

Danish Money in the Fourteenth Century

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In the history of Danish coinage the fourteenth century occupies a special position. It is the only post-Viking Century in which for a long time there was no Danish coinage at all. Although many explanations of this are possible, one cannot yet say which is the right one. It has nevertheless been suggested that it could be useful to have a short survey of its most characteristic features, based on the findings of recent research, particularly concerned with the latter half of the century.

The most important works on Danish coinage from the Viking Age to the fourteenth century were written by P. Hauberg (1844–1928).¹ Although his books are old, they are still useful and have certainly not yet been superseded. Hardly a year passes without the discovery of a new coin-type from the period of the Valdemars (1157–1241),² but Hauberg seems to have known nearly all the coin issues after 1241: at least very few new types have turned up since his time.³ Various corrections to Hauberg's geographical and chronological attributions relating to this period have been proposed,⁴ but no single major work has appeared. It must be pointed out, though, that the staff of the Coin Cabinet

¹ The relevant survey for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century is P. Hauberg, "Danmarks Myntvæsen og Mynter 1241–1377," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1884; pub. 1885), pp. 3–160; all the coins are illustrated in a book by H. V. Mansfeld-Büllner, *Afbildninger af . . . Danske Mønter . . . 1241–1377* (Cph., 1887), new editions by Johan Chr. Holm (Cph., 1954, and later). – A general survey of Denmark's money has been written by Kirsten Bendixen, *Denmark's Money* (English and Danish editions; Cph., 1967), 116 and 109 pp.

² Latest survey by Kirsten Bendixen, "Middelaldermønt i de sidste 10 års danske kirkefund," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1972 (at press).

³ A new type was found in Aarhus in 1921, see G. Galster, *L. E. Bruuns Mønt- og Medaillesamling* (Cph., 1928), no. 3690; another was found at Vejstrup, Fyn, cf. Fritze Lindahl, "Møntfundet fra Vejstrup," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1949, p. 36.

⁴ A survey of these corrections has been made by Gert Hatz, "Über dänische Bürgerkriegsmünzen," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, III: 9/10 (1955/56), 171–92.

at the National Museum have for some decades deliberately abstained from undertaking any intensive research on the subject, because it was known that a private scholar is preparing a major work in the field.⁵

There seems reason to believe that Hauberg's findings on the Danish coinage of the first half of the fourteenth century are still valid, at least in their main principles. There were mints in Lund, Roskilde, Sakskøbing (during the reign of Christopher II), somewhere in Northern Jylland (Viborg?, Randers?, Aarhus?), Ribe and Slesvig. In the first years of the century there was still an unofficial mint on the island of Hjelm. To these places we should probably add Odense.⁶ There were other subsidiary mints, e.g. at Skanør and on the island of Falster.⁷ Every year the coins were called in and replaced, each mint used its own distinct motifs, and there were fixed rates of exchange from the old to the new issues, probably on the basis of three old coins for two new.⁸

Most of the bishops (and in Lund the archbishop) were allowed a share in the revenue from the coinage, and for that reason a religious symbol is often met with on the reverses of the coins. The obverses frequently have a royal or other temporal symbol. It is rather difficult to say with certainty whether a coin belongs to Erik VI Menved (1286-1319), Christopher II (1320-26, 1329-32), Valdemar III (1326-30), Valdemar IV Atterdag (1340-75) or Magnus Smek in Lund (1332-60), because no inscriptions occur on the several hundred different types of coins from this period – only a very few coins from Slesvig are exceptions to this rule. The attribution of the coins to the various reigns has therefore to be based on the proportions in which they appear in hoards. The coins themselves do offer, however, some guidance as to provenance; coins with the grid-iron of St Lawrence, for example, are usually attributed to Lund (fig. 1-2), where the Roman martyr was the patron saint of the cathedral.

