

English Summaries/sammendrag

Dateringen af Theoderik den Stores guldmedaillon

Af Philip Grierson

Forfatteren diskuterer en serie mønter, slået af den østgotiske Theoderik den Store, som for en snes år siden normalt sattes i forbindelse med Theoderiks seksmåneders ophold i Rom 500. Pragtstykket er et 3 solidi stykke, der først blev publiceret af Gneecchi 1895. Til serien hører desuden solidi, en enestående semissis, tremisses og en halvsolidus.

Imidlertid anses det nu for mere sandsynligt, at denne udmøntning er præget i Rom 508/9, da den sjældne tremissis med victoria, der har palme og en sejrskrans, passer med en tilsvarende udmøntning fra det vestgotiske rige, hvor Theoderik var blevet regent. Forfatteren argumenterer herefter udførligt for sit synspunkt og gennemgår Theoderiks succesrige liv, specielt i årene efter 507. I dette år blev den vestgotiske konge Alarik II besejret, og Theoderik skal have dræbt ham egenhændigt. Året efter, 508, ønskede han at erobre Provence fra burgunderne, og kæmpede også med frankerne. Det følgende år, 509, blev der sluttet fred mellem de to modstandere, og dette tidspunkt synes velvalgt til en sådan udmøntning. Derimod er den næppe fra det følgende år, hvor Theoderik havde 40 års regeringsjubilæum, hvad man måtte have ventet en henvisning til i indskriften. På det tidspunkt hvor mønterne blev slået var Theoderik næppe selv i Rom, uanset at mønterne er slået i hans navn, men udmøntningen kan være sket på senatets foranledning.

Fundomstændighederne for fire skandinaviske guldbrakteater (type C) fra 5.-6. årh. fra Wągrowiec 1850

Af Jan Zak

Fundstedet ligger på det tidligere gods Wapno nær byen Wągrowiec (Piła-området, et halvt hundrede kilometer nordøst for Poznań). Fundomstændighederne kendes fra den ældre litteratur, T. Wolański (1852) og G. A. Crüger (1872) samt F. L. Schwartz (1875) og J. N. Sadowski (1877). Fundet, hvori der også indgår andre genstande, har jævnlig været omtalt, også i den nyere videnskabelige litteratur, således af forfatteren selv 1962. Nogle år tidligere, 1954, havde han anledning til at besøge stedet.

Konklusionerne kan opsummeres som følger. Gravfeltet, der blev opdaget 1850, blev fundet tilfældigt ved brydning af sten til en landbrugsbygning. Gravfeltet lå c. 100 m syd for godset på en lav, flad bakke, og det tilhører den pommerske kulturgruppe fra 5. årh. f.Kr. Men genstandene fra 5.-6. årh. e.Kr. (guldbrakteater, guldsål og ni guldringe, der lå i én urne, guldfingerringen i en anden urne, begge i hver sin stenkiste; i andre urner og i andre stenkistegrave var glasperler og et lancetformet hængesmykke) stammer formentlig fra en restgruppe fra den nordiske folkevandring, der over Polen vendte hjem til Sydøstskandinavien i 5.-6. årh. De førstnævnte genstande udgør et skattefund, resterne er smådeposita. Alt er opbevaret af de nordiske indehavere på denne tid i »pommerske« urner.

Finds of sceattas from Scandinavia

By Kirsten Bendixen

From the old Danish territory of Jutland and the North Sea islands

we possess today the following coins from Merovingian times: three old finds: 1. A Madelinus triens from Dorestad found at the mouth of the Limfjord at *Gadegaard*. 2. An unattributed triens from the island of *Sild*. 3. Another by Ansoaldus, Maastricht, from the island of *Föhr*. 4. From *Hedeby* (Haithabu, Slesvig) one Wodan/monster coin found inside the city wall. 5. From *South Hedeby* one Wodan/monster. 6. From the iron-age village of *Dankirke* near Ribe: one Merovingian triens and 2 denarii, Madelinus Dorestad, two English coins (BMC 37 and 27) and of Frisian 1 porcupine, 2 Frisian runic and five Wodan/monster. 7. An important group of sceattas was brought to light during excavations in the town of *Ribe* (1973-75). There are 25 Wodan/monster coins, 5 porcupines and 2 indecipherable, found in the floor of workshops and among removed rubbish. 8. The largest treasure from old Danish territory turned up on the island of *Föhr* 1976. 77 coins in all, both Merovingian denarii, English and Frisian sceattas.

All the comparative material about coinhoards from the Netherlands, England, France and Germany was studied in the process of dating the oldest town of Ribe. The conclusion was that Ribe was a market-place from the beginning of the eighth century and used the European coins from the period 720-50 brought by the Frisian merchants. (It must be mentioned here that D. M. Metcalf thinks that the Wodan/monster coins are Danish).

During the last few years good luck has brought us sceattas from three new localities: 9. On the west coast of Jutland near the town of Ringkøbing on a narrow tongue of land called *Holmsland Klit* (dune) one Wodan/monster. 10. The first sceatta from the island of Funen, a porcupine, turned up at a place called *Gudme*, known for many goldfinds. 11. In Scania (Danish until 1658) three Wodan/monster-sceattas have been found during excavations at *Yngsjö*. 12. In Sweden only one porcupine has been found, at the island of *Helgö*, a trading place on the eastern trade route. 13. From Norway also only one eighth-century coin minted in York and found at *Ervik*.

Before 1965 Denmark was a black area on maps showing sceatta finds. We are now able to count 130 sceattas and deniers and we know that they circulated in the eighth century in Scandinavia.

Den første større sølvkrise i Rusland og Østersøområdet c. 875-c. 900

Af Thomas S. Noonan

Det er velkendt, at der fra 970 var en brat nedgang i eksporten af islamiske mønter til Rusland og Østeuropa, og at importen af dirhemer til Rusland standsede c. 1015. Mindre kendt er det, at allerede i 800-tallet blev strømmen af dirhemer afbrudt to gange.

Dirhemimporten til Rusland og Østeuropa begyndte omkr. 800 og gik fra Iran og Iraq over Kaukasus til Khazar-riget. Den første afbrydelse var c. 820-c. 840 og skyldtes et brat fald i udmøntningen i de islamiske møntsteder. Men sølvkrisen c. 875-c. 900 medførte fundamentale forandringer i strømmen af dirhemer til Østeuropa. Det demonstreres ved at analysere dirhem-skattefund, nedlagt c. 850-c. 900. Særligt ses krisen ved fund der er nedlagt i 880'erne og 890'erne, idet meget få nye dirhemer blev importeret til Rusland og Østersøområdet i 870'erne, 880'erne og 890'erne. Mangelen på nye islamiske mønter skyldtes ikke, at de ikke blev slået – de optræder nemlig i nærorientalske fund – men det skyldes, at disse mønter ikke nåede frem til Østeuropa. Når forholdene ændredes i begyndelsen af 900-tallet, skyldtes det, at handelen nu gik til det samanidske rige i Centralasien.

