

## Two new sixteenth- and seventeenth-century coin hoards from the Danish isle Møn – an overview and the Swedish coins

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### Introduction

This article to celebrate the 65<sup>th</sup> birthday of the Swedish scholar Kenneth Jonsson presents two new coin hoards from the Danish isle Møn, located c. 75 km south of Copenhagen. Both hoards contain Danish and Swedish coins and thereby testify to the sometimes cooperative and sometimes troublesome Danish-Swedish relationship. To my knowledge, Danish-Swedish numismatic cooperation has in most cases been mutually beneficial. Kenneth Jonsson, this festschrift, and the Swedish Numismatic Society behind the festschrift, are important parts of this numismatic collaboration.

The first find is the Magleby<sup>1</sup> hoard with 680 coins found in 2012 that contain nine rare Swedish coins, tpq 1535, and the other is the hoard from the vicarage in Stege<sup>2</sup>, ‘the capital of Møn’, tpq 1656. The latter was found in 2013 and consists of 157 coins. Only one of the 157 coins is Swedish, but the hoard was probably buried during one of the many wars between Denmark and Sweden. Conservation work on the hoards was finished in the summer and autumn of 2014, and this is the first report on the content of the hoards. Some of the ideas presented here are therefore preliminary assumptions made before detailed analyses.

### 1) The Magleby hoard

In Whitsun 2012 the enthusiastic amateur archeologist Loke Ried found the hoard with his metal detector north of the small village Magleby on the eastern part of Møn. He quickly contacted the local museum, and the hoard was cleverly secured by the landowner, who laid out several large thick iron sheets (driving sheets) in the area around it, and then parked a tractor with a wagon upon them.

1 The National Museum of Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, FP 9827.

2 Ibid., FP 9905.

The local museum, Museum Southeast Denmark in Vordingborg, carried out a small rescue excavation of the hoard on 7 June 2012. The museum and the National Museum informed the Danish media about the dig some hours before it started, so for the first time both television and radio could report live from the site during the excavation of a larger coin hoard from the sixteenth century. This was a great success, since the hoard was presented in local, national, and international media more than 100 times during the following week.

After preliminary investigations in 2012 the area around the hoard was excavated in October 2013. Coins from the hoard spread by agricultural work were found using a metal detector during the preliminary investigations and the excavation, but there were few other finds. There were no traces of buildings, fences etc. that could be associated with the hoard, and thus there was very little information about the hoard’s archeological context or original owner.<sup>3</sup>

The bottom of the hoard was taken up together with the soil around it. This lump with 93 coins was excavated by the National Museum’s Conservation Department. The excavation revealed no distinctive pattern in the way the different coin types were placed in the soil; they seemed to be deposited randomly and mixed together. In total, the hoard consists of 680 coins; less than half were found during the excavations. No container or traces of it were found, but the bottom of the hoard appeared a bit bowl-shaped, so it is most likely that the container was some type of organic material like a piece of cloth.

All of the coins have been cleaned by conservators at

3 Museum Southeast Denmark, reports: *Forundersøgelse Magleby SMV8511*, Mass Hoydal 18. Oktober 2012 and *Udgravning Okt. 2013 Magleby SMV 8511*, Mass Hoydal. I thank Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson for helping me with the interpretation of the reports.

the National Museum.<sup>4</sup> Most are very well preserved with a low or very low degree of corrosion. Very few are damaged, for example bent or fragmented by the period in the ground or the recovery, while coins with secondary treatment (mainly perforations) are present, but rare. The 680 coins weigh c. 1,290 g after conservation.

### Dating, composition, and other hoards

The hoard consists almost exclusively of domestic coinage (Table 1). Ten coins produced in Norway are considered domestic since Norway was part of the realm, and nine coins from Stockholm were produced in the name of King Christian III of Denmark on the orders of the Swedish king, Gustav I. It is noticeable that there is only one German coin (no. 680). The hoard contained no coins produced in the North German Hanseatic cities such as Hamburg or Lübeck, nor any Frederik I ducal coins from Gottorp and Husum.

The latest coins carry the year 1535 (nos. 658 and 670-678). Some of the coins, nos. 670-678, were perhaps produced in 1536 (see the overview of the Swedish coins). No Danish coins from Christian III (1534-1559) are present in the hoard. Not even 4 skilling from Aarhus, Copenhagen, or Roskilde, silver clipping coins from Århus 1535, or the 2 skilling 1536 that was probably produced from 1537 onwards.<sup>5</sup> According to Danish detector finds the latter is relatively common. The Magleby hoard is therefore most likely to have been buried during the Danish civil war of 1534-1536. The hoard was probably deposited in 1535, and definitely no later than early 1536. The war caused a lot of activity and insecurity on Møn, but the hoard was buried months or more than a year after the sacking of the castle in the town Stege on Møn in 1534. A Swedish navy helping Christian III in the war wanted to raid Møn as enemy territory in the middle of 1535, since 'the isle' still supported the enemy in the war. This raid was prevented, but a tax was levied in an act of extortion. A significant juridical purge began in late 1535 on Møn with punishments. Perhaps the specific threats of plunder, extortion, or the judicial purge led to the burial of the hoard; maybe it was *just* the war and insecurity in general.<sup>6</sup>

The two largest coins are the ¼ sølvgylde (¼ taler, nos. 343-344) 1532, while the small and very common denominations, hvid and søsling, numerically make up the largest proportion (c. 62%) of the hoard with 240 and 180 specimens respectively. The 115 pieces (c. 17%) of 1 skilling are very interesting, but related to value composition what is

even more exciting and absolutely extraordinary are the 129 pieces (c. 19%) of Danish ½ mark/8 skilling. A hoard from this period with this number of middle value coins is extremely rare – actually, there are no significant Danish hoards to compare with the Magleby hoard (Table 2). The large Assens hoard from Fyn found in 1927 with a tpq of *after 1526* only contained two søsling and 60 specimens of 1 skilling, while the rest of its 1,545 coins are the small hvid. Magleby has a much higher representation of coins from the period 1513-1533, which is after the period in which hvid were produced in great numbers (1440-1513), than other hoards with a tpq in the 1520-30s.

With only two ¼ sølvgylde and no other larger silver coins, silver plate, rings of precious metals, or even gold coins, and with many small coins, especially the poor søsling, the hoard is unlikely to have been a normal savings hoard. The domestic composition and the value composition also do not point towards a hoard directly linked to international seaborne trade or some kind of military campaign. Its composition with domestic small and middle sized coins indicate that it was drawn from the circulation around 1535-1536 in a region/a place not (yet) influenced by the coins produced in Jutland around 1535 or coins produced in Copenhagen or Roskilde c. 1535-1536. In other words, the hoard seems to represent the low – and perhaps also the middle – part of the local monetary circulation. Whether this was a strictly local (Møn area) circulation pool or characteristic for a larger regional area like southern Zealand and the isle Falster is a matter of conjecture. One might suspect the latter.