All the coins were of a single denomination, the *penning* (*denarius*), and theoretically they were all of silver, but their fineness, especially at the end of the period, was very low, between 5% and 10%,⁹ the rest being a copper alloy. The only exception was in Skåne, where from c. 1299 the archbishops seem to have succeeded in stabilizing the coins: a mark of silver was equal in Skåne to 4½-5

⁵ K. G. Kaaber, cand.polit., of Holbæk, a savings bank manager and a member of the Danish Numismatic Society since 1936. More recently he has been collaborating with John Andersen of Hillerød.

⁶ Fritze Lindahl, "Tre potter mønter fra Assens," *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1954, p. 71 ff.; G. Galster, *Coins and History* (Cph., 1959), pp. 105-19, "The mint of the outlaws on Hjelm."

⁷ But not in Aabenraa, cf. G. Galster, "Myntpeningh i Opneraa 1335," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1965, pp. 25-30.

⁸ O. Mørkholm, "Kilder til Danmarks Møntvæsen i Middelalderen, I," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1955, p. 48, no. 226, 1316, 19. Nov.

⁹ Fritze Lindahl, *op.cit.* (note 3), pp. 29-37.

marks of money;¹⁰ but west of Øresund one mark of silver was equal to as much as 10 marks in money.¹¹

Although in principle Danish coins only retained their value for one year until their *renovatio* about Michaelmas, this rule could only be maintained where official transactions were concerned. In practice they continued to circulate long after they had lost their official value. This is made very clear by the composition of several hoards of so-called "Civil War Coins" (a time-honoured but quite unhistorical name given to Danish coins struck after 1241). Although the bulk of the coins in these finds usually belong to a few types, the hoards often also include odd specimens of quite a number of older types, some of which must have long lost their official rating. Among coins from beneath church-floors the percentage of "Civil War Coins" is so great that one may suppose that they were used as small change for a century or more (probably until c. 1422 when Erik VII of Pomerania introduced yet another type of copper coin, the copper sterling).¹²

After the death of Christopher II in 1332, there was no Danish central administration, and no one seems to have bothered to continue the Danish mints. The last time we hear of Danish coins west of Øresund is in 1336, when there is mention of the "usual" Sjælland money.¹³ In Lund in Skåne, which was now under Swedish rule, the old system still prevailed, but Scanian money is not often met with outside Skåne – except on Bornholm which belonged to the archbishop. The coinage there was probably continued until 1368. It was resumed in 1377 but was immediately banned by the Hanseatics, who were at that time masters of Skåne.¹⁴

Valdemar IV Atterdag undoubtedly contemplated a coinage and in 1355 he had a tax levied for this purpose in Sjælland. For every head of cattle 6 *gros* [*tournois*] had to be paid, which was quite a heavy tax. It is rather doubtful, though, if the whole of the yield was used for the new coinage. The small silver coins (fig. 3) with a W for Waldemar on the obverse and a crown on the reverse, normally attributed to this issue, are not very common;¹⁵ and it may be

¹⁰ "Kilder, I" (cf. note 8), no. 145, 1299, 20. June.

¹¹ Cf. the table in P. Hauberg, *op.cit.* (note 1), pp. 42–5.

¹² Cf. the survey by Olaf Olsen, "St. Jørgensbjerg kirke," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1960, pp. 58–62; J. Steen Jensen, "Møntfund i danske kirkers pengeblokke," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1972 (at press).

¹³ "Kilder, I" (cf. note 8), no. 325, 1336, 8. June; unspecified copper coins, are, however, sometimes mentioned in later sources, Kilder II (cf. note 14), no. 370 and 418, 1344, 21. Febr. and 1352.

¹⁴ G. Galster, "Valdemar Atterdags mønt," *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 1972, p. 184; Bente Friis Johansen and O. Mørkholm, "Kilder til Danmarks Møntvæsen i Middelalderen, II," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1960, no. 510, 1378, 30. May.