Kufic Dirhems found in Denmark after 1938

By Anne Kromann

The following list of finds details the Kufic dirhems that have been registered by the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals after 1938. As no detailed publication exists of the find material previous to that date, the present catalogue must be considered a supplement to the survey in Østrups catalogue of Oriental coins from 1938 and to Skovmands publication of hoards from 1942. The finds are arranged topographically according to province and chronologically within each province.

Most of the dirhems were issued under the Abbasids and Samanids from the eighth to the tenth century. Generally they are looped or pierced, and there are many fragments. But in some of the later finds (cf. nos. 12-13) the fragments seem to be regularly cut in halves or quarters, which, in connection with the fact that holes and

loops are scarce, may indicate that they were used as small change, not as "hacksilber".

The total number of coins in the supplement – just under 80 – is not impressive compared to the 500 (not counting the 1708 from Terslev) which came to light in the half century before 1938.

Graffiti at viking age coins

By Inger Hammarberg and Gert Rispling

Graffiti in the widest sense of the word can be classified into six groups according to the purpose of the act. 1) Magical or religious symbols 2) Owner's marks 3) Notation as a reminder while counting 4) Scribbles 5) Test for genuineness 6) Preparation for division of the coins. Groups 1-2 are by far the most important. The symbols of group 1 take the shape of letters and words as well as pictures. Groups 5-6 are not proper graffiti, as the purpose is utilitarian. They are therefore not included in the statistical material.

Numismatists have paid little attention to the graffiti on coins in the Viking-age (A.D. 800-1050) hoards. The only important contributions in this field have been made by Ulla S. Linder Welin, Stockholm, and I. Dobrovolskiy, Leningrad. When we were working with this paper, it became obvious that the treatment of the graffiti had been far from exhaustive, at least as far as the Stockholm coin cabinet is concerned. Dobrovolskiy had found Scandinavian runes on some early Islamic coins in Russian hoards. This was a very important discovery and it made us look more closely at the coins of the 9th century hoards. There were difficulties, however. The runic inscriptions were often indistinct and weak and they were often concealed behind layers of dirt still on the coins. The initial phase of the work lasted several months. It consisted in picking out and cleaning the coins presumed to bear graffiti. The phase of reading and interpretation was also long. This report is therefore preliminary. There has been little time for analysis of the large, new material that has appeared. The total number of graffiti coins is now 1173, which is 10 times more than what was known before. The runes, which used to be practically unknown on coins in Scandinavia, now make up the largest category of graffiti. The number of coins inscribed with runic words or separate runic letters is 820. Many of the runic inscriptions have been noticed before, not as runes, however, but as 'scribbles'. Most of the runic words consist of

'God', either written in the older runic alphabet as *Gud*, or in the younger as *Kuth*. The name of the god of Thor, *Thur*, is also found.

The frequency of graffiti on the 8th and 9th century coins is c. 6 %. In the first half of the 10th century the practise of scratching graffiti is decreasing to c. 2.3 %. After that graffiti are very rare. The graffiti included in this paper refer to the following groups: Sasanian coins 6, Islamic 1145, Byzantine 3, German 12, Anglo-Saxon 4, blank flans of European type 3. The total number of examined coins: Oriental 34.000 (all), German, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian etc. c. 13700 (part only).

During the 150-200 years in the Viking-age when the practise of graffiti was carried on, there was a certain development. At the beginning of the 9th century there were two important categories, the Oriental (i.e. Georgian and Arabic) inscriptions and the Scandinavian runic inscriptions. Later on these are accompanied by small Tor's hammers and small crosses. The big Tor's hammers and the big crosses appear in the material at the end of the 9th century and onwards.

The crossed crosses and the hammer crosses date from the middle of the 10th century. The more uncommon religious symbols, such as swastika, crescent, sickle and Tor's hammer ring date back to c. 900. The graffiti which are depicting objects, like wapons, Viking ships, utensils etc. are typical of the time 900-950. All the time the runes are very common. From 900 and onwards runes and rune-like signs also seem to appear as owner's marks. This analysis is mainly based on the date of the manufacture of the coin. The chronological characterization will of course be more accurate when the analysis is fully supplemented with the terminal years of the hoards in question.

En skandinavisk mønt af karolingisk type fra Cuerdale-fundet

Af Marion M. Archibald

Det berømte Cuerdale-fund fra Nordengland, der blev gemt hen c. 905, er med sine ca. 8.000 mønter vistnok det største vikingetidsfund. Det har nu givet endnu en værdifuld oplysning fra sig. Blandt de ubestemte middelalderlige mønter i British Museum er fremdraget et eksemplar, der hører til en gave fra kong Georg V 1920, og hvis Cuerdale-proveniens – uanset tidsafstanden – er sikker. Det

drejer sig om et noget slidt eksemplar af Brita Malmers KG 7 (*Nordiska Mynt före år 1000*, Lund 1966), der her med får sin ældste sikre funddatering. Ja, på grund af møntens slidte fremtræden kan den allersenest dateres til ca. 900. På grund af de andre fundsammenhænge hvor KG 7 optræder får den ny opdagelse betydning også for dateringen af arkæologiske fund i Hedeby og for dateringen af Birkas tilbagegang som handelscentrum.

St. Edmunds møntmestre

Af Veronica Smart

Edmund, konge i East Anglia, blev dræbt ved et dansk vikingean-greb på Suffolk 869. Til hans minde blev der senere, c. 890-c. 905, vistnok i East Anglia, præget en serie mønter, der især kendes fra det store Cuerdale-fund. På forsiden er indskriften SC EADMUND REX, på bagsiden møntmesternavnet. Der er en vrimmel af disse, ikke mindst af vesteuropæisk, kontinental oprindelse, og St. Edmund mindeudmøntningen afviger i denne henseende fra alle samtidige, engelske udmøntninger. Artiklen giver et katalog over alle kendte navneformer.

Forklaringen kan enten være, at der er kommet en bølge af ny immigranter fra det vesteuropæiske fastland, hvad enten det nu er flygtninge fra vikingerne eller indkaldte, højtspecialiserede håndværkere. En tredje mulighed er, at de kan være efterkommere af medlemmerne af et navnemæssigt konservativt samfund af kontinental oprindelse.

I hvor høj grad cirkulerede angelsaksiske mønter indenfor de nordiske lande?

Af D. M. Metcalf

Med udgangspunkt i det store, af Brita Malmer redigerede værk om vikingetidsmøntfund i Sverige (CNS) diskuteres den af Brita Malmer fremhævede brug af probérmærker (»pecking«), og de muligheder undersøgelsen af disse giver. På den ene side har de vesteuropæiske mønter aldrig disse mærker i deres hjemlande, men de findes i de lande, hvortil de eksporteres. De ældste mønter i en skat har de fleste peck-mærker, og man kan formentlig ved analyse

nå frem til ad hvilke veje mønterne nåede frem til de nordiske lande. En angelsaksisk mønt kan have 20-30 pecks, og de må opfattes som en slags garanti for, at mønten ikke består af en kobberkerne med sølvovertræk. Måske er de mange mærker udført af købmænd, der prøvede sølvets finhed?