The 1 and 8 skilling are not common finds in Denmark, but a significant number of dies have been used to produce the coins in the hoard. Did these coin types have a widespread use and circulation in the first half of the sixteenth century, or did they primarily function as savings and/or were used in larger payments? Both the lack of finds and the presence of several die identical coins from 1515 in the hoard support the latter explanation. If this is correct, the buried hoard appears to consist of two parts – perhaps some kind of savings merged together with a significant sample of ordinary circulating coins (primarily hvid and søsling).

### The Swedish coins in the Magleby hoard

The hoard also contained nine rare Swedish coins (Galster 1936, type 249; hereafter G. type). I only know<sup>7</sup> of nine other specimens, and unfortunately they are all without a known find spot, and so far without collection provenances older than the nineteenth century (Table 3).

4 The National Museum of Denmark, 2012-012770, *Rapport over udgravning af mantskat fra Magleby*, Trine Wiinblad, 2014.

5 Jens Christian Moesgaard: Dateringen af Christian III's mønter 1534-1540, *Nordisk Numusmatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 2008, 119-127 incl. references, p. 122.

6 F. Bojsen: *Af Møns historie*, vol. IV, Stege 1918, 80 and 90.

7 I thank the following individuals for helping me with information about certain specimens and/or provenances concerning Galster nos. 246-251: Jan-Olof Björk, Frédéric Elfver, Bengt Hemmingsson, Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson, Kenneth Jonsson, Poul Henning Knudsen, and Monica Golabiewski Lannby.



Figs. 1-9. The nine specimens of Galster 1972, type 249 in the Magleby hoard.

The coins belong to a small group of types (G. 246-251) produced in the name of the Danish king, Christian III, during the Danish civil war 1534-1536. We know that coins to a value of more than 27.984<sup>8</sup> mark were produced, but only a few specimens, about fifty coins including eighteen specimens of G. 249, exist of the six types, and only in 1918 Appelgren published that the group (G. 246-251)

<sup>8</sup> This minimum amount is probably only the value of the produced 1 mark, Galster no. 246.

were produced in Stockholm from spring 1535 to spring 1536 on the order of the King Gustav I of Sweden. They were produced to pay German mercenaries and boatswains in Scania who wanted payment in Danish coins. The mercenaries and boatswains were hired by Gustav I to support Christian III during the war.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> T.G. Appelgren: Om märken, hänsyftande på ämbets- och tjänstemän vid svenska myntverk, *Numismatiska meddelanden* 21, Stockholm 1918, 47-76; T.G. Appelgren: *Gustav Vasas Mynt*, Stockholm 1933, 94-96.

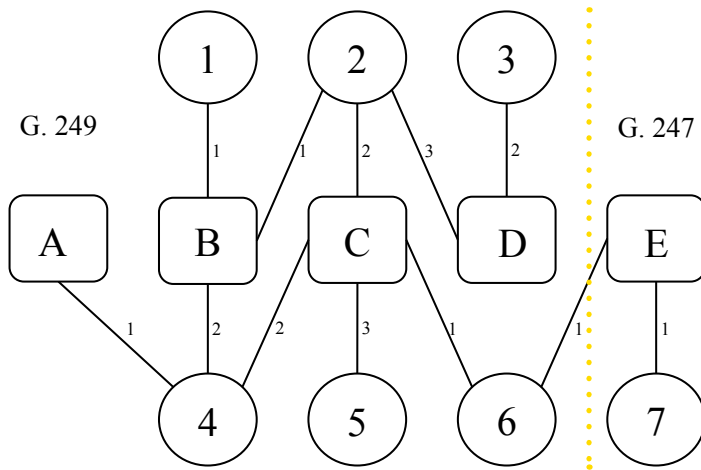


Fig. 10. Die net for Galster 1972 types 247 and 249, the types are separated by the yellow line. Based on the specimens in Table 3. Obverse dies are rectangular, and reverse dies are round. The lines illustrate die links and the numbers besides the lines the number of links. All four obverse dies and all six reverse dies of no. 249 are present in the Magleby hoard, but not all die-links were present. Nos. 672 and 675 in the hoard are die identical coins. The numbering and placing in the die net do not reflect the chronological development of the coinage/die use. Further studies of legends, die cracks etc. are needed to try to determine the chronology.

The type G. 249 is crucial for the date of the hoard's deposition in 1535. Appelgren dates the production of G. 246-251 to early 1535 - early 1536 on the basis of archival studies, perhaps only in 1535. Maybe G. 249 was only produced in the first half of 1535 (around April?).<sup>10</sup> This dating would fit with other coin types present in or absent from the hoard.

Four obverse and six reverse dies of G. 249 are known (Fig. 10). This would allow for a significant production, thousands or tens of thousands, but the coinage was (according to the finds and the number of dies) not very large, when compared to other sixteenth-century coinages. The die net in Fig. 10 might be complete or almost complete, since all four known obverse dies and all six known reverse dies of G. 249 are present in the Magleby hoard. In other words the nine specimens in Magleby provided all ten of the dies, while the other nine specimens did not provide any new dies. However, one should be careful, and should also note that not all die links were present within the hoard.

Unfortunately we do not know the metal alloys used in any of the Stockholm coins, G. 246-251, which make nominal-attributions imprecise. In literature and catalogues G. 249 is often described as a 4 skilling or a large 4 skilling and more rarely as an 8 skilling. I believe it is an 8 skilling, a half mark, due to the dies and weights within this group of coins produced in Stockholm.<sup>11</sup> G. 246 must be a 1 mark, while G. 247 and 248 are generally seen as an 8 skilling. G. 247-249 have the same diameter, and we now have a die link (Fig. 10) between the types 247 and 249 (coin no. 674 in the Magleby hoard). I know of three specimens of no. 248 and they seem to be die identical, and they are not – at least not yet – die-linked to 247 or 249.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Appelgren 1918, 50f.; Appelgren 1933, 95.

<sup>11</sup> In this simple weight study I have not examined the pieces in relation to wear and damage, but just included all of the known weights. Some Scandinavian auction houses have a very bad habit of generally not publishing the weight of the coins they sell.