¹⁵ Cf. G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 14), pp. 180–181.

that their value was the same as that of a coin from Skåne. It has been supposed, on the basis of a passage in the *Younger Sjælland Chronicle*, that Valdemar had his new coin changed to a copper one already in the following year, but Dr Georg Galster would now interpret the passage in question quite differently.¹⁶ He suggests that when he wrote about copper, the writer had the new coins of Valdemar in mind, while the silver coins referred to were the foreign pieces current in those years.¹⁷

Foreign specie, especially in silver but with a little gold, was widely employed in Denmark throughout the fourteenth century. We know of this use of foreign silver both from written sources and from finds, especially the great hoards from Ebbelnæs (4991 coins deposited after 1328), Kirial (81,422 coins deposited c. 1365), and Aarhus (5759 coins deposited c. 1400).¹⁸

Three types of coins were used. First there were English sterlings (fig. 7) along with their Scottish and Anglo-Irish counterparts and occasional continental imitations from the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Western Germany. The English sterlings were originally struck to a weight of 1.44 g and to a fineness of 925, but later (1344, 1346, and 1351) they were progressively reduced in weight to 1.17 g, though their fineness remained the same. Second there were French *gros tournois* (fig. 8), a denomination introduced in 1266, with a weight of 4.22 g and an original fineness of 958. Finally there were coins based on the Lübeck mark which provided the common standard for bracteates from Lübeck (fig. 4), Hamburg (fig. 5), and other towns in Northern Germany. In the first part of the fourteenth century the bracteates normally weighed 0.40 g, but during the century their fineness steadily declined; in 1367 it was only 500.¹⁹

In Denmark sterlings are mentioned for the first time in 1251;²⁰ *gros tournois* are perhaps referred to in 1285 but the first certain mention is in 1303;²¹ Lübeck money is mentioned c. 1300.²² When they employ the expression "Lübeck money" contemporary writers must have had bracteates in mind. Formerly it was believed that the Lübeck *witten* (fig. 12), a silver coin slightly smaller than

¹⁶ *Item noua moneta, scilicet cuprea, succedit argenteae, peior meliori*, "Kilder, II" (cf. note 14), no. 436, 1356.

¹⁷ G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 14), p. 180.

¹⁸ "Kilder, I-II" (cf. note 8 and 14); Fritze Lindahl, "Møntfundet fra Ebbelnæs på Møn," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1952, pp. 11-54; J. Steen Jensen in cooperation with P. Dedenroth-Schou, M. Fenger and V. Fenger, "Møntfundet fra Kirial på Djursland," *ibid.* 1970, pp. 37-168; G. Galster, "Møntfundet fra Aarhus 1908 og samtidige danske Møntfund," *ibid.* 1942, pp. 99-138.

¹⁹ Cf. publication of the Kirial hoard, *passim* and p. 144; W. Jesse, *Der wendische Münzverein*, 2. ed. (Braunschweig, 1967), p. 209.

²⁰ "Kilder, I" (cf. note 8), no. 49-50, 1251, 1. Sept. and 24. Sept.

²¹ "Kilder, I," no. 103 and 161, 1285, 23. Aug. and 1303, 14. March.

²² "Kilder, I," no. 144, c. 1300.

the sterling with the value of four *pennings* and a weight of c. 1.30 g, was coined as early as 1340.²³ Two recent examinations of the evidence made independently by Professor Peter Berghaus of Münster and by the present writer have led to quite a different conclusion. We do not find *wittens* mentioned in any written source before 1365, and it was not till 1366 or 1367 that *wittens* began to be coined by the million. The oldest German hoard with *wittens* has been dated by Berghaus "after 1364".²⁴ In Denmark *wittens* are not mentioned before 1378.²⁵ *Groschens* from Prague, which were so widespread in Central Europe, seem not to have reached Denmark in quantity; they are mentioned only once, in 1334.²⁶

The hoards, too, have their tale to tell about foreign currency in Denmark. We meet the sterlings for the first time in two hoards from Ribe deposited in 1247²⁷ (found in 1911 and 1958). Sterlings played a considerable role in the first half of the fourteenth century, continuing even as late as the middle of the 1360s, as is demonstrated by their abundance in the Kirial hoard. But very soon after this they were quickly replaced by *wittens*. The hoard from Eltang in Jylland had 21 *wittens*, as against 16 English and 4 continental sterlings; it was probably deposited c. 1370.²⁸ In contrast the Slagelse hoard (deposited after 1372) contained only one *witten* but 51 English sterlings (in all the hoard had 270 silver coins and 186 gold coins, see below).²⁹ Finally, the great hoard from Aarhus, deposited c. 1400, had 5759 coins, mostly *wittens* and other Hanseatic coins, while only 49 were sterlings.³⁰