Forfatteren fremsætter fire synspunkter, som der argumenteres for:

1. Antallet af pecks øges ikke automatisk med møntens alder, følgelig har mønterne ikke regelmæssigt og vedvarende været underkastet probering, efter at de er nået Norden.

2. Spredningsmønsteret for hver types probérmærker, ordnet efter skattefund, er næppe fremkommet ved en samlet tilfældig proces. Vi må derfor antage, at skattefundene ofte samler grupper, der har cirkuleret på forskellig måde.

3. Æthelreds hjelmtype (1003-09) har ofte færre probérmærker end typerne før og efter. Følgelig har der været kortvarige svingninger i den hast som engelske mønter bevægede sig videre mod øst fra Danmark.

4. Halfpennies, der er fremkommet ved overskæring af en hel penny, har færre probérmærker end de tilsvarende hele pennies, derfor cirkulerede de halverede mønter formentlig efter andet mønter.

Originale engelske møntstemplar brugt blandt de skandinaviske udmøntninger af imitationer

Af Mark Blackburn

Det blev første gang foreslået 1961, at visse stempler, der blev brugt til at præge den skandinaviske udmøntning af angelsaksiske imitationer i slutningen af 900-tallet og begyndelsen af 1000-tallet, var officielle stempler fjernet fra engelske møntsteder. De kan erkendes, fordi de forskellige, regionale centre for skæring af møntstemplar hver havde deres egen stil. Denne teori om transporterede møntstemplar understøttes – men uafhængigt – ved opdagelsen af en stor stempel-kæde af mønter af Long-Cross typen. En del af kæden består af regulære engelske mønter fra York, mens den anden del består af skandinaviske imitationer, og det ser ud til, at fem par stempler blev bragt fra York til et møntsted i Danmark c. 1000.

En anden, lidt tidligere stempelkæde publiceres her med mønter

fra Crux og Intermediate Small Cross typerne. Den er også dansk og har fem par engelske stempler fra York. Der er fundet yderligere stempelforbindelser, som fordobler størrelsen af kæden og bringer den op på 184 mønter i 55 stempelforbindelser, og hele denne kæde publiceres her i forøget form. Tre af de nye forbindelser stammer regulært fra mønten i Southwark, og de forbindes med imitationskæden takket være et bagsidestempel, der blev bragt fra Southwark til Skandinavien c. 995. Adskillige nye forsidestempler i kæden antages også at være engelske. Andre aspekter i stempelkæden incl. imitationernes vægtforhold diskuteres.

En foreløbig liste indeholder 36 engelske forsidestempler, som er formodet at være bragt til skandinaviske møntsteder c. 995-1025. Den skik at transportere møntstempler var velkendt før den danske erobring af England, men den blev lidt mere udbredt under Knud den Store, og engelske stempelskærere fik også i opdrag at fremstille stempler, der specielt skulle bruges i Danmark, og som havde indskriften CNVT REX DÆNORVM. De transporterede stempler stammede hovedsagelig fra møntsteder i Østengland. Endelig foretages der sammenligninger med stempler som blev transporteret mellem England og Dublin.

Efterslet til Krinkberg-fundet

Af Vera Hatz

Møntskatten fra Krinkberg i Holsten, der fremkom 1885, er med sine 91 mønter det vigtigste karolingiske møntfund nord for Elben; det er nedlagt c. 790. Det gav anledning til de første forsøg på at udskille de nordiske efterligninger fra de karolingiske originalmønter fra Dorestad – et arbejde, der blev afsluttet med Brita Malmers disputats fra 1966, *Nordiska Mynt före år 1000*.

Forfatteren kan nu fremlægge endnu syv Krinkberg-mønter, to der tilhører en efterkommer af den oprindelige finder, og fem der er udgravet 1983. Der er én frisisk wotan/monster sceatta, fem frankiske denarer fra før Karl den Stores reform 793/94 og endelig én vesteuropæisk Dorestad-efterligning.

Det nye sceatta-fund, der slutter sig til et ældre løsfund af samme art, giver forfatteren anledning til at ytre skepsis overfor den nylig af D. M. Metcalf ytrede antagelse, at sceattas af wotan/monster typen skulle være af dansk oprindelse.

Medens sceattas i de senere år er fremkommet flere steder i Danmark og Sverige, er Krinkberg-fundet stadig det nordligste tidligt

karolingiske skattefund – bortset fra en usikkert overleveret Pippin den Lille mønt fra Vejr møllebanken ved Aalborg, 1807.

Malmer CE II / Hus

Af Gert Hatz

I artiklen diskuteres en nordisk vikingetids udmøntning, der af Brita Malmer i *Nordiska mynt före år 1000* kaldes CE II/Hus (Carolus efterprægling II /Hus). Den blev først fundet i en grav i Birka 1874. Dens oprindelse og datering har været omdiskuteret. Brita Malmer henførte den til sin kombinationsgruppe KG 3, der med al forsigtighed henføres til Slesvig-Holsten o. 825.

Ved en arkæologisk undersøgelse i Hedeby havn 1980 fremkom endnu seks Hus-mønter sammen med en Christiana-Religio mønt fra Ludvig den Fromme. Kun to af mønterne har stempelidentisk bagside.

Forfatteren diskuterer disse mønters mulige værdi som kilde til vikingetidens langhuses udseende, idet han her inddrager hele den relevante arkæologiske litteratur. Samtidig er det et spørgsmål hvor stor rolle templet på den meget udbredte Christiana-Religio mønt har spillet – iflg. forfatteren (og Brita Malmer) har det nærmest fungeret som idé til motivet.

Endelig kredser forfatteren omkring muligheden af at mønterne med Hus evt. kunne forestille et eller flere konkrete huse, specielt på grund af de udpræget nordiske elementer i motivet, men betvivler det til sidst.

Møntfundet fra Steinfeld

Af Peter Ilisch

Møntfundet fra Steinfeld ved Slesvig ansås med sine 16 mønter for det største og mest fuldstændigt bevarede fund i Brita Malmers kombinationsgruppe KG 7 (CE III – D III, Carolusefterprægling III – Dorestad III). Det blev publiceret 1952, men i 1984 dukkede yderligere 30 stk. op i mønthandelen fra dette fund, hvortil i den allerseneste tid [årsskiftet 1984/85] er kommet endnu to.

Forfatteren publicerer derfor fundet igen. Han konstaterer, møntstemplerne ved deres fremstilling afsluttende er blevet glattet med

metalfile. Carolus-siden var formentlig understemplet, og Dorestad-siden overstemplet. Vægtene på fundets mønter ligger tæt på hinanden, hvad der antyder en omhyggelig fremstilling af blindmønterne. Det er endelig bemærkelsesværdigt, at skatten er gemt hen på landet, og der kendes ingen andre skattefund fra egnen fra 8- og 900-tallet. Måske stammer mønterne fra kontakt med Hedeby, der evt. kan have fået levnedsmidler m.v. fra Steinfeld. De mange stempelkoblinger i de ældre dele af Steinfeld-fundet tyder på, at møntproduktionen har været beskeden.