<sup>12</sup> Jakob Rye & Michael Märcher: Nyt eksemplar af hidtil unik 8 skilling 1535 Stockholm, *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlems-*

The 4 skilling mentioned in the mint records used by Appelgren is more likely to be the types G. 250-251. I only know of one specimen of G. 250, and it weighs 2.80 g.<sup>13</sup> More than 20 specimens of G. 251 exist. The five pieces in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen and the three pieces in The Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm of G. 251 weigh 1.95, 2.01, 2.47, 2.58, 2.75 and 3.3, 3.0, 2.56 g; that is an average weight of 2.58 g.<sup>14</sup> The two pieces of G. 247 are 3.83 and 4.80 g, while the three specimens of G. 248 are 5.13, 4.30, and 3.75 g.<sup>15</sup> G. 247 and 248 obviously weigh more than G. 250-251, and the same is the case with G. 249. The sixteen specimens of G. 249 with known weights (Table 3) have an average weight of c. 3.22 g. G. 249 has a higher weight than G. 250-251 and a lower weight than G. 247-248. We do not know the alloy, but we have a die-link between G. 249 and the heavier G. 247. We need more specimens or other types of information to be sure, but so far it seems much more likely that G. 249 is an 8 skilling than a 4 skilling.

As this overview of the Magleby hoard shows, the hoard has much research potential. The National Museum of Denmark and Museum Southeast Denmark have planned an anthology with articles about the hoard, the excavation, Møn during the war 1534-36, metal detecting on Møn, etc.

## 2) The hoard from Morten Reenbergs Gård in Stege

The hoard was found by the bricklayer Lars Høj 22 October 2013. He was digging in a small room in the old historical vicarage in Stege during renovation work. The building is known as Morten Reenbergs Gård and it probably dates back to the middle of the sixteenth century (1540). The medieval town Stege is 'the capital of Møn' located in

*blad*, 2013, 74-75.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Märcher: Christian III's Stockholmmønter 1535 i Den kgl. Mønt- og Medaillesamling, *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 2013, 76-78.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Rye & Märcher 2013.

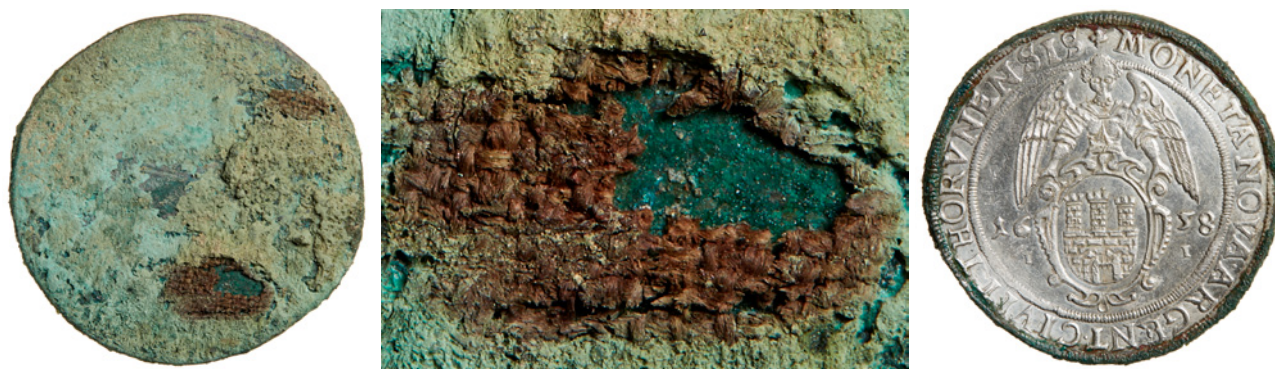


Fig. 11. Stege hoard. Coin with clear textile remains on obverse. Torun, taler 1638, no. 154.

the middle of the isle. Due to its location Stege had a lot of trade in the High Middle Ages, and no less than four hoards from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century were found in Stege 1898-1910.<sup>16</sup>

At least 80 % of the 157 coins in the new hoard were dug up in one spit. The archeologist from Museum Southeast Denmark connected to the renovation of the vicarage was quickly contacted, but no archeological stratigraphy or other context could be identified at the site.

The coins were probably all *in situ*. Some, or probably all, were placed in stacks/rolls. The conservation department at the National Museum has cleaned all the coins and found traces of textile, probably flax, on some of them. The textile must be associated with the decomposed container (Fig. 11).<sup>17</sup> The coins are generally very well preserved. A few are very slightly bent and a few bear deliberate scratch marks or markings, but the coins are generally without any secondary treatment. In terms of composition, 17 of the 157 coins are ½ talers, while the rest are talers. The 157 coins weigh c. 4,211 g after conservation.

### Dating

The oldest coin in the hoard is a taler from Saxony 1536 (table 4, no. 97, Fig. 12), while the most recent coin is a worn taler from West Friesland 1656 (no. 28, Fig. 13). The hoard therefore has a *tpq* in the late 1650s. This is the case with many Danish hoards, for example the three significant hoards from Balle (Eastern Jutland), Torvet in Køge (Eastern Zealand), and the Stock Exchange (Copenhagen), and they are generally believed to have been deposited during the two wars between Denmark and Sweden 1657-1660.<sup>18</sup>

16 Jørgen Steen Jensen et al.: *Denmark's mediaeval treasure-boards*, vol. II, Copenhagen 1992, nos. 193, 235, and 254-255.

17 The National Museum of Denmark, 2014-001039: Conservation report by Trine Wiinblad, October 2014; Analysis of textile remains on silver coins by Irene Skals, 28 August 2014.

18 Kirsten Bendixen: *Hvad Børsfundet gemte, Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*; Kirsten Bendixen: *Sølvskatten fra Balle og Christian IV's møntpolitik, Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og*



Fig. 12. The Stege hoard's oldest coin, Saxony 1536, no. 97.



Fig. 13. The Stege hoard's latest coin, West Friesland 1656, no. 28.

We do not know the owner of the hoard, but given the find place in the vicarage, the owner is likely to have been someone within this household, maybe the vicar – further local studies are needed to give better answers about the owner. There could have been good reason to deposit a hoard in Stege during the two wars, since Swedish-German troops had quarters on the isle in 1658 and since there was much military activity around Møn in 1658-59 in the second war because Møn was not conquered and occupied before the middle of 1659.<sup>19</sup>

*Historie* 1973, 1975, 131-181; Jørgen Steen Jensen: *To møntskatte fra Køge og Roskilde, Historisk årbog fra Roskilde amt*, 1979, 3-58.

19 F. Bojsen: *Af Møns historie*, vol. VI, Stege 1921, 30-53.



Fig. 14. Stege hoard. Danish-Norwegian taler 1651, no. 11.



Fig. 15. Stege hoard. Danish-Norwegian 1/2 taler, 1650, no. 10.

