXL	Vereb 1853 (Fejér, HU) (C231)	John X, with Berengar I	Rome	photo	–
16	434	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Lothar II	Verona	drawing	–
16	435	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Lothar II	Verona	drawing	–
16	436	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Verona	drawing	–
16	437	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Verona	drawing	–
17	438	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Milan	drawing	–
17	439	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Lothar II	Verona	drawing	–
17	440	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Lothar II	Verona	drawing	–
17	441	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Milan	drawing	–
17	442	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	(?)	(?)	drawing	–
17	443	CXLIV	Červeník ('Vörösvár') 1955 (Tmava, SK) (C264)	(?)	(?)	drawing	–
25	1004		Kaposvár (Somogy, HU)?	Berengar I, as king (?)	Milan	photo	–
25	1005		Kaposvár (Somogy, HU)?	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
25	1025		Veszprém county (HU)	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
25	1027		Veszprém county (HU)	Lothar II	Verona	photo	–
26	1049		Kecel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU)?	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	Unpublished type with temple and legend XPISTIANA RELIGIO
26	1050		Kecel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU)?	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	photo	Unpublished type with temple and legend XPISTIANA RELIGIO
26	1051		Kecel 1912 (Bács-Kiskun, HU)?	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	late issue, very similar to those for Berengar II
–	1	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Berengar I, as king	Verona (?)	photo	BERENEKARIVS REX

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
–	2	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	(?)	(?)	photo	–
–	3	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	(?)	(?)	photo	–
–	4	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Hugh of Arles (?)	Venice (?)	photo	–
–	5	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Louis III the Blind (?)	(?)	photo	–
–	6	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Louis III the Blind	(?)	photo	–
–	7	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Berengar I, as king	(?)	photo	–
–	8	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Berengar I, as king	(?)	photo	–
–	9	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Berengar I, as king (?)	(?)	photo	–
–	10	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Berengar I, uncertain title (?)	(?)	photo	–
–	11	Coupland 219	Gnadendorf 2000	Berengar I, uncertain title (?)	(?)	photo	for Hahn BERENCARIVS, but BERENCARIVS R also possible
–	1	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	2	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	3	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	4	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	5	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	6	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	7	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	8	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	9	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	10	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	11	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	12	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	13	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	14	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	15	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	16	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	17	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	18	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	19	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	20	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	drawing	–
–	21	Coupland 228	Karos-Eperjesszög I 1986, grave 15	Berengar I, as king	Pavia	drawing	–
–	E1 (1)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	E2 (2)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
–	E3 (3)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles, alone or with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
–	E4 (4)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–

Plate no.	Coin no.	Hoard no.	Find	Authority	Mint	Illustration	Notes
–	E5 (5)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Lothar II	Milan	photo	–
–	E6 (6)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Lothar II	Milan	photo	–
–	E7 (7)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Lothar II	Milan	photo	–
–	E8 (8)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
–	E9 (9)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
–	E10 (10)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II (?)	Pavia	photo	–
–	E11 (11)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Lothar II	Pavia	photo	–
–	E12 (12)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Lothar II (?)	Pavia	photo	–
–	E13 (13)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	E14	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	E17 (15)	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	E18	Coupland 267	Kiskundorozsma-Hosszúhát 1999	(?)	(?)	photo	–
–	1	Coupland 268	Levice-Géňa 2005	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II (?)	Pavia	photo / drawing	–
–	2	Coupland 268	Levice-Géňa 2005	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Pavia	photo / drawing	–
–	3	Coupland 268	Levice-Géňa 2005	Hugh of Arles, with Lothar II	Milan	photo / drawing	–
–	4	Coupland 268	Levice-Géňa 2005	Lothar II	Milan	photo / drawing	–
–	1	Coupland 240	Aspres-lés-Corps	Berengar I, w/o title	Venice	photo	–
–	2	Coupland 240	Aspres-lés-Corps	Berengar I, as emperor	Venice	photo	–
–	3	Coupland 240	Aspres-lés-Corps	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
–	4	Coupland 240	Aspres-lés-Corps	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	5	Coupland 240	Aspres-lés-Corps	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	6	Coupland 240	Aspres-lés-Corps	Hugh of Arles	Venice	photo	–
–	1	Szeged-Óthalom	Szeged-Óthalom	Berengar I, as emperor	Pavia	photo	–
–	2	Szeged-Óthalom	Szeged-Óthalom	Berengar I, as king	Milan	photo	–
–	3	Szeged-Óthalom	Szeged-Óthalom	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
–	4	Szeged-Óthalom	Szeged-Óthalom	Berengar I, as emperor	Milan	photo	–
–	5	Szeged-Óthalom	Szeged-Óthalom	Berengar I, as king	Venice (?)	photo	–