Efterligninger af Æthelred II.s mønter i Centraleuropa

Af Stanisław Suchodolski

Forfatteren skelner mellem tre angelsaksiske indflydelseszoner i Centraleuropa.

1. Frisland og Nedersaksen, hvor særlig møntstederne Deventer og Stade var aktive. Muligvis stammer nogle imitationer fra møntsteder længere mod øst, i Mecklenburg og især i Pommern.

2. De centrale dele af Polen, områderne omkr. Poznań og Gniezno m.m. Af særlig interesse er en stempelforbindelse mellem mønter med Bolesław den Tapres navn (992-1025) og Æthelred II.s navn (fig. 1). Herfra går der videre stempelforbindelser, så der fremkommer en stempelkæde (fig. 2). Den angelsaksiske forside kan således forbindes med en bajersk inspireret bagside (fig. 4-5). Sådanne imitationer bør betragtes som normale for et nylig etableret møntvæsen, der vælger sine forbilleder blandt de fremmede mønter, som for tiden er i cirkulation.

3. I Böhmens møntvæsen ses direkte angelsaksisk indflydelse tydeligt i årene 985-995, hvor der sloges to udbredte typer, men det var kun motivet, som var lånt. Indskrifterne var aktuelle og lokale (for Boleslav II, 972-999), bortset fra en enkelt undtagelse (fig. 6). Senere under Jaromir (1003-12) kommer en bajersk type med en angelsaksisk inspireret indskrift (fig. 7).

Som forklaring på den angelsaksiske inspiration har der dels været fremført økonomiske grunde (F. Cach), d.v.s. mønterne skulle være beregnet for eksport, eller også at mønterne skulle være slået af angelsaksiske møntmestre i Böhmen (P. Radoměský), hvad forfatteren dog ikke rigtig kan acceptere. Han mener dog, at disse udmøntninger kan skyldes emigranter fra De britiske øer, f.eks. munke

der vides at have slået sig ned i Regensburg og Fulda, hvorfra de let kunne komme til Praha. Måske kan de have været behjælpelige med billedvalg og indskrifter? Ja, måske også med selve fremstillingen?

Dateringen af svenske skattefund og den ungarske konge Stephan I (den Helliges) møntvæsen

Af István Gedai

Det har vist sig, at skandinaviske, især svenske møntfund er vigtige for studiet af den tidlige ungarske udmøntning. Mod slutningen af 900-tallet var tosidede sværd, lanser og stridshamre – importeret fra vikingerne – udbredte i den ungarske fyrstelige hær, og de blev bl.a. betalt med ungarsk sølv, deriblandt mønter. Eksporten af mønter synes at være startet samtidig med den interne møntcirkulation, ja, måske er den endog begyndt lidt tidligere.

Den ældste internt cirkulerende ungarske mønt er af typen CNH I.1, c. 1020. Noget ældre er en mønt, der tidligere blev anset for tysk, signatur Dannenberg 1706a, udmøntet lige efter Stephans kroning år 1000, d.v.s. c. 1001. Den kendes fra nordeuropæiske skattefund, også i form af imitationer.

Der findes fra Sverige 45 skattefund, fra Polen 58, fra Sovjetunionen 16, fra Danmark 15, fra Finland 3 og fra Norge 2 skattefund med ungarske mønter og imitationer deraf, og forfatteren antyder, at imitationerne må komme fra de nordiske lande. Man kan hurtigt se om en mønt er en imitation, idet indskrifterne her – i modsætning til originalerne – er uklare og forvirrede.

Forfatteren går derefter over til at diskutere mønten, der har signaturen CNH I.7, som László Réthy ved udgivelsen af sit korpus i 1899 kun kendte i ét eksemplar, men med dobbelt vægt i forhold til de normale mønter. Senere er der kommet flere og flere til, så der nu i alt kendes ni stykker. Indskriften er klar og tydelig, møntstemplerne formodes fremstillet med punse. En vægtundersøgelse tyder på, at typerne CNH I.7 og Dbg. 1706 a er udmøntet efter samme møntfod. CNH I.7 kan dateres til c. 1000-1020, og da den er så forholdsvis tidlig, er den ikke blevet benyttet i det indenlandske møntsystem, kun gået til udlandet. Først henimod 1020 kommer en massevis udmøntning af CNH I.1., hvis møntfod imidlertid er forringet, da der netop er tale om en masseudmøntning.

Forkortelser

CNH = L. Rethy, *Corpus nummorum Hungariae*, I-II, Budapest 1899-1907, tysk översättning Graz 1958

Dbg. = H. Dannenberg, *Die Deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, I-IV, Berlin 1876-1905.

Lund – Odense – Lund. Numismatic contributions to the political history of Denmark during the late 1040'ies

By C. J. Becker

In a recent paper (note 1) the author studied the coinages of the Kings Harthacnut and Magnus the Good at Lund, at that time the principal Danish mint. It was mentioned that there had been a close connection between Lund and Odense (at Funen) at a certain time: c. 1044/46 the first coins were struck at Odense by Magnus by means of two moneyers who had previously worked at Lund. It was also shown that two original Lund-dies were re-used at Odense with new reverses (Chain I). During the wars between Magnus and Svend Estridsen, Magnus was obviously forced to leave Lund (and the rich province of Scania) and then settled in Funen. As is well known, a few years later, before or after the death of Magnus, Svend as his successor struck coins at Odense. Now it is suggested that Svend after a very short activity closed the mint at Odense, and that at least one of his obverse-dies was transported from here to Lund and then re-used (fig. 2 and Chain II). A similar story can perhaps be told about the coin fig. 3. The obverse belongs to the first type of Svend, but the reverse has no indication of moneyer nor mint (fig. 4,c). When G. Galster published this (unique) coin (note 8), he listed it among the Odense-coins, but there is another possibility, the not yet located mint of "Toftum" (see Hauberg, pl. VIII, 6-7). The reverse-type ("hammer-cross") is known both from Odense and Toftum, but so far not from Lund. Nevertheless the obverse of fig. 3 is die-linked with several true Lund-coins (Chain III). In that way it forms an interesting parallel to the obverse-die O-S.9 of Chain II.

"Long Cross" – Mynt av Ethelred II i Finska fynd

Af Tuukka Talvio

År 1981 publicerade Ian Stewart i samlingsverket *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands* en intressant artikel om hur de anglosaxiska mynten kom till Finland ("How did Anglo-Saxon coins reach Finland?"). Utgångspunkten för studien utgjorde den år 1978 utkomna Sylloge-publikationen av Finlands anglosaxiska myntfynd. Stewart konstaterar, att antalet stämpelkopplingar inom det finska materialet är påfallande stor (se tab. 1), och enligt honom måste detta bero på, att en stor del av mynten, åtminstone när det gäller "Long Cross"-typen, har kommit till Finland direkt från England eller i alla fall i orört skick. I samma publikation diskuteras denna teori också av bokens redaktörer, M.A.S. Blackburn och D.M. Metcalf.