### Composition

In many ways the overall composition of the hoard is typical for Danish hoards with large silver coins from this period, but some unusual features should be mentioned. We know about more than one hundred Danish hoards that together contain several thousand talers. This hoard is above average in size; most of the hoards consist of less than a 100 talers, and no hoard has more than 500 talers.<sup>20</sup> The hoard contains fifteen Danish-Norwegian coins, one 1/2 taler and 14 talers (nos. 1-15, Figs. 14-15). Around 9.55 % domestic coins is a significant proportion of domestic coins. Taler hoards from the 1640-50s typically contain less than 10 % domestic coins, so this hoard contains a slightly higher percentage of domestic coins than the average hoard. The degree of medium and larger domestic silver coins in Danish hoards rose from none to often more than 90 % from the second half of the sixteenth century to late in the seventeenth century. The discovery of the important silver mines in Kongsberg (Norway) in the 1620s significantly spurred domestic silver coin production, especially of talers. The relatively high degree of domestic coins can perhaps be explained by the very uneven geographical distribution of the taler hoards in general; Christiania (Oslo) and Copenhagen were much more important taler mints than Glückstadt in southern Holstein and no mints existed in Fyn or Jutland. This taler hoard is the first one from Møn – and most of the hoards with larger silver coins (perhaps c. 80-90 %) are from Fyn and Jutland, which were occupied quickly and for a longer period during the wars 1657-1660.<sup>21</sup>

As noted above, more than 90 % foreign coins in a taler hoard is expected. The many foreign talers in Denmark are due to the lack of sufficient domestic production of larger silver coins and to general usage of foreign talers in Danish trade. Denmark especially exported cattle and cereals and was paid in foreign talers.<sup>22</sup> In 1642 the Danish export

was estimated to 37,646 oxen worth somewhere between 525,000 and 700,000 talers and c. 300,000 barrels of cereals with a value around 450,000 talers.<sup>23</sup> The goods were primarily transported over land or sea and sold in northern Germany or sailed to the Netherlands. For this reason most of the foreign talers in Denmark were either Dutch or German.

The hoard only contains one coin from the 'enemy', Sweden (no. 19, Fig. 16), and the Swedish part is normally below one percent. This is also the case in this hoard and also in general with coins from Transylvania (no. 157, Fig. 17).<sup>24</sup> Polish coins are normally c. 2-3 %, so the c. 3.1 % in this hoard is not surprising and the same can probably be said about the more than 10 % coins from the Habsburg monarchy/Austria (Fig. 18).

The relationship between the Dutch and German components of the hoard seems to be the most unusual feature related to composition. In several of the taler hoards, often one-third or more are made up of Dutch talers, primarily from the northern Netherlands. Only twelve coins (c. 7.6 %) in the hoard from Stege are Dutch, while around two-thirds are German coins. The German part seems higher than normal (c. 40-60 %). This uncommon distribution between Dutch and German coins is probably due to the location of Stege in comparison with most of the other hoards that are from Fyn and especially Jutland, which is much closer, and had easier access to, the Dutch area. The German coins are especially coins from Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and Saxony, which is typical in the Danish taler hoards. A more detailed analysis of the many different German coins/mints might show that the German coins in the Stege hoard are a bit more eastern in composition than the average German coin in a Danish taler hoard.

of counterfeit crown/taler sized coins, *The Numismatic Chronicle* 173, 2013, 433-435 and plates 81-85.

23 Poul Enemark: *Oksehandelens historie ca. 1300-1700*, [Århus 1987?], 9.

24 Jørgen Steen Jensen: *Hungarian thalers in Danish hoards of the 17. Century*, *Numizmatikai Közlemények 1979-1980*, Budapest 1980, 51-58.

20 We know around eighty Danish hoards that only contain talers and 1/2 talers. The largest is the Staby hoard from Jutland. Jens Aarup Jensen: *Staby-skatten*, *Skalk*, no. 5, 1975, 10-15.

21 Jørgen Olrik: *Drikkehorn og sølvstøjt*, Copenhagen 1909.

22 The foreign talers were so common in Denmark that they were also counterfeited. Michael Märcher & Sven Aagaard: *A hoard*



Fig. 16. The Stege hoard's only Swedish coin, taler 1644, no. 19. The portrait must be inspired by J.H. Elbfa's (1600?-1664) painting of Kristina (I thank Frédéric Elfver for this information). On this well-preserved specimen it is very clear that the central piece of jewellery on her chest is significantly higher/more raised than any other details in the motif. This particularly deep engraving of the jewellery in the die must have been done deliberately. The jewellery detail is often quite worn on other otherwise well-preserved specimens.



Fig. 17. The Stege hoard's only Transylvanian taler, 1621, no. 157.



Fig. 18. Stege hoard. Ferdinand III taler with the incorrect year 16550, no. 145.

The taler hoard from Stege is important due to its composition – it is not *just* another relatively small Danish taler hoard. It is large, in very good condition, completely preserved, and contains a lot of information. Apart from about five hoards with larger silver coins from Copenhagen and Elsinore and their surroundings, which due to the Sound Toll in Elsinore and the capital, largest city, mint etc. aspects related to Copenhagen, are special areas, the hoard from Stege is the taler hoard with the easternmost find-spot on present Danish soil. We know of a few taler hoards from shipwrecks in the Baltic Sea, but there are no hoards with larger silver coins from this period found on the island

Bornholm. It is the only one from Møn – and, apart from the hoards from Elsinore and Copenhagen, only five-ten hoards with larger silver coins from this period are known from the isles Falster, Lolland, and Zealand.

More detailed analyses of this hoard and other hoards from this period as well as historical studies in relation to the vicarage/the possible owner of the hoard would significantly improve the understanding of this exciting hoard from Stege and shed new light on an interesting period in the history of Møn.

Table 1. The Magleby hoard. Preliminary simplified coin list.

Nos.	Ruler	Year	Type	Mint	Galster* type
1	Christopher of Bavaria	1440-1448	Hvid	Malmö	20
2-7	Interregnum**	1481-1483	Hvid	Malmö	22
8-74	Christian I	1448-1481	Hvid	Malmö	23
75-86	Hans	1483-1513	Skilling	Malmö	29
87-210	Hans	1483-1513	Hvid	Malmö	31
211-224	Hans	1483-1513	Skilling	Copenhagen	32
225	Hans	1483-1513	Hvid	Copenhagen	34
226-253	Hans	1483-1513	Hvid	Aalborg	36
254	?	?	Hvid	?	?
255-256	Christian II (1513-1523)	1514	Skilling	Malmö	39B
257-307	Christian II	1515	Skilling	Malmö	39B
308	Christian II	?	Skilling	Malmö	39B
309-310	Christian II	Without year	Skilling	Malmö	39B
311-340	Christian II	1515	Skilling	Malmö	39C
341-342	Christian II	1513	Hvid	Malmö	43
343-344	Frederik I (1523-1533)	1532	¼ sølvgylden	Copenhagen	52
345-393	Frederik I	1532	½ mark	Copenhagen***	54***
394-399	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Copenhagen	57A
400-466	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Copenhagen	57B
467-546	Frederik I	Without year	½ mark	Malmö***	60***
547	Frederik I	1525	Skilling	Malmö	61
548	Frederik I	1524	14 penning	Malmö	62
549-579	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Malmö	63
580-595	Frederik I	1525	Søsling	Malmö	63
596	Frederik I	1526	Søsling	Malmö	63
597-600	Frederik I	1527	Søsling	Malmö	63
601	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Landskrona	66B
602-605	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Landskrona	66C
606-612	Frederik I	1525	Søsling	Ronneby	67
613	Frederik I	Without year	Søsling	Ronneby	67
614-615	Frederik I, electus	1524	Skilling****	Ribe	70
616	Frederik I, electus	1524	Søsling	Ribe	72
617-639	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Ribe	73
640-643	Frederik I	1525	Søsling	Ribe	73
644-656	Frederik I	1524	Søsling	Aalborg	76
657	Frederik I	1525	Søsling	Aalborg	76
658	Christian II (1534-1536)	1535	4 skilling	Malmö	86
659	Christian II & Count Christopher of Oldenburg (1534-1536)	Without year	4 skilling	Copenhagen or Malmö	91
660-664	Hans	1483-1513	Hvid	Bergen	153
665-667	Hans	1483-1513	Hvid	Oslo	155