Table 4: Italian coins in Hungarian graves (the first three columns refer to KOVÁCS 1989)
4. táblázat: Itáliai érmék magyar sírokban (Az első három oszlop KOVÁCS 1989-ből átvéve)

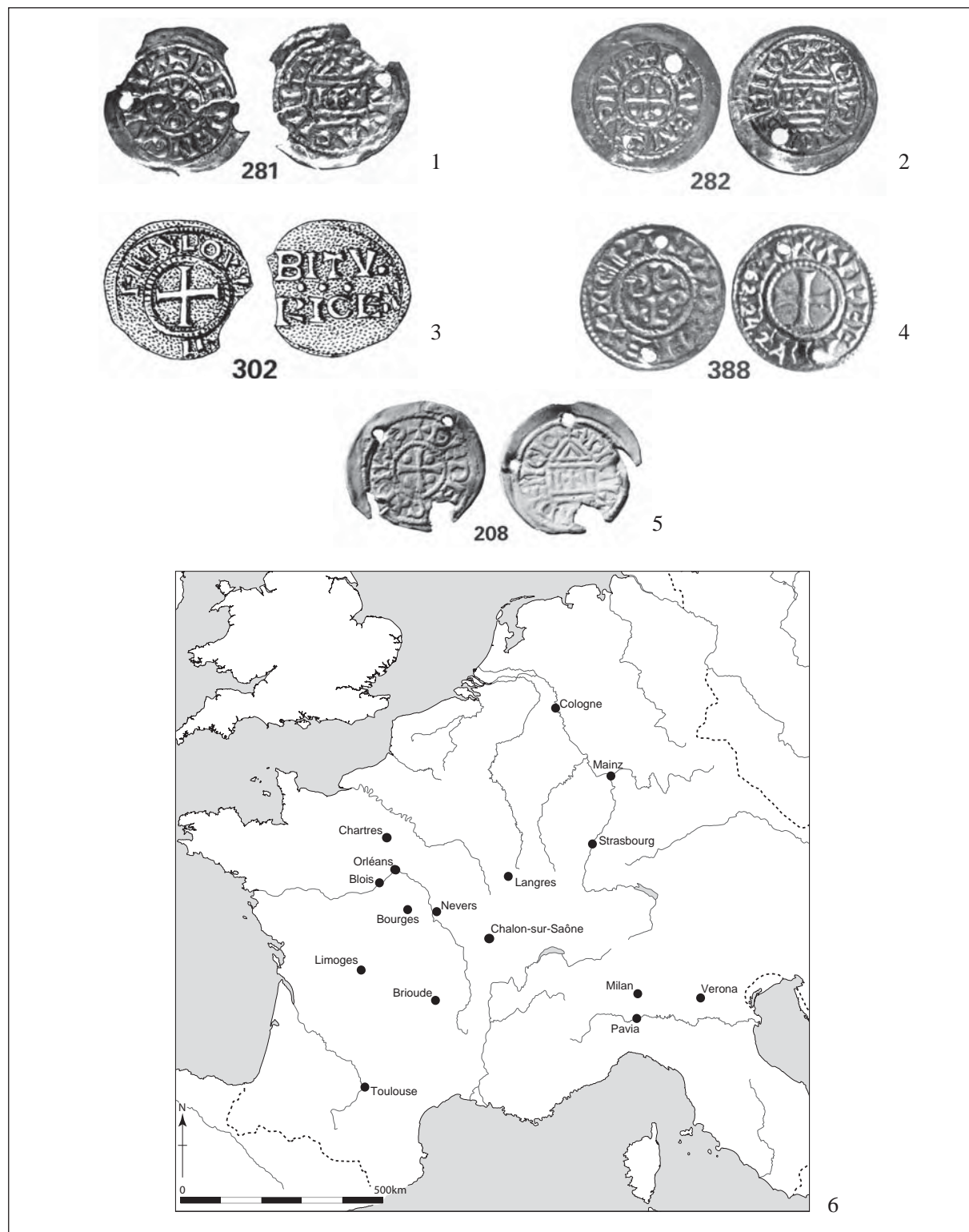


Fig. 1: 1–2: KOVÁCS 1989, nos. 281–282; 3: KOVÁCS 1989, no. 302; 4: KOVÁCS 1989, no. 388; 5: KOVÁCS 1989, no. 208; 6: Frankish mints represented in Hungarian graves — A magyar sírokban talált frank pénzek verdehelyei



Fig. 2: Szeged-Öthalom, V. homokbánya, grave 187. — 2. kép: Szeged-Öthalom, V. homokbánya, 187. sír