Gros tournois are known from many hoards of the fourteenth century – the oldest is from c. 1310³¹ – and they remained in use during the whole century. The greatest number found (767) was in the Ebbelnæs hoard, where they amount-

²³ W. Jesse, *op.cit.* (note 19), p. 79; the theory was founded on an imperial privilege granted to Lübeck in 1340, which permitted the city to mint golden florins and also silver coins with the value of 6 hellers, W. Jesse, *Quellenbuch zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Halle-Saale, 1924), p. 89.

²⁴ P. Berghaus, "Phänomene der deutschen Münzgeschichte des 14./15. Jahrhunderts im Ostseegebiet," *Visby-symposiet 1971, Acta Visbyensia*, IV (1973), especially pp. 87–9 and p. 96; *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1970, p. 144 and p. 149.

²⁵ "Kilder, II" (cf. note 14), no. 509, 1378, 6. May.

²⁶ "Kilder, I" (cf. note 8), no. 311, 1334, 30. Aug.

²⁷ Latest publication by B. H. I. H. Stewart and J. D. Brand, "A second find of English sterlings from Ribe (1958)," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1971, pp. 38–59; here there is also printed a survey of the English coins of the first hoard which was originally published by G. Galster, "A find of English coins at Ribe, Denmark," *Numismatic Chronicle* 1916, pp. 378–98.

²⁸ G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 18), p. 115; P. Berghaus, *op.cit.* (note 24), p. 96.

²⁹ G. Galster, *op.cit.* p. 118 ff.

³⁰ G. Galster, *op.cit.* pp. 99–115.

³¹ Fritze Lindahl, *op.cit.* (note 18), p. 43.

ed to nearly half the number of the sterlings.³² In the Kirial hoard, however, there were only 27, 1% of the number of the sterlings, while in the Slagelse hoard, which was concealed some ten years later, no fewer than 207 of the 270 silver coins proved to be *gros tournois*.³³ Even as we approach 1400 a few of these *gros tournois* are still met with in a hoard,³⁴ but they do not occur in the hoard from Aarhus, nor later.

Groschen from Prague appear only quite sporadically in two finds from the island of Møn.³⁵ As already remarked, they did not have much of a vogue in Denmark.

Bracteates from Northern Germany begin to turn up already by c. 1250,³⁶ but it seems that they were not used in any great quantities until c. 1330.³⁷ The great period of the small German bracteates was the middle third of the fourteenth century. In the Kirial hoard 96.68% of more than 81,000 coins were bracteates,³⁸ and in the Slaagaardshuse hoard from South Sjælland (probably deposited in the 1370s) no less than 99.29% of the 3389 coins have proved to be bracteates.³⁹ As the Hanseatic towns produced a wider variety of coins (apart from the *witten* we have the *dreiling* of three *pennings* struck from 1374 and later the *sechsling* of six *pennings* struck from 1388), the use of bracteates for hoarding purposes waned, but they remained in day-to-day use even as late as the end of the sixteenth century. The bracteate, though, here had a rival in the *viertelwitten*, the value of which was also one *penning*. The coining of it was forbidden in 1389,⁴⁰ but it is not infrequently met with in stray finds in Denmark.

If a denomination of less than one *penning* was required, it was a simple matter to cut a bracteate in two, and it is probable that this procedure was followed at the mint itself. Halves made in this way are quite common. The 4840 cut halves in the Kirial hoard amount to 6.15% of all the bracteates in the find. In a hoard from Nykøbing on Falster, deposited about the middle of the century,⁴¹ 680 halves represent nearly half the entire find. There also existed a half struck as such, a small bracteate called a *skærv* (*scrupulus*),⁴² which seems

³² Fritze Lindahl, *op.cit.*, pp. 12–22.