668	Interregnum	1523-1525	2 hvid	Oslo	165
669	Frederik I	1523-1533	Hvid	Bergen	171
670-678	Christian III & Gustav I	1535-1536	4 or 8 skilling	Stockholm	249
679	Copper alloy with traces of motif, clipping design, coin?				
680	Saxony-Lauenburg, Johan IV	1463-1507	Hvid*****	Ottendorf	p. 23

\* Georg Galster: *Unionstidens udmøntninger*, Copenhagen 1972.

\*\* Bent Østergaard: Rigsrådets hvid – ikke 1448, men 1481-83, *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 1995, vol. 3, 34-39.

\*\*\* No. 384 is actually a ½ mark from Malmö, G. 60.

\*\*\*\* Axel Ernst: Bidrag til Ribe Mønts historie, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1948, 1-38, p. 15.

\*\*\*\*\* Bruno Dorfmann: *Das Münz- und Geldwesen des Herzogtums Lauenburg und die Medaillen des Hauses Sachsen-Lauenburg*, Lübeck 1969, p. 100 nos. 4-6.

Fig 2a/Table 2. Hoards from present-day Denmark with tpq 1523-1536 (1540s?). Notice the few finds made in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Based upon fig. 16 in Gert Posselt: *Borgerkrig, dyrtid og underlødige mønt*. Træk af reformationstidens danske møntforhold, *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 1986, 26-35.

Hoard and find year	DMS*	Danish Coins before 1448 and interregnum 1481-1483	Chr. I	Hans	Chr. II	Fred. I	Chr. II etc. 1534-1536	Chr. III	Norwegian	Swedish	German	Total	Latest coin
Skibstrup 1968	302			1		1						2	1523
Djørup 1884	303					14						14	1524
Vinkel 1853	304					?						?	1524
Middelfart 1851	306	9	50	73	1	20			1			154	1525
Æbelholt 1888f.	307	53	219	512	1				1		3	789+	1526
Voldtofte 1843	309	95	497	907	11	2			26		8	1546	1526
Gloslunde 1858	305	16	66	144	2	2			7		1	238	1526-
Assens 1927f.	308	103	477	926	15	10			9		3	1543+	1526-
Hedebogård 1886	310	7	18	35	1				2		4	67	1526-
Färevejle 1943	311					47						47	1527
Fabjerg 1932	312					19						19	1532
Assentorp 1849	313					13	13					26	1535
Fåborg c. 1879	314			6	3		10					19+	1535
<b>Magleby 2012</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>680</b>	<b>1535</b>
Hyllede 1832	317		?			?		?				106	1536-
Gravholm 1845	318				1			21				22	1536-
Teglstrup 1864	315			1		5		27				33	1536-
Stokkebjerg 1922	316			1		7		4				12	1536-
Brarup 1859	320	1	6	13	1	2		44			1	69	1536-
Allerup 1882	321					2		3				5	1536-
Svinninge 1883	319	12	73	123	2			8				218	1530-40s

\*Jørgen Steen Jensen, Kirsten Bendixen, Niels-Knud Liebgott & Fritze Lindahl: *Denmark's mediaeval treasure-hoards c. 1050-c. 1550*, Copenhagen 1992, I-II.