En genomgång av de finska skattfynden visar, att det i ett fynd från Hattula socken i Tavastland (1950) ingår ett antal "Long Cross"-mynt, som skiljer sig från de övriga mynten genom att mer än hälften av dem är helt utan probermärken ("pecks") (se tab. 2-3.) Möjligen har vi här en del av ett parti mynt som har befordrats från England mer eller mindre intakt.

Direkta kontakter mellan England och Finland kan knappast ha förekommit under vikingatiden, men det är helt möjligt att penningssummor kan ha förts intakta över större avstånd. Således finns det från Bertby på Åland en skatt av närmare 900 arabiska mynt, som hade nedgrävs i ett orientaliskt bronskärl. Mynten hade av allt att döma transporterats från orienten i samme kärl. Det finns ingen orsak varför motsvarande poster inte kunde ha nått Finland också från andra håll.

The transition between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages and the origin of medieval coinage in Sweden (c. 1050-1200)

By Kenneth Jonsson

The paper deals with the transition between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages and the origin of medieval coinage in Sweden c. 1050-1200. Based on hoards and the coins themselves it tries to describe

the stages of development in the four areas of Svealand, Western Götaland, Eastern Götaland and Gotland, and to explain why they differ so much from one another.

In the late Viking period all four areas experienced an inflow of foreign coins. After a peak a gradual reduction took place in the first half of the 11th century, followed by a significant drop around the middle of the century. After about 1060 the number of hoards on the mainland were very few and they ceased altogether c. 1080. On Gotland, however, the hoards continued although fewer and fewer occurred up to c. 1140 when the youngest hoard with a Viking Age composition was deposited.

In Svealand there had been brief coinages at Sigtuna c. 995-1005 and c. 1025-1030 but these coins never played a major part in the currency of the area. The local coinage was not resumed until c. 1180 when Knut Eriksson (1167-1196) began to strike the first medieval coins on the Swedish mainland at Uppsala; these show strong influences from Germany. The new coins at once dominated the currency and it can therefore be assumed that trade with coin-producing areas was very limited before c. 1180, that the local need for coins was very limited, and that the coinage was chiefly the product of a royal policy.

In Western Götaland a royal coinage began c. 1185/1190 at the trading centre Lödöse. This coinage, which was originally based on practice in England and Germany, had problems to establish itself among the many foreign and Gotlandic coins which had had a monopoly before and which continued to dominate the currency until the first decade of the 13th century. It is not possible to say how long before 1185/1190 coins had been in circulation in the area, but a reasonable assumption would be since the middle of the century. The foreign coins also show the trading activities of the area but the mixed currency must have been a problem. The local coinage could have been started in order to unify the currency and to promote trade.

In Eastern Götaland there can have been no local coinage until shortly after 1250 but the area was well supplied with coins from Gotland which totally dominated the currency up to that time. At the moment it is not possible to give a more precise estimate than the second half of the 12th century as the time when the Gotlandic coins began to reach the area.

While no local coinage began on the mainland when the import of coins more or less ceased c. 1050-1075, the development followed a different pattern on Gotland when the same situation occurred in the first half of the 12th century. The coinage which started on

Gotland c. 1140 was not a royal one and shows more the marks of a trading organisation. It also shows that there was a need for coins which forced a local coinage to start when the import of coins ceased. This is no doubt related to the importance of trade for the island and the growing use of foreign coins as currency in trade during the Viking Age.

Some Danish coins with ecclesiastical representations before about 1150

By Gert Posselt

From written sources we have no reliable evidence of ecclesiastical holding of shares in the proceeds of the Danish mint earlier than the archbishopate of Eskil in Lund, 1138-77. During the period of the Valdemars which followed, and up to the 15th century, the existence of an ecclesiastical share in the diocesan towns was expressed in several coin types, showing personal representations of the King on the obverse and the Bishop on the reverse. The oldest coin of this type can be dated to the reign of King Erik Lam, 1137-46 (fig. 14 and 15). It exists in only two known specimens: one in Copenhagen of unknown provenance and the other in Stockholm from a find in Skåne before 1854. Lauritz Weibull has shown that the coin must have been struck between 1143 and 1146; although the rare coin itself does not offer any precise information, the Weibull theory is still valid.

During the 100 years preceding the minting of this coin, a number of Danish coins with a clerical figure as the only personal representation were struck. Among the attributes indicating an ecclesiastical connection, the crosier is the most reliable although we learn from a die variation of Svend Estridsen (Hauberg 76) that – at least in the mid 11th century – this can be dangerous to rely on (Note 4). Tonsure is another criterion but it can not always be unambiguously interpreted. Some types from Harald Hén and Knud den Hellige show a saint, according to the halo (fig. 1), while the unique Roskilde coin (fig. 3) portrays an ordinary bishop. According to various theories it may be Bishop Sven Nordmand (1074-88) and the coin could indicate that he has been given a *personal* share in the mint, although this theory can not be illustrated by any parallel contemporary Danish examples.

A coin type which must be dated to just after 1100 (fig. 4-5)

shows a man with a crosier. These rare coins do not bear any legend, which is unusual for coins from King Niels (1104-34) to whom the coins have been ascribed since the work of P. Hauberg. The number of dies is almost as great as the number of coins known, which indicates a considerable coining.

Finally we know some Danish finds of coin-trinkets with related ecclesiastical representations although we generally have to make some reservations as to whether these are domestic or foreign works.

Brakteater med indskrifter fra bisperne Gero og Ulrich af Halberstadt (1170-77/78). Enestående stykker fra Kungl Myntkabinetet i Stockholm fra det sydskånske Kämpinge-fund (1848)

Af Bernd Kluge

Forfatteren fremdrager 18 brakteater, fordelt på 9 typer, alle mønter, som har navne på Halberstadt-bisperne Gero (1160-77) og Ulrich (1149-1160, 1177-1180). De er vigtige, ikke alene numismatisk og historisk, men også kunsthistorisk, hvor de i deres sluttede fremstilling repræsenterer et højdepunkt i brakteatkunsten. De må stamme fra det sydskånske fund fra Kämpinge (1848), der havde 403 små brakteater og 75 store, tyske brakteater, hvortil kommer 27 andre tyske og 2 engelske mønter. Brakteaterne, der ofte er dårligt bevarede, er fra tiden 1160-90.

Forfatteren gennemgår bispedømmet Halberstadts mønthistorie og bisperne Gero og Ulrichs rolle i striden mellem kejser Frederik Barbarossa og pave Alexander III. Typerne 8 og 9 illustrerer pave Alexanders genindsættelse af bisp Ulrich, hvorved det blev en mindemønt af første rang, ligesom dateringen bliver 1177/78.