³³ G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 18), p. 118 ff.

³⁴ Kallerup, near Kalundborg, 8 *gros tournois* out of a total of c. 600, G. Galster, *op.cit.*, p. 124 ff.

³⁵ Three Prague *groschen* were in the Ebbelnæs hoard, Fritze Lindahl, *op.cit.* (note 18), p. 22; one was also found as a stray find at Stege in 1903.

³⁶ In the first Ribe hoard eight were found, cf. note 27.

³⁷ More than half of the coins of the Ebbelnæs hoard were bracteates, 2271 plus 280 halves, cf. note 18.

³⁸ Cf. publication, note 18.

³⁹ G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 18), pp. 115–17.

⁴⁰ W. Jesse, *op.cit.* (note 19), p. 90.

⁴¹ Fritze Lindahl, *op.cit.* (note 18), p. 45.

⁴² G. Galster, "Skærv," *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 1971, pp. 222–5.

to have been coined right through the fourteenth century,⁴³ It is quite rare in hoards, but in a Danish find from Nakskov, deposited in 1403 or very little later, about three-quarters of the 926 coins were North German halves of this bracteate type.⁴⁴ It should be added that the Danish word *skærv* is only known from much later sources, earliest in the Peder Laale collection of proverbs, printed 1506, though probably going back a century before that.⁴⁵

Passing from hoards to stray finds, and especially to those from under church-floors, we find that foreign coins are mostly represented by bracteates. Sterlings are rarely found in churches.⁴⁶ As a rule we cannot tell when the coins were lost, but the use of bracteates in poor-boxes may indicate that they remained in day-to-day use as late as the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷

Although some of the bracteates found under church-floors undoubtedly belong to the fourteenth century, there are others which are more difficult to date. This is especially the case with one particular group of bracteates (fig. 6), which are traditionally ascribed to Mecklenburg, where, however, they are never found.⁴⁸ In all three Scandinavian countries they occur very often in churches, so that it has been suggested that they were minted in Scandinavia. It is possible that they originated in Sweden under Mecklenburg rule between 1363 and 1389.⁴⁹

It should also be mentioned that bar-silver played quite a role in fourteenth-century currency. Some important hoards with hall-marked bars are known from Germany.⁵⁰ In Denmark, too, such ingots were in common use. We meet with them in written Danish sources,⁵¹ and unmarked examples are also known from hoards,⁵² although hall-marked ingots have apparently never been found in Denmark.

⁴³ W. Jesse, *op.cit.* (cf. note 19), p. 88 and p. 194 note 329.

⁴⁴ Fritze Lindahl, "Et Nakskov møntfund fra dronning Margrethes tid," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1960, pp. 84–97.

⁴⁵ G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 42), p. 223.

⁴⁶ The church of St Nicholas, Vejle (1); the churches of Klarup near Aalborg (1) and Jørlunde, Northern Sjælland (1), Kirsten Bendixen, *op.cit.* (note 2); the church of St Michael, Slagelse (3), *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1971, p. 191.

⁴⁷ J. Steen Jensen, *op.cit.* (note 12).

⁴⁸ They are not mentioned in O. Oertzen, *Die Mecklenburgischen Münzen*, I (Schwerin, 1900).

⁴⁹ O. Sæther, "Mecklenburgske oksehodebrakteater i norske kirkefund," *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 1965, pp. 173–178; L. Lagerqvist, *Svenska Mynt under vikingetid och medeltid* (Stockholm, 1970), p. 96; in the last 10 years 233 bracteates of the Mecklenburg type have been found in Danish churches, Kirsten Bendixen, *op.cit.* (note 2).

⁵⁰ W. Jesse, *op.cit.* (note 19), p. 186 note 191 and p. 303.

⁵¹ "Kilder, I" (cf. note 8), no. 204, 1313, 26. March; no. 253, 1323, 18. May; no. 254, 1323, 11. June.

⁵² Slagelse deposited after 1372, and Svendborg deposited after 1422, P. Hauberg, "Danmarks Myntvæsen . . . 1377-1481," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1886), p. 146 and p. 150.