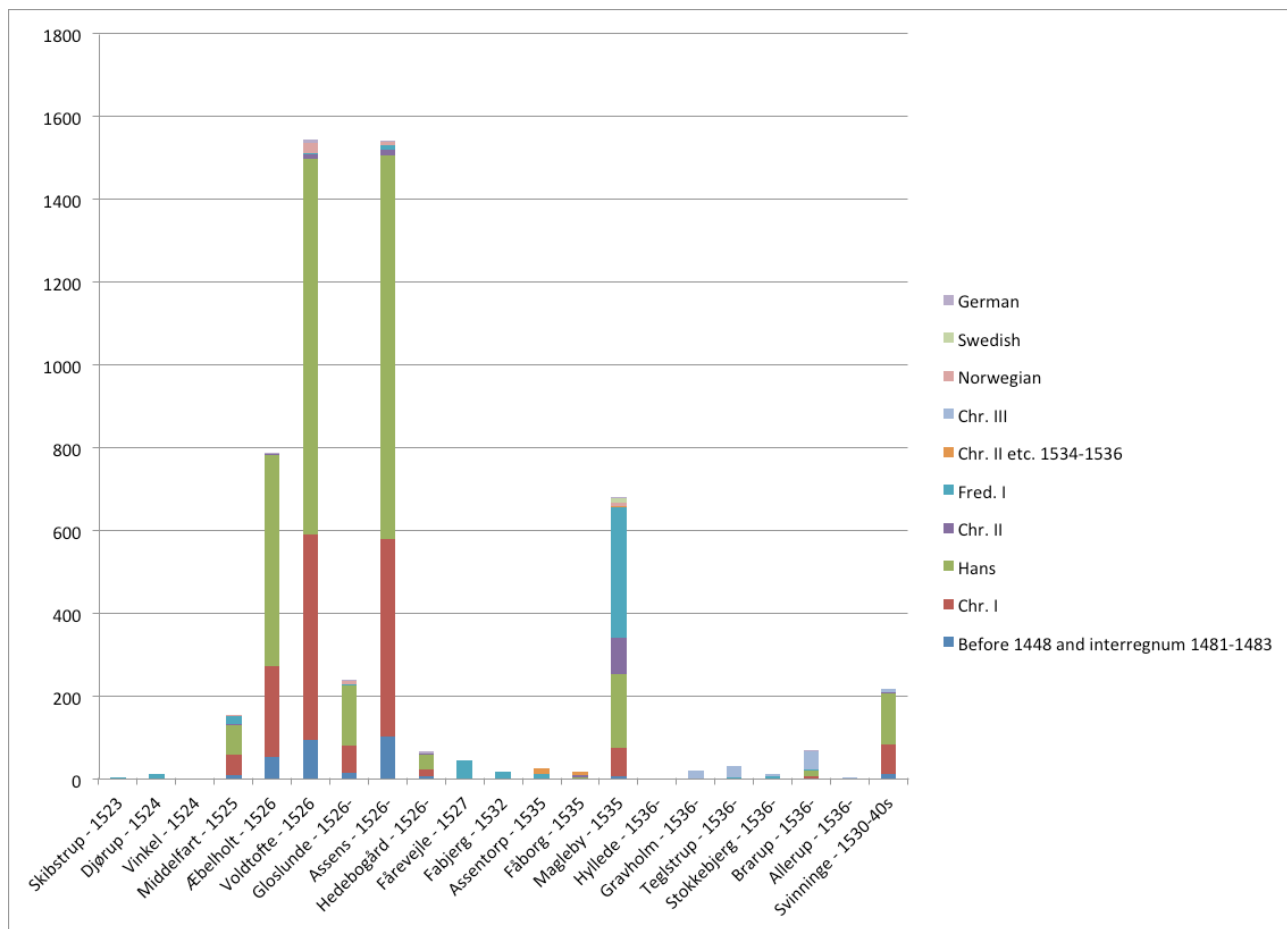


Table 3. The eighteen specimens of Galster 1972 type 249 and the two specimens of Galster 1972 type 247.

No.	Weight	Dies	Remarks
1	3.65	D3	Magleby no. 670.
2	3.35	A4	Magleby no. 671.
3	3.12	C5	Magleby no. 672.
4	3.68	B1	Magleby no. 673.
5	2.87	C6	Magleby no. 674.
6	3.42	C5	Magleby no. 675.
7	3.49	B4	Magleby no. 676.
8	3.14	D2	Magleby no. 677.
9	4.21	C4	Magleby no. 678.
10*	3.93	C5	KMMS**, no. B 16d. Acquired 1871 from C.J. Thomsen's collection: <i>Christian Jürgensen Thomsens Nyere Mønter fra Danmark, Norge, Sverrig, Slesvig og Holsteen samt hans Samling af Numismatiske Bøger</i> , Copenhagen 1871.

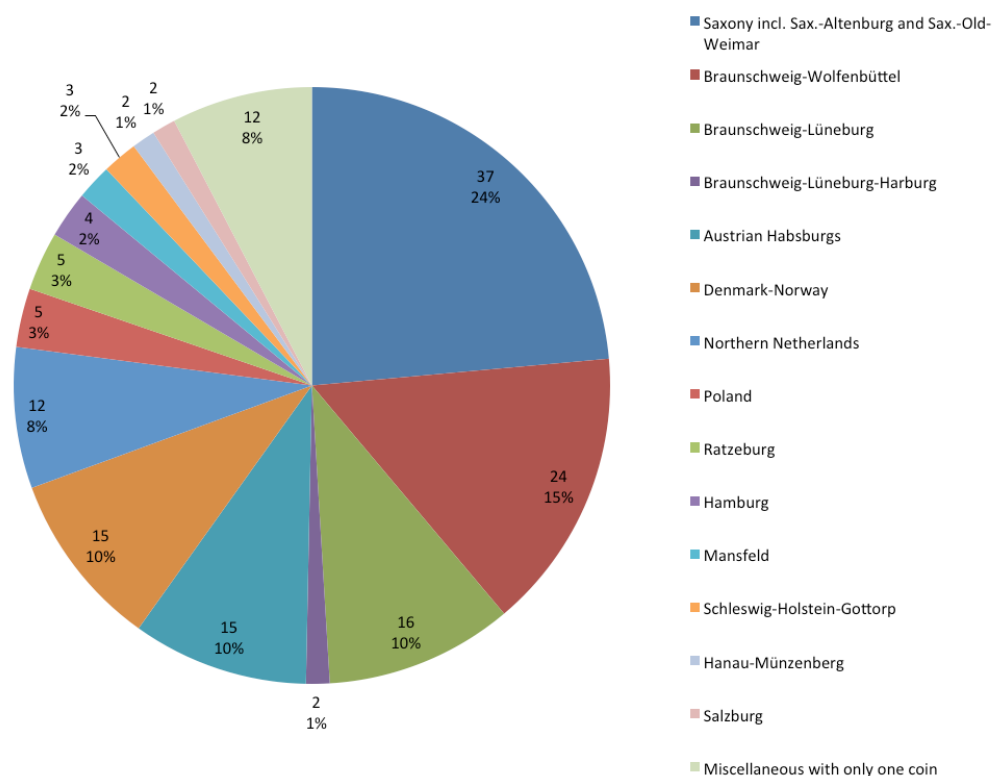


Fig. 19. Distribution of the 157 coins in the Stege hoard.

11*	4.12	C2	KMMS, no. B 16b. Acquired 1839.
12*	3.10	D2	KMMS, no. B 16c. Acquired 1859.
13*	3.22	D3	KMMS, no. KP 1715.5. Acquired 1929 from P.C. Hauberg's collection.
14	3.15	C4	The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, no. 102 371:2. Acquired 1994 as gift from Gunnar Ekström's Foundation for Numismatic Research from Holger Hede's collection, part III, no. 215, sold in Copenhagen 1994.
15	3.01	C2	Lund University Historical Museum no. 18568. Probably acquired before 1900.
16	3.96	B2	Private ownership. In the L.E. Bruun collection no. 4232: <i>Mønt- og Medaillesamling</i> , Copenhagen 1928. Coin previously in the Bille-Brahe collection. Dies known from H.H. Schou's collection of coin impressions in KMMS.
17	-	B4	Private ownership. Sold and illustrated: B. Ahlström Mynthandel AB Auktion 40 11-12 November 1989, Stockholm, no. 625.
18	-	D2	Private ownership. Sold 1992: <i>Lensgreve Christian Lerche's Møntsamling, Bruun Rasmussen Kunstauktioner 572</i> , Copenhagen, no. 1480. Previously sold: <i>Arne Bruun Rasmussen Kunstauktioner 382</i> , Copenhagen 1978, no. 80 and <i>Fortegnelse over afidøde grosserer L. E. Bruun's doubletsamling af mønter og medailler</i> , Copenhagen 1925, no. 1602 (illustrated). Double-struck and rotated 15-25 degrees between the strikes.
247-1*	4.80	E6	KMMS, no. KP 635. Acquired 1880.
247-2	3.83	E7	Private ownership. Published in Rye & Märcher 2013.

