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MONNAIES
ARCHÉOLOGES

THE JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL NUMISMATICS

VOLUME 10 – 2020



**Archéologie des dépôts monétaires
Archaeology of Monetary Deposits**

Textes édités par Thibault CARDON

CEN - BRUXELLES

THE BJÆVERSKOV HOARD, C. 1259. HOW TO HANDLE WEALTH IN A *RENOVATIO MONETAE* SYSTEM

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Abstract – The hoard of Bjæverskov was found during excavation of a small medieval manor in 1999, some 40 km SW of Copenhagen, Denmark. Almost 2 500 coins and a few pieces of jewellery were concealed in a bronze caldron. The latest coins are from the very last years of the 1250s, and the hoard may be put in relation to the civil war between the king and his opponents in 1259. The owner of the hoard, possibly the local magnate living at the manor, was probably killed while participating in the unrest. The caldron was found *in situ* and was excavated meticulously at the museum. Except for a few coins disturbed by rodents, the artefacts were still kept in three leather bags, one of them containing several textile purses. The hoard thus consisted in eight sub-parcels. It turned out, that the coins had been very

carefully sorted out. C. 200 pre-1241 coins of better silver content than the later issues were kept in a separate textile purse. C. 850 coins of c. 30 different types, struck in the 1240s and the 1250s were kept along with the pieces of jewellery in a separate leather bag. Finally, the last 6 sub-parcels totalising c. 1 400 coins were almost exclusively composed by one single coin type from the late 1250s, that must have been the legal sole legal tender at the time of the deposit, according to the *renovatio monetæ* system, that banned old coins from circulation. This is why the owner kept his old coins apart, carefully sorted according to their silver content, hoping to be able to trade them at a higher price at the market than the unfavourable official rate given by the mint.

Keywords: Denmark – Middle Ages – Hoard – Excavation – Caldron – *renovatio monetæ* – handling of wealth

Résumé – Le trésor de Bjæverskov fut découvert lors des fouilles d'un petit manoir médiéval en 1999, à environ 40 km au sud-ouest de Copenhague, Danemark. Un peu moins de 2 500 monnaies et quelques bijoux d'argent étaient contenus dans un chaudron en bronze. Les monnaies les plus récentes datent de l'extrême fin des années 1250 ; l'enfouissement est peut-être lié à la guerre civile entre le roi et ses opposants en 1259. Le propriétaire du trésor, qui est vraisemblablement l'aristocrate local habitant le manoir, fut peut-être tué pendant les troubles. Le chaudron fut découvert *in situ*, puis soigneusement fouillé au musée. Mis à part quelques monnaies déplacées par des rongeurs, les objets se trouvaient toujours dans trois sacs en cuir, dont un contenait des sachets en tissu. Ainsi, le trésor était divisé en huit sous-ensembles. L'étude a démontré que les monnaies étaient triées selon leur types. Environ

200 pièces antérieures à 1241, contenant plus d'argent que les pièces postérieures, se trouvaient ensemble dans un sachet de tissu. Environ 850 pièces réparties en une trentaine de types différents fabriqués dans les années 1240 et 1250 étaient enfermées avec les bijoux dans un sac de cuir à part. Enfin, les six derniers sous-ensembles comprenaient en tout environ 1 400 pièces, dont la quasi-totalité était d'un seul type. Ce dernier était sans aucun doute le seul type ayant officiellement cours au moment de l'enfouissement, en accord avec le système de la *renovatio monetæ*, ôtant la validité aux pièces antérieures. Ce fait explique pourquoi le propriétaire gardait les pièces anciennes à part, en les triant selon leur contenu d'argent. Il espérait sans doute en tirer un meilleur prix sur le marché par rapport au cours défavorable offert par l'atelier monétaire.

Mots clés : Danemark – Moyen Âge – trésor – fouilles archéologiques – chaudron – *renovatio monetæ* – gestion des biens

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Fig. 1 – Map of Denmark with the location of Bjæverskov.
Drawing: Freerk Oldenburger,
National Museum of Denmark

ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF HOARDS are found during excavation. It is also relatively unusual that a hoard is virtually undisturbed by later earth work or the plough. Both were the case at the Danish site of Tingbjerggård at Bjæverskov c. 40 km SW of Copenhagen (fig. 1). This happy double coincidence gives us a unique opportunity to get very close to the circumstances of the deposition: the owner, his social standing, the political situation, and not the least, the way the owner handled his wealth.