The use of gold coin in medieval Denmark has recently been discussed by Otto Mørkholm and Anne Jacobsen (now Kromann).⁵³ From the middle of the thirteenth century gold coins were minted in Europe in considerable quantities. In 1252 the florin (with a weight of c. 3.5 g) was introduced at Florence (fig. 9) and from 1340 it was imitated at Lübeck (fig. 10). At almost exactly the same time (1344) the English noble (with a weight originally of c. 9 g, later reduced) began to be coined (fig. 11), and it also became of importance in Northern Europe. The Rhenish florin, originally of the same weight and fineness as its Italian namesake but soon debased, was introduced c. 1365, and was to acquire great importance in the fifteenth century.⁵⁴

It must be stressed, however, that gold coins were mostly employed in international trade, and they can hardly have been in use among ordinary people. They have mostly been found near the coast, and it is no accident that it was in the diocese of Ribe that the papal collector received on one occasion more than 300 florins.⁵⁵ The florin is mentioned in Danish sources after c. 1300,⁵⁶ and in his will (1319) King Erik VI Menved distributed 18 florins to every Danish monastery.⁵⁷ It is a strange coincidence that the only true florins to come to light in Denmark (and the oldest post-Viking Age gold coins ever to be dis-

⁵³ Anne Jacobsen and O. Mørkholm, "Danske guldmøntfund fra Middelalderen," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1966), pp. 71–101.

⁵⁴ W. Hess, "Das rheinische Münzwesen im 14. Jahrhundert und die Entstehung des Kurrheinischen Münzvereins," *Der Deutsche Territorialstaat im 14. Jahrhundert, Vorträge und Forschungen*, XIII (Sigmaringen 1970), especially p. 293 ff. and p. 300 ff.

⁵⁵ "Kilder, I," (cf. note 8), no. 311, 1334, 30. August.

⁵⁶ "Kilder, I," no. 154–155, c. 1300

⁵⁷ "Kilder, I," no. 240, 1319, 13. Nov.

Fig. 1. Erik Menved, Lund, Hauberg no. 24, Mansfeld-Büllner no. 321. 1.28 g, Vejstrup hoard no. 4.

Fig. 2. Christopher II, Lund, Hauberg no. 7, Mansfeld-Büllner no. 533.

Fig. 3. Valdemar IV Atterdag, Roskilde, c. 1356, Hauberg no. 1, Mansfeld-Büllner no. 680.

Fig. 4. Lübeck, bracteate before 1365. 0.40 g, Kirial hoard no. 1206.

Fig. 5. Hamburg, bracteate before 1365, 0.39 g, Kirial hoard no. 894.

Fig. 6. Mecklenburg-(Scandinavia?), Sæther no. 21, 0.18 g.

Fig. 7. England, Edward I, sterling, London, Type III c, c. 1281, 1.11 g, Kirial hoard no. 239.

Fig. 8. France, Philip IV (1285–1314), gros tournois. 4.01 g, Kirial hoard no. 584.

Fig. 9. Firenze, florin, 1312, 3.51 g, found in Odense 1866.

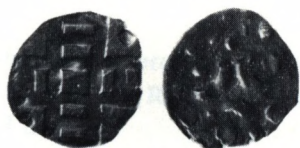
Fig. 10. Lübeck, florin, after 1340. 3.53 g, Slagelse hoard (no. 72).

Fig. 11. England, Edward III, noble, c. 1356–1361. 7.58 g, Morsum hoard.

Fig. 12. Lübeck, witten, c. 1365–1379. 1.37 g, Kalby hoard no. 18 (13).

Fig. 13. Flensborg, witten, c. 1367 (before 1379). 1.25 g, Aarhus hoard no. 2 (11).

Fig. 14. Ribe, witten, 1373–1377. 1.21 g, Aarhus hoard no. 1 var. (7).



1



2



3



4



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9



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11



12



13



14



covered here) are Florentine and date from 1312. They have been found in the cities of Odense and Ribe,⁵⁸ and so it is just possible that they formed part of this royal bequest.