\*Published in Märcher 2013.

\*\*The National Museum of Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals.

Table 4: The hoard from Morten Reenberg's Gård in Stege. Taler-coins unless otherwise noted.

FP 9905.	Year	Attribution	Dav.*	Weight after conservation
1	1627	Denmark-Norway, Christian IV, Copenhagen, H.** 55a	3524	28.470
2	1639	Denmark-Norway, Christian IV, Christiania (Oslo), H. 5A	3534	28.501
3	1642	Denmark-Norway, Christian IV, Christiania (Oslo), H. 5A	3534	28.847
4	1648	Denmark-Norway, Christian IV, Christiania (Oslo), H. 5B	3534	28.219
5	1649	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Copenhagen, H. 50A, Aagaard*** T73.1 (49-2/49-3)	3540	28.685
6	1650	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Copenhagen, H. 50A, Aagaard T77.1 (49-3/50-4)	3540	28.481
7	1650	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Copenhagen, H. 50A, Aagaard T77.4 (50-1/50/7)	3540	28.727
8	1650	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Christiania (Oslo), H. 8B, Aagaard T21.4 (49-3/50-1)	3588	28.312
9	1650	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Christiania (Oslo), H. 8B, Aagaard T21.4 (49-3/50-5)	3588	28.160
10	1650	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Christiania (Oslo), ½ taler, H. 11A, Aagaard T22.2 (49-3/50-1). Fig. 15		14.032
11	1651	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Copenhagen, H. 50A, Aagaard T77.5 (50-1/51-1). Fig. 14	3540	28.738
12	1652	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Christiania (Oslo), H. 8D, Aagaard T38 (52-1/52-1, new die link)	3592	28.545
13	1653	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Christiania (Oslo), H. 14, Aagaard T41 (53-1/53-3, new die link)	3592	28.382
14	1655	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Copenhagen, H. 54A, Aagaard T83.1 (53-1/55-1)	3544	28.384
15	1655	Denmark-Norway, Frederik III, Copenhagen, H. 54A, Aagaard T83.1 (53-1/55-1)	3544	28.213
16	1612	Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, Johan Adolf, ½ taler, not in Lange****, cf. Erik Storgård: <i>Slesvig-Holsten</i> , 2001, no. 8.4 ( DVX SL E HO ST E DI)		14.083
17	1625	Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, Frederik III, Lange 323	3698	28.777
18	1634?	Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, Frederik III, Lange 326	3700	28.654
19	1644	Sweden, Christina, Stockholm, Bjarne Ahlström et al.: <i>Sveriges mynt 1521-1977</i> , Stockholm 1976, no. 16a. Fig. 16	4525	28.600
20	1562?	Northern Netherlands, Philip, Gelders, ½ Philip taler		16.330
21	1625	Northern Netherlands, Zeeland	4844	28.504
22	1625	Northern Netherlands, Zeeland	4844	28.333
23	1651	Northern Netherlands, Zeeland	4844	28.844
24	1651	Northern Netherlands, Gelders	4828	28.498
25	1621	Northern Netherlands, West Friesland	4842	28.131
26	1624	Northern Netherlands, West Friesland	4842	28.178
27	1654	Northern Netherlands, West Friesland	4842	28.592
28	1656	Northern Netherlands, West Friesland. Fig. 13	4842	28.707
29	1619	Northern Netherlands, Overijssel	4832	28.432
30	1653	Northern Netherlands, Kampen	4983	28.68
31	1655	Northern Netherlands, Kampen	4985	28.369
32	1622	Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Harburg, Wilhelm, Harburg	6405	28.306

FP 9905.	Year	Attribution	Dav.*	Weight after conservation
33	1642	Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Harburg, Wilhelm, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6413	28.827
34	1624	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Andreasberg	6479	27.28
35	1624	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal or Lauterberg, ½ taler, KM***** 7		14.41
36	1631	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal	6475	28.807
37	1632	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal	6475	28.313
38	1632	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal	6475	28.923
39	1633	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal	6475	28.857
40	1633	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal	6482	29.063
41	1633	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian, Clausthal	6482	28.685
42	1639	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Friedrich, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6494	28.68
43	1641	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Friedrich, Clausthal	6494	28.678
44	1642	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Friedrich, Clausthal	6494	28.717
45	1644	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Friedrich, Clausthal	6497	28.524
46	1639- 1641	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Georg, only reverse cleaned, textile remains on obverse	6508	29.559
47	1649	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian Ludwig, Goslar or Zellerfeld?	6517	28.669
48	1651	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian Ludwig, Clausthal	6521	28.85
49	1649	Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Christian Ludwig, Clausthal	6521	28.612
50	1548	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich V, Riechenberg	9045	28.815
51	1576	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Julius, Goslar	9060	28.898
52	1601	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar	6285	28.827
53	1601	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar	6290	28.195
54	1603	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar	6285	28.989
55	1604	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar	6285	28.801
56	1610	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar	6285	28.880
57	1610	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar, ½ taler, KM 22, only reverse cleaned, textile remains on obverse		14.865
58	1611	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius, Goslar	6285	28.462
59	1616	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar	6303	28.355
60	1616	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar	6303	28.910
61	1624	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar, Osterode, or Zellerfeld	6303	28.75
62	1624	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar, Osterode, or Zellerfeld	6303	28.677
63	1624	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar, Osterode, or Zellerfeld	6303	28.989
64	1625	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar, Osterode, or Zellerfeld	6303	28.876
65	1626	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6299	28.481
66	1629	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6307	28.771
67	1631	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6307	28.971
68	1632	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Friedrich Ulrich, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6307	28.406
69	1637	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, August, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6337	28.259
70	1639	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, August, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6347	28.780
71	1640	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, August, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6347	29.014
72	1647	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, August, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6338	28.499
73	1652	Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, August, Goslar or Zellerfeld	6350	28.742