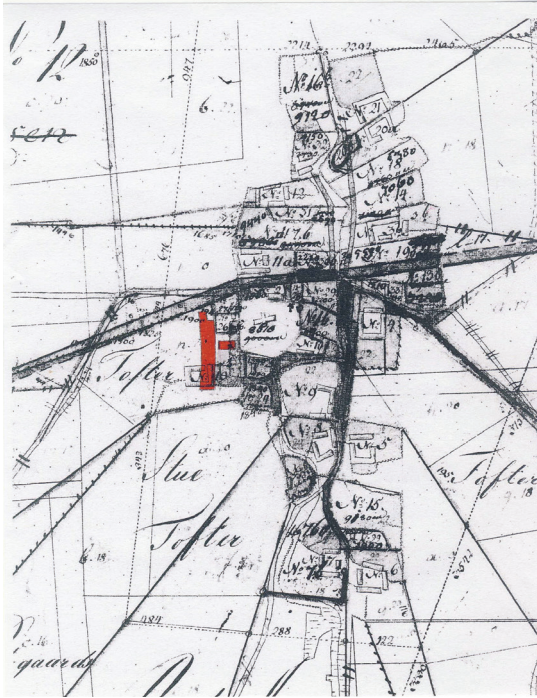


Fig. 2 – Zoom from the land register map of the parish of Bjæverskov, drawn 1805, with the excavation 1999 marked in red (addition by Svend Åge Tornbjerg).



Fig. 3 – The caldron in situ in the trench with the church in the background. Photo: Svend Åge Tornbjerg, 1999, digital treatment Torben Juul Hansen

In 1998, the congregation council of the parish of Bjæverskov decided to lay out a parking lot to the west of the churchyard. At the time, the plot was used as a field, but according to the old land register map drawn in 1805^[1] (fig. 2), a farm covered the southern part of the site, and therefore it was decided to check the site archaeologically before the construction work. Consequently, the archaeologist Svend Åge Tornbjerg of the Museum of Køge did trial trenches in March 1999 on the field that documented well preserved cultural layers and traces of constructions. During the routine check of the interior sides of one of the trial trenches, the metal detector gave an unexpectedly clear signal. It turned out to be a bronze tripod caldron full of coins and jewellery from the 13th century, still intact and in situ (fig. 3). This discovery arose local and national interest, and after the completion of the parking lot, the congregation council erected a stone at the find spot to commemorate the find (fig. 4).

1. THE MANOR/FARM

The subsequent excavation by Køge Museum of the site revealed several medieval buildings og other structures, such as fences and pits, making up a farm (Tornbjerg 1999a; Woller 2000). To the north, the plot bordered the road from Køge to Ringsted, that at this place was moved

[1] https://hkpn.gst.dk/mapviewer.aspx?type=o1k_oekort&id=1914&elav=0310151



Fig. 4 – Stone commemorating the discovery of the hoard, placed near the new congregation house of the parish of Bjæverskov. Photo: Jens Christian Moesgaard, 2016

slightly to the south in the early 19th c. in order to be rectified^[2] (fig. 2), but may have been at more or less the same place in the Middle Ages. The southern portion of the excavation was void of medieval constructions. The fields west and south of the excavation were surveyed by metal detector, and no medieval artefacts were found. In 2009-2010, the field right west of the 1999 excavation was explored prior to the construction of a new parish congregation house (Felding 2010). The excavation revealed the western part of a north-south medieval building, whose eastern part had been observed in 1999 (Felding 2010, p. 16)^[3]. No other medieval structures were found in 2010. We thus almost certainly have the northern, southern and the western limits of the farm. To the east, the limit may have been the churchyard wall, but we do not know whether the present one is medieval or the result of a hypothetical later extension of the church yard.

The southern-most building (Building 13 (1999)) could be followed at exactly the same spot during five phases, spanning from the 12th c. to c. 1400 (Woller 2000, p. 9-10, 13). The stratigraphy and the assemblage of artefacts found^[4] show that the rich thick culture layer immediately around the house was contemporary to this succession of buildings. As the eastern part of the house lay outside the limits of the excavation, the length of the house is not known. The minimum length and the width of the 5 phases are indicated in the table fig. 5. The building 13a was of a respectable size, whereas the others are more ordinary size for farm building. Finds of Baltic ware ceramics date the building 13a to the 13th c. at the latest. A sherd of externally glazed ware dates building 13e to post-1250. The upper part of the cultural layer contained pottery and coins dated c. 1400. A clay floor of 6x12 m (feature 221, Woller 2000, p. 11) observed at this level may represent a sixth phase.