De nu fremdragne mønter viser hvor farligt det er at gå ud fra, at man tror man kender en mønttrække godt – tværtimod viser det sig, at der var et hul i 1170'erne, der nu er lukket.

Brakteaterne tilskrives den anonyme Halberstadt-mester der fra c. 1150-1180 skar brakteatstempler for bisperne af Halberstadt og abbedissen af Quedlinburg, hyppigt også for markgreve Albrecht Bär samt greverne af Arnstein og Falkenstein m.fl. steder i Ostfalen. Den her behandlede gruppe hører til hans mest fuldendte arbejder.

Artiklen afsluttes med et katalog over de 9 nye typer.

Coins in Late Medieval Danish Agrarian Economy Some Comments

By Bjørn Poulsen

It is now widely accepted that in the High Middle Ages coins circulated in large segments of Danish society. The author shows that to a great extent the peasant paid his yearly rent in money. However the existence of peasants' money rent does not tell much of the exact function of coins in rural areas. If we direct our attention to another medieval agrarian group, the nearly landless cottars, it appears that they paid their rents in money, too. The most obvious explanation of this fact is that their main product for sale, i.e. work, was partly paid in money. This indicates a rather high degree of monetization.

Taking as a starting-point R. Håkpes thesis of an 'economic landscape' the author now introduces stray finds of coins as a source of exchanges in rural areas. It emerges that medieval stray finds occur all over the Danish countryside. Attention is especially called to the metal-detector-finds in recent years. Evidently coins were in common use among ordinary Danish peasants.

The paper then discusses peasants' opportunities to accumulate coins. Only a few coin hoards can with any certainty be ascribed to historically known persons. A single coin hoard from Krøjerup in Zealand containing 40 pennies is mentioned as an example of a find where this possibility exists. It is probably the property of a peasant who was put to flight from his village in 1288. Generally we have to draw our conclusions from cases where we do not know the owner of the hoard. Two groups of hoards are examined. The first seems to indicate that in the years 1535-40 it was common in the countryside to own 50-100 *skillinger*. The second is larger and consists of hoards with Danish copper-pennies c. 1286-1332. It demonstrates that a wealthy man in the village during these years could be the owner of 7000 pennies, and that it was not at all unusual to possess 1000-2000 pennies. The documentary evidence supports the impression that the medieval peasant often had a fairly large amount of money at his disposal.

Finally the relation of peasants to the market is discussed. In this connexion it is pointed out that Denmark contained areas where peasants had good opportunities for building up capital. One such area was Møn – South Zealand. Active participation in the herring-

fisheries of the Sound and trading with Northern Germany probably explains a number of Late Medieval coin hoards from this area. The South-Jutlandic and North-Frisian areas were inhabited by particularly rich peasants of corn and cattle to Hamburg and the Netherlands. The export by these peasants must be the explanation for the extraordinary amount of gold coins circulating here in the Late Middle Ages.

Norwegian finds of Swedish coins struck before 1319

By Kolbjørn Skaare

Some 280 (≥ 279) Swedish and Gotlandic coins struck before 1319 (when Sweden and Norway came under a common king for the first time) are known to have been found in present-day Norway. From the table on page 244 it can be seen how these coins are distributed on periods of issue and from which of the three main areas, Svealand, Götaland and Gotland, they originate. In the catalogue, pp. 237-243, the 23 finds in question are listed according to the usual Norwegian topography, from the southeast and northwards. The more exact geographical location of the find places appears from the map on page 238. The district of Trøndelag (with neighbouring areas) may be pointed out as being proportionally rich in Swedish coins. Some comments on two finds of pennies of King Olof Skötkonung by Bernhard Hartmann (1847-1920) and C. N. Schwach (1793-1860), the poet, who both were in charge of the Trondheim museum coin collection, are quoted.

Coins from a stave-church in Gudbrandsdalen

By Karin Berg

In 1980-81, 892 coins and 1 counter were found in the stave-church in Ringeby. This Ringeby find now ranks as the fourth largest of our numismatic church finds.

The Ringeby coins reached the place where they were eventually found in the course of several hundred years. They constitute an

interesting longitudinal cross-section of local coin-history. The youngest coin is Norwegian, an Olav V 50-øre piece from 1977. The oldest coins were struck in England under Knut the Great. They were dropped, piece by piece, under the church floor during the early Middle Ages. Written sources from 1270 mention a priest named Sira Gror. The church must have been erected before that time.

One of the anglo-saxon coins was found in the chancel foundations of the 13th century church, and the other in the earth-layer on which the present medieval church stands. Other archaeological material and other disciplines/methods (e.g. Carbon 14) have to be called upon for the dating of the church buildings.

Most of the coins (739 pieces) are of small denomination and from pre-reformation time. About 30 % of them are foreign. Naturally enough, *Norwegian* coins are in the majority. The first Norwegian coins in the find are from the reign of Sverre Sigurdsson (1177-1202). Between the anglo-saxon coins and the 33 pieces from his time there is a gap in the continuity of the coin-range.

Håkon Håkonsson (1217-63) begins the 'Great Age' of Norway. Almost 83 % of the coin material dates from his time and that of his sons. Then the 'Great Age' drew to a close.

From 1319 onwards Norway and Sweden formed a union. Swedish medieval coins are well represented in the find. Key themes are the Black Death of 1349/50, and pilgrimage.

The German component of the Ringeby find is also considerable. Ox-head bracteates from Mecklenburg are dominant (75 %). Farmers from Gudbrandsdalen travelled to Oslo with products which were sold to German merchants; they bartered other commodities and obtained German coins, of which some came to be offered or lost at Ringeby. It must be *concluded* that the Hanseatic coins were accepted as currency. The noteworthy foreign coins found in Ringeby could thus be summarized in the following way: Swedish from the period 1320-1380; German from the period 1380-1533, and Danish from the period 1533-1814. Two main theories have been propounded as to how the coins ended up under the church floor:

- the *offering* theory: the coins should be seen as offerings to higher forces in order to attract good fortune in return;
- the *loss* theory: the coins have been lost because they fell through cracks in the church floor.

We have to reckon with both theories; some coins were surely pushed below the floor as part of some kind of magic, and others lost in connection with a church offering.

It is above all important to establish systematically *where* in the

church individual coins were found. The result is a chart on which the coins can be plotted according to a system of co-ordinates. From the chart it appears that the overwhelming majority of coins were discovered in the nave. The most striking feature is the large amount of coins south of the west entrance.

Most of the coins from there date from the middle ages. An explanation could be that the majority of medieval coins from this spot were connected with the *baptismal font* and the handling of money associated with it which is mentioned in written sources.

Another explanation (of the concentration of coins south of the entrance) could be that there might have been a *collection-box* here. Alternatively, there might have been a *pit* or trapdoor in the floor, into which dust and dirt and odd coins were swept down.

From the east entrance to the nave, known as the "area in front of the chancel arch", there came a total of 15 % of the whole collection of coins. In the opening of the chancel hung the triumphal crucifix. Under it the altar was presumably placed – a so-called *lay-altar*. It would seem quite reasonable that many coins would be lost while being offered at the lay-altar.