The Lübeck florin is mentioned for the first time in Denmark in 1351,⁵⁹ and the 144 Lübeck florins in the Slagelse hoard (deposited after 1372) make up 77% of the gold coins in this treasure.⁶⁰ It also contained 37 French gold coins, *écus d'or*, struck by Philip VI (1337–1348) with a weight of just about 4.5 g. The *écu d'or* is not, however, mentioned in written sources until 1388.⁶¹

The six coins in the hoard from Morsum on the isle of Sild (Sylt), just south of the present Dano-German border, were all English nobles of Edward III and Richard II.⁶² The hoard was deposited c. 1400. In written sources the noble was mentioned for the first time in 1372.⁶³

The last relevant hoard of gold coins from within the old boundaries of Denmark is one from Lund (Skåne), deposited c. 1400, and containing 12 pieces.⁶⁴ Apart from six English nobles, there were two gold coins, probably *moutons d'or*, of Louis de Mâle of Flanders (1346–1384), and two florins from Gelderland, struck by Duke Wilhelm of Jülich (1377–1402). Florins of Gelderland are mentioned for the first time in the so-called *motbok* of the market of Skåne, which also dates from about 1400.⁶⁵ Fleming *moutons d'or* are mentioned only once, and that rather early, in 1334, when they occur in the above-mentioned accounts of a papal collector.⁶⁶

In the last third of the fourteenth century a Danish coinage was reintroduced, but it was on German patterns. It began when the towns of Flensborg and Ribe took to coining their own *wittens*; later on – from c. 1400 – regular royal coins were issued by King Erik VII of Pomerania. This area of fourteenth-century monetary history has, however, been recently and exhaustively dealt with by Dr Georg Galster, the Nestor of Danish numismatics, who has just published an extensive survey and catalogue covering the late mediaeval coinages of Scandinavia as a whole.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ A. Jacobsen and O. Mørkholm, *op.cit.* (note 53), p. 93, no. 83–84.

⁵⁹ "Kilder, II" (cf. note 14), no. 410, 1351, c. 1. May.

⁶⁰ A. Jacobsen and O. Mørkholm, *op.cit.* (note 53), p. 75.

⁶¹ "Kilder, II" (note 14), no. 533, 1388, 2. Dec.

⁶² A. Jacobsen and O. Mørkholm, *op.cit.* (note 53), p. 78.

⁶³ "Kilder, II" (note 14), no. 493, 1372, 2. Febr.

⁶⁴ A. Jacobsen and O. Mørkholm, *op.cit.* (note 53), p. 78.

⁶⁵ "Kilder, II" (cf. note 14), no. 554, 1396–1412.

⁶⁶ Cf. note 54.

⁶⁷ G. Galster, *Unionstidens Udmøntninger. Danmark og Norge 1397–1540. Sverige 1363–1521* (Cph., 1972), 119 pp.

Coins from Flensburg are mentioned for the first time in 1359,⁶⁸ and it was formerly believed that this notice referred to Flensburg *wittens*,⁶⁹ Such pieces, however, are not mentioned directly in our sources, and it is, as we have seen, extremely doubtful if *wittens* were minted at all in this period. One is therefore tempted to look for the Flensburg coins among the many anepigraphic bracteates of the time.⁷⁰ But there can be no doubt that Flensburg *wittens* (fig. 13) were discussed at meetings of the Hanse in 1367 and 1369; the pieces were afterwards forbidden, together with *wittens* from Kiel and from Itzehoe, because they were "base".⁷¹ The Flensburg *wittens* were in fact only a little lighter than the Lübeck ones (their fineness was 812 and 779 respectively).⁷² The obverse⁷³ bore the two lions of the arms of the Duchy of Slesvig, and indicated by the inscription *Moneta Holsascie* that it was from Holstein. The reverse read *Civitas Flensburg*; a quarter-*witten* (*viertelwitten*) was also coined.⁷⁴ When the counts of Holstein took over the town in 1375, they changed the coat of arms and substituted the nettle-leaf of Holstein. Coins with this device date from after 1380.⁷⁵ When finally the Duchy of Slesvig was enfeoffed to Count Gerhard of Holstein in 1386, the Slesvig lions were reintroduced, but this time on a lighter coin, a *dreiling* (three *pennings*), coined from 1392 onwards.⁷⁶ These Flensburg coins are quite often met with in Danish and North German hoards.⁷⁷