FP 9905.	Year	Attribution	Dav.*	Weight after conservation
74	1590	Mansfeld, Christopher II, Eisleben	9525	28.625
75	1596- 1611	Mansfeld, only reverse cleaned, textile remains on obverse	9499, 6932	29.836
76	1629	Mansfeld, Friedrich Christoph, Eisleben	7010	28.483
77	1629	Pomerania, Bugislav XIV, bishop of Cammin, Koszalin	7268	28.464
78	1633	Brandenburg, Georg Wilhelm	cf.6151- 6157	28.826
79	1634	Ratzeburg, August, Clausthal	5732	29.097
80	1636	Ratzeburg, August, Clausthal	5732	28.790
81	1635	Ratzeburg, August, Clausthal, ½ taler		13.992
82	1636	Ratzeburg, August, Clausthal or Zellerfeld	5736	28.699
83	1636	Ratzeburg, August, Clausthal or Zellerfeld	cf. 5737	28.793
141	1623	Quedlinburg, ½ taler, Manfred Mehl: <i>Die Münzen des Stiftes Quedlinburg</i> , Hamburg 2006, no. 484b		14.159
84	1631	Lüneburg, year not in Dav. or KM 60, but already present in The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals	5467	28.839
85	1626	Hildesheim	5420	28.770
86	1638	Braunschweig	5129	29.221
87	1576- 1612	Hamburg, Otto Christian Gaedechens: <i>Hamburgische Münzen und Medaillen</i> , Hamburg 1854, no. 367		28.620
88	1620	Hamburg	5364	28.501
89	1636	Hamburg	5365	28.223
90	1640	Hamburg	5366	28.791
91	1623	Hanau-Münzenberg, Catharina Belgica	6688	28.938
92	1624	Hanau-Münzenberg, Catharina Belgica	6688	28.565
93	1596	Saxe-Old-Weimar, Friedrich Wilhelm I & Johann III, Saalfeld, ½ taler, Lothar Koppe: <i>Die Münzen des Hauses Sachsen-Weimar 1573 bis 1918</i> , Regenstauf 2007, no. 98a		14.317
94	1607	Saxe-Altenburg, Johann Philipp, Friedrich, Johann Wilhelm, and Friedrich Wilhelm II, Saalfeld, ½ taler	7361	14.426
95	1623	Saxe-Altenburg, Johann Philipp, Friedrich, Johann Wilhelm, and Friedrich Wilhelm II, Saalfeld	7371	28.595
96	1624	Saxe-Altenburg, Johann Philipp, Friedrich, Johann Wilhelm, and Friedrich Wilhelm II, Saalfeld	7371	28.440
97	1536	Saxony, Johann Friedrich & Georg, Freiberg, Fig. 12	9721	28.437
98	1557	Saxony, August, Annaberg	9791	28.546
99	1573	Saxony, August, Dresden	9798	28.733
100	1582	Saxony, August, Dresden	9798	28.969
101	1586	Saxony, August, Dresden	9798	28.809
102	1589	Saxony, Christian, Dresden	9806	28.720
103	1598	Saxony, Christian II, Johann Georg & August, Dresden	9820	28.74
104	1595	Saxony, Christian II, Johann Georg & August, Dresden, ½ taler		13.991
105	1604	Saxony, Christian, II Chemnitz	7561	28.999
106	1604	Saxony, Christian II, Johann Georg & August, Chemnitz, ½ taler, KM 14		14.072
107	1607	Saxony, Christian II, Johann Georg & August, Chemnitz, ½ taler, KM 14		14.26

FP 9905.	Year	Attribution	Dav.*	Weight after conservation
108	1609	Saxony, Christian II, Johann Georg & August, Chemnitz	7566	29.043
109	1612	Saxony, Johann Georg & August of Naumburg, Chemnitz	7573	28.789
110	1616	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7589	28.969
111	1617	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7591	28.938
112	1620- 1638	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz, year covered by corrosion	7601	28.767
113	1623	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.779
114	1623	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.774
115	1624	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.819
116	1624	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.742
117	1624	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz, ½ taler, KM 102		14.357
118	1626	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.740
119	1626	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.798
120	1628	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.751
121	1629	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7601	28.708
122	1630	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7606	28.515
123	1631	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz, ½ taler, KM 410		14.436
124	1632	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz, only reverse cleaned, textile remains on obverse	7601	29.267
125	1642	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz, ½ taler, KM 410		14.393
126	1645	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7612	28.739
127	1647	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7612	28.587
128	1651	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz	7612	28.795
129	1651	Saxony, Johann Georg, Chemnitz, ½ taler, KM 410		14.398
130	154?	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand, Jáchymov, ½ taler		13.644
131	1564-	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand posthumous, Hall	8030	28.382
132	1564- 1595	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand, Hall	8097ff.	28.198
133	1602	Habsburg monarchy, Rudolf II, Kremnica	3013	28.040
134	1607	Habsburg monarchy, Rudolf II, Hall	3006	28.34
135	1616	Habsburg monarchy, Maximilian, Hall	3322	28.529
136	1618	Habsburg monarchy, Maximilian, Hall	3324	28.399
137	1620	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand II, Vienna	3074	28.627
138	1620	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand II, Klagenfurt	3112	27.875
139	1621	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand II, Graz	3100	27.017
140	1621	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand II, Klagenfurt	3115	28.312
142	1624	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand II, Jáchymov	3141	28.527
143	1632	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand II, Kremnica, ½ taler, KM 73		14.20
144	1637- 1661	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand III, Kremnica, only obverse cleaned, textile remains on reverse	3198	29.462
145	1650	Habsburg monarchy, Ferdinand III, Kremnica, incorrect year: 16550. Fig. 18	3198	28.389
146	1631?	Mainz, Anselm Casimir von Umstadt	5548	28.437
147	1587- 1612	Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau	8187	28.384

FP 9905.	Year	Attribution	Dav.*	Weight after conservation
148	1621	Salzburg, Paris von Lodron	3497	28.585
149	1625	Nurnberg	5636	29.061
150	1642	Augsburg	5039	28.742
151	1543	Kaufbeuren	9351	28.130
152	1649	Poland, Gdansk, Johann Casimir	4358	29.218
153	1633	Poland, Torun, Wladyslaw IV	4374	28.223
154	1638	Poland, Torun, Wladyslaw IV, only reverse cleaned, textile remains on obverse. Fig. 11	4374	29.110
155	1630	Poland, Sigismund III, Kraków	4316	28.640
156	1631	Poland, Sigismund III, Kraków	4316	28.333
157	1621	Transylvania, Gabriel Bethlen, Kremnica. Fig. 17	4710	28.124

\*John S. Davenport:

*German church and city talers 1600-1700*, Galesburg, Ill. 1967.

*European crowns 1600-1700*, Galesburg, Ill. 1974.

*German secular talers 1600-1700*, Frankfurt am Main 1976.

*European crowns 1484-1600*, Frankfurt am Main 1977.

*German talers 1500-1600*, Frankfurt am Main 1979.

\*\*Holger Hede: *Danmark og Norges mønter 1541-1814-1977*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., Copenhagen 1978.

\*\*\*Sven Aagaard: *Frederik III guldmønt og speciemønt 1648-1670*, København 2011. I thank Sven Aagaard for die identifications of the Danish-Norwegian coins in this hoard.

\*\*\*\*Christian Lange: *Sammlung Schleswig-Holsteinischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Berlin 1908-1912, I-II.

\*\*\*\*\*Colin R. Bruce et al. (ed.): *Standard catalog of world coins: seventeenth century 1600-1700*, Iola, Wis., 2008.