The Coat of arms with Three Crowns on Swedish coins from the 14th century

By Lars O. Lagerqvist

The origin of the Swedish three crowns, the national coat of arms, has been discussed since the 16th century, when the Kings of Sweden protested against Denmark, which used this symbol (and still does, in this country's greater coat of arms). It was then maintained by the Danes that the three crowns emblem had been instituted during the political union between the Scandinavian countries (1389-1521), while the Swedes claimed it to be the symbol of the national saint, King Eric, who had been killed in 1160. Neither of these theories can be maintained in the light of later research. Some experts in heraldry have claimed that the three crowns were established by King Albrecht of Mecklenburg, who was King of Sweden 1364-1389, and never used his native bull's head in his new country, where he had deposed his uncle and his cousin, Magnus Eriksson and Håkan Magnusson (see f.e. Scheffer 1965).

The possible origin in the symbol of the Three Kings whose relics were worshipped at Cologne has also been presented with a wealth

of material (Seitz 1961). In this connection the seal of King Magnus Ladulås from 1275/76 must be mentioned (Fig. 4); the lion rampant, which is the dynastic coat of arms of this king and his descendants, is here surrounded by three crowns. In a recent study (Lindgren 1984) it has been pointed out that these crowns might have been taken from the arms of Magnus' brother, the deposed king Valdemar, who had three lions crouching, all crowned, in his seal, but later – having lost his kingdom – used a seal where the lions are deprived of their crowns.

The author presents the numismatic evidence, which in his opinion has seldom been sufficiently considered by the experts in heraldry (with the exception of Seitz and Lindgren). In the time of the earlier kings, the crown is simply the symbol of royalty (Fig. 1), and continues to be so in the early 14th century (Fig. 2a). But when Magnus Eriksson (1319-1363), the elected King of Sweden and hereditary King of Norway, acquired the then Danish provinces of Skåne, Blekinge and Halland (1332), he soon used the title "King of Sweden, Norway and Skåne". A new coin was struck, which shows on one side the dynastic lion rampant, and on the other the three crowns, in the form of a triangle (Fig. 2b). Somewhat later is a bracteate (Fig. 2c), struck for both Sweden and Norway; this coin carries two crowns. It would seem that the crowns are symbols of the kingdoms.

Recently the three crowns have been discovered in mural paintings, which can be dated *before* the accession of king Albrecht (Figs. 5-6). The painting in Avignon has its origin in the late 1330'ies, *i.e.* when king Magnus visited Namur (Belgium), where he found his bride and might have used the three crowns as a symbol of his vast realm; the church of Ängsö (west of Stockholm) contains paintings, which were discovered some years ago and have been published (Nisbeth 1982) together with arguments for their dating to the 1340'ies (Ranke 1984 has put forward some arguments for a later date, but not as late as the reign of king Albrecht).

The first gutes from Visby and the Ebbelnæs hoard

By Jørgen Steen Jensen

The gute was the first greater, indigenous silver coin introduced in the Baltic region in the 14. century. Its weight was originally a little

less than 1½ grams, and its inscription tells that it was struck in Visby. The date of its introduction has in later years been somewhat discussed, the late Nils Ludvig Ramusson being inclined to date it to c. 1320 or the 1320'ies (based on the appearance of a single specimen in the English hoard of Knaresborough), while Brita Malmer has suggested c. 1335-1340.

The present writer discusses the date of the deposit of the Ebbelnæs hoard of 1948, which at the time of its publication was suggested by Fritze Lindahl to be c. 1346-1348. The sterlings and other coins with inscription might suggest an earlier date, but on the basis of the small Hamburg bracteates the author finally agrees with Mrs. Lindahl. The Ebbelnæs hoard has four gutes, and (together with the Knaresborough hoard, now believed to have been deposited c. 1328-1344) it is the oldest hoard with gutes. The gutes from both hoards are visibly a little worn, but some of the Ebbelnæs specimens are rather heavy, and several dies have been used (die-identities are traced and illustrated at fig. 1-3). The author cautiously suggests the origin of the gute to be c. 1335 plus/minus some years – a suggestion which in its cautiousness is not very satisfactory, but for the time being no other hoard is likely to give the solution (the Stenkumla hoard of c. 1800 gutes originally believed to have been deposited after 1346 has recently been dated after 1368).

A new type of the Stockholm örtug of King Karl Knutsson

By Pekka Sarvas

A new type of the Stockholm örtug of King Karl Knutsson (1448-57, 1464-65, 1467-70), known in two specimens, is presented (Fig. 1). The type is connected with Lagerqvist's type 3 (LL 3), and analyses of fineness and weight (Fig. 2 and Table I) show that the standard represented by LL 3 was adopted already in 1449 (the date of the earliest known Swedish mint-master's contract) and used until King Karl's death. With the help of die-studies, as yet unpublished, the author has been able to arrange the Turku (Åbo) örtugs of Karl Knutsson into a chronological series which shows, inter alia, that the form of crown in Fig. 3 is earlier than the one in Fig. 4. The new örtug type, the reverse of which is identical with LL

3, thus appears to be contemporaneous with the early issues of LL 3. It can possibly be dated to 1450 or 1453.

The coin in Fig. 1 belongs to a hoard found in Biskopskulla church in Uppland, Sweden, and the author discusses the dating of this and of a somewhat similar hoard from Oravaisensaari on Torneå River in North Finland (Table II).

In Fig. 4 an attempt is made to arrange the Stockholm örtugs of Karl Knutsson chronologically. The difference between the new type (Fig. 1) and all the others is that the first-mentioned gives the royal title as King of Sweden *Dei gratia*. It is tempting to see behind the abandoning of this title a conflict between the king and the council of the realm. In Sweden at this time the kings were still elected. The title *rex Dei gratia*, even though it appears on Karl Knutsson's seal and in his letters, may thus have been considered too pretentious to be used on coins.

Mellem øst og vest. De ældste litauiske mønter

Af Ryszard Kiersnowski

Litauens herskere lod sig først døbe 1387, og omtrent samtidig begyndte udmøntningen i Litauen. Dette land var følgelig den sidste østersøstat, der fik sit eget møntvæsen. Men mønternes ældste historie er ikke særlig veludforsket. Dog kendes de fra ca. 50 fund. Før Litauen fik sine egne mønter, brugte man (i 12- og 1300-tallet) sølvbarrer, der, i 1400-tallet blev fortrængt af Prager-groschen.

De ældste litauiske mønter kan deles i fire hovedgrupper, der tilhører forskellige tidsafsnit. Den ældste type (I) har kyrillisk indskrift »PEČAT« for segl samt en lanse og dateres til efter 1387. Den formodes at være udmøntet af storfyrst Witold i Kowno, Troki eller Wilno. Den følgende type (II) formodes at være fra Wilno, 1400-tallets første tiår. Motivet er en lanse med kors og søjler. Typen kendes i over 5000 eksemplarer og i mange varianter. Den næste type (III) er meget beslægtet med (II), idet motivet er rytter og søjler. Den dateres til c. 1410-1430 og er formentlig slået i Kowno eller Wilno. Den sidste og sjældneste type (IV) dateres til omkr. 1430, motivet er rytter og skjold med dobbeltkors; kun knap 10 eksemplarer er kendt.