Probably inspired by the Flensburg *witten*, the city of Ribe introduced coins of its own (fig. 14) with the inscription *Civitas in Regno* (the text has a number of variations) to stress that they were struck in a town situated in Denmark proper. The reverse, apart from the inscription *Moneta Ripens*, was a close imitation of that of the *witten* of Lüneburg. There are good reasons for dating this coinage to the years 1373–1377.⁷⁸ The coin in question is known from hoards

⁶⁸ ... *ich Wittenborch hebe lenet den muntheren ... 20 s. niger lub. penninge, dar se mede proveden anden penninge van der Wismer unde Flensborch*, "Kilder, II" (cf. note 14), no. 446, 1359.

⁶⁹ G. Galster, *Flensborg mønt* (Sønderborg, 1967), p. 10.

⁷⁰ This was already proposed by G. Galster, "Mønt," *Nordisk Kultur*, XXIX (1936), p. 160.

⁷¹ "Kilder, II" (cf. note 14), no. 481, 483, and 488; 1367, 8. Dec., 1368, 15. March, and 1369, 11. March.

⁷² G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 66), p. 16 ff.

⁷³ Galster, no. 110.

⁷⁴ Galster, no. 111; four *viertelwitten* are recently found in Danish churches, Kirsten Bendixen, *op.cit.* (note 2).

⁷⁵ Galster, no. 112.

⁷⁶ Galster, no. 113.

⁷⁷ Fritze Lindahl, "Danmarks Mønt 1377–1448," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1955, pp. 74–6.

⁷⁸ A. Ernst, "Bidrag til Ribe mønts historie," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1948, p. 13; G. Galster, *op.cit.* (note 66), p. 17 ff.

both in Denmark and in Northern Germany,⁷⁹ but it seems not to be mentioned in contemporary written sources.

It is indeed an anomaly when the central authorities of a medieval state do not strike coins over a long period, but that was precisely the situation in Denmark for the greater part of the fourteenth century. Queen Margaret (1387–1412) did plan a coinage, and in order to amass the necessary precious metal she levied and collected a special tax in 1396.⁸⁰ On the basis of the grants from Fyn (10 marks of silver from every parish) it has been suggested that c. 20,000 marks of silver (say 4600 kg) may have been collected from the whole country.⁸¹ That would be 125 times greater than the biggest hoard so far known, the one from Kirial.⁸² As a matter of sober fact, however, we do not know if this tax really was collected in full.

Immediately after the turn of the century a regular coinage was apparently initiated in the name of Erik of Pomerania (1396–1439). *Wittens* were minted in Næstved, and one of the types has a crozier on the reverse; this is the last time the bishop of Roskilde's share in the Sjælland mint is indicated.⁸³ Shortly afterwards (probably in 1405 or a little earlier) sterlings with a value of three *pennings* began to be coined in Næstved, and soon in Lund as well. Bracteates and halfpennies (*skærv*, see above) were also struck. The Danish mints were again in business.⁸⁴

National Museum, Copenhagen

⁷⁹ A. Ernst, *op.cit.* pp. 13–15; Fritze Lindahl, *op.cit.* (cf. note 77), p. 77.

⁸⁰ Cf. M. Linton, "Drottning Margareta. Fullmäktig fru och rätt husbonde," *Studia Historica Gothoburgensia*, XII (1971), p. 110 ff.

⁸¹ G. Galster, *op.cit.* (cf. note 66), p. 18.

⁸² Cf. publication on Kirial hoard (note 18), p. 144 note 10; this calculation should be taken with some reservation, since it is often difficult to deal with exact figures from medieval sources.

⁸³ Galster no. 2–3.

⁸⁴ The author wishes to thank Michael Dolley for assistance with the translation into English of this paper.