Indskriften »PEČAT« på de ældste litauiske mønter diskuteres, om den kan være lånt fra et af de russiske fyrstendømmer, hvad der

antages i moderne sovjetisk forskning. Det foreslås dog, at inspirationen kan være fra Moldau, hvorfra der er et samtidigt analogt eksempel. Lansen med korset fra (II) og (III) antages at være storfyrst Witolds personlige symbol, og lansen ansås i det hele for Litauens nationalvåben. Søjlerne på (II) og (III), også kaldet Gedymins søjler, er det jagiellonske dynastis emblem, som kendes fra dette polsk-litauiske herskerhus indtil det uddør 1572. Det udtrykker dynastiets overherredømme over staten. Også et andet emblem er af statslig karakter, nemlig rytteren på (III) og (IV), og det anses for en af de ældste fremstillinger af storfyrstendømmet Litauens våben »Pogoń«. Det har sin oprindelse i de litauiske fyrsters segl fra midten af 1300-tallet. Endelig tilhører også skjoldet med dobbeltkors (IV) jagiellonerne dynastiske symbolik, og der antydes en polsk og ungarsk indflydelse.

Udmøntningen hører sammen med storfyrst Witolds organisatoriske virksomhed, og efter hans død 1430 indstilles den. Først under Alexander (1492-1506) genoptages den, men nu nøje støttet til polske forbilleder.

A late-medieval Swedish-Danish hoard from Lake Vättern

By Monica Golabiewski

In March 1983 some divers happened to find more than 282 silver-coins on the bottom of Lake Vättern outside Hästholmen in Östergötland, fig. 1. The coins were found together between two large stones. No traces of any shipwreck were to be found during the later archaeological investigations. Hästholmen during the Middle Ages was a commercial town. The hoard, which contains medieval Swedish, Danish and Mecklenburgian coins, must, according to their dates, have gone to the bottom of the sea in 1512 at the earliest. Tables, no 3 and 4 show the distribution of the coins in the hoard according to country, denomination and mint. 2/3 of the hoard consist of Swedish coins, especially *örtugar* from the mint of Stockholm. The earliest coin is a Swedish bracteate with crowned A, ca 1363-80. The latest coins are eight half-*örtugar* from the regency of Sten Sture the Younger (1512-20) dated to 1512-14. The main part of the hoard is from the period 1448-1512/13. From the so-called Sture-period in Sweden (1470-1520) there are 69 coins in the hoard; 45 of these are totally anonymous, i.e. there is neither

year nor regent to be read on them; these coins are described in table no. 3 as SCS ERICVS REX (St Ericvs King), a Swedish king from the middle of the 12th century, later looked on as a national saint. Inger Hammarberg and Brita Malmer, in their work on the project "The Monetary History of Sweden, the Sture-Period", have presented a die-link scheme showing that several of these anonymous *örtugar* were probably struck as late as during the regency of Sten Sture the Younger. (1984, in press). Traditionally the coins in question have been dated to Sten Sture the Elder (1470-97, 1501-03). Every Swedish regent and moneyer within a period of about 150 years is represented in the hoard, which accordingly could be looked upon as a rather extraordinary one. There are a few hoards similar to this, but none of them has a representation of regents covering such a long period as Hästholmen. It should be mentioned that the other hoards have also been found in or near medieval towns, fig. 2.

An investigation of the dies of Danish Frederick III two-skilling coins from 1648

By Sven Aagaard

Both in regard to the method of their coining and to their weight, two-skilling pieces from Frederick III's time (1648-70) closely resemble medieval coins /pennies/. The fact that so many examples for the two-skilling exist, combined with rich find-material (for instance 3,371 pieces in the Balle hoard from 1968) provides good opportunities, through investigation of the dies used, to discover details concerning their coinage which could also be relevant to medieval numismatics. Not the least important feature of such a study is the light it can throw on the absolute and relative durability of the dies.

A stamp investigation has been carried out on 512 two-skilling coins from 1648, 447 of them from the Balle find. 29 obverse dies (9 main types, fig. 3) and 94 reverse dies (4 main types, fig. 4) were identified. Only 2 reverse dies were not found in the Balle find. The representation of dies is therefore regarded as almost complete. If a correction is made for the possible use of dies in 1649 the result is a consumption ratio of obverse to reverse dies of 1: 3. Based on mint records and the distribution dates in the Balle find, the average durability has been calculated as between 7,800 and 15,000 coins

per reverse die. Taking the relative representation of the dies in the Balle find, the corresponding individual variation of die durability would range from 1,000 to 68,000 coins per reverse die. The potential for more certain calculations is discussed in the paper.

The die chronology is fixed on the basis of die-combinations (fig. 5) and punch chronologies (fig. 2). A conclusion is that the die-cutter only had one set of lion/crown punches at his disposal at a time.

The investigation concludes with a revised description of variants (table 1).

The Kushan chronology

By Patrick Bruun

In 1979 the sensational discovery of the tombs of six Kushan emperors in Tilla-Tepe in northern Afghanistan, close to Shibargan, was reported by the Soviet press. This was the first discovery of its kind. The abundance of grave-treasure, a total of about 20,000 gold objects, awakened the expectations of the scholarly world that landmarks of the chronology of the Kushans at long last had been found. However, information received so far seems to suggest that

the tombs are to be attributed to the Sakas of the pre-Kushan era, if the evidence of the surprisingly modest numismatic findings is to be trusted: some gold coins of Tiberius, a silver piece of the Parthian Mithradates II, but no coins of any Graeco-Bactrian or Kushan ruler.

Regardless of the secrets of Tilla-Tepe, a reconsideration of the chronological problems connected with the history of the Kushan empire has been brought to the fore by two remarkable studies by two experts of long standing in this particular field, Richard N. Frye in his *History of Iran* and Robert Göbl in *Die Münzprägung des Kušanreiches*, both published in 1984.

In order to clarify the diverging views on the history and the chronology of the Kushans, 13 coins in the Coin cabinet of the Finnish National Museum are described. They were seized by the Finnish customs authorities in 1958 and in due course turned over to the Museum. According to labels attached to them they had been identified and sold by the coin dealers Seaby of London after reference to the standard catalogues of the time. As compared with the *corpus* of Göbl, the dates are roughly a hundred years earlier. This chronological difference seems, however, to be due to the Kushan habit of ignoring the figures denoting the hundreds when recording dates after the first century of the Kanishka era, as shown by Mrs. J. E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw in a recent publication. Consequently, it emerges that the Kanishka era would have started about A.D. 230 and not A.D. 130-140 as most scholars maintain today.