	Minimum length	Width
Phase 13a	c. 9 m	c. 7.5 m
Phase 13b	c. 7.5 m	c. 6 m
Phase 13c	c. 5.5 m	c. 4.75-5 m
Phase 13d	c. 6 m	c. 4.75-5 m
Phase 13e	c. 5 m	c. 5.5 m

Fig. 5 – House 13, phases 13a to 13e, length and width (Woller 2000, p. 9-10)

^[2] <https://hkpn.gst.dk/mapviewer.aspx?type=sognekort&id=823&elav=null> and https://hkpn.gst.dk/mapviewer.aspx?type=olk_oekort&id=1914&elav=0310151

^[3] Building 11 (1999) = Building 9 (2010).

^[4] Among others coins, cf. Moesgaard & Tornbjerg 2011.

The building 13a is thus the largest and the oldest of the 5 phases. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish its exact date of construction and its duration of use. It may well have been the house that stood when the hoard was buried. It is materialized by a wall trench with fragments of limestone. This construction mode reminds of the stone-built manor of nearby Varpelev (Rasmussen 1991, p. 67; 1994; cf. Tornbjerg 1999a, p. 8). The subsequent phases consist in a series of postholes. The wooden posts buried into the ground have rotten away since long, but they can be observed archaeologically, because the soil of the old, relatively deep posthole is darker than the surrounding soil. Contrary to the possible stone building 13a, 13b to e were made of wood.

The construction type of phase 13a and the culture layer suggest that building 13 was the dwelling house. The courtyard of the farm and the other farm buildings were situated to the north of the dwelling house. To the south, no significant medieval constructions were observed.

The finds – weapons, arrows, stirrups, a glazed floor tile – as well as the construction mode and the dimensions of the dwelling house indicate an aristocratic residence during the early phase (Tornbjerg 1999a, p. 9; Woller 2000, p. 10, 15). Indeed, the situation right next to the church would be a classical place for an early medieval manor. The high quality of the jewellery contained in the hoard also points towards a high social status (Pedersen 2002). At the opposite, the later smaller houses rather look like an ordinary farm. The absence of traces of the farm after c. 1400 is probably due to a change in the building technique towards a timber construction placed on a row of stones only superficially dug into the ground. This technique makes the identification of the archaeological remains of later houses difficult (Tornbjerg 1999a, p. 8). The farm buildings documented on the 1805 map were situated immediately to the south of the excavated farm. One may assume continuity between the observed medieval farm and its modern counterpart.

2. THE FIND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE HOARD

The hoard was found some 7 m to the west of the NW corner of the dwelling house near a contemporary clay-taking pit reused for rubbish (fig. 6). The caldron (height with legs c. 24 cm, without legs c. 17,5 cm, diameter c. 20 cm, opening c. 15.5 cm) was buried in the cultural layer linked to the house. No lid was found, but the top of the caldron was only a few cm under the plough layer. Thus there may have been a lid that was later removed by the plough without leaving any trace. The archaeological traces of the pit of deposition or any other arrangement around the caldron were unclear. Albeit the deposition spot is outside the dwelling house, it is nevertheless within the limits of the farm, and even of the sphere of

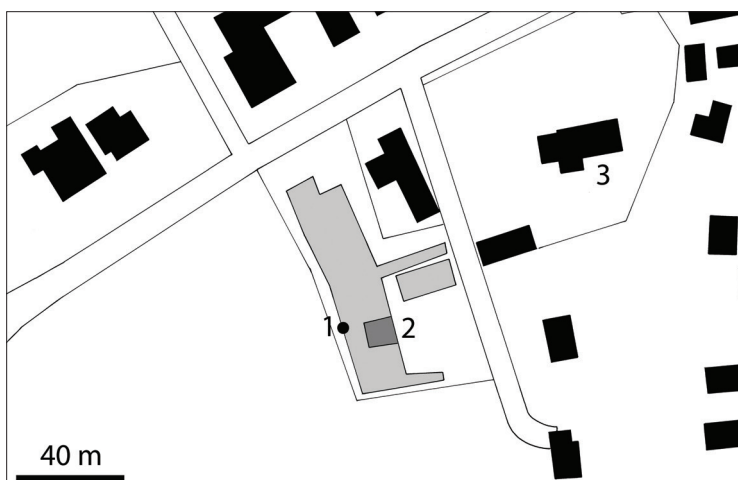


Fig. 6 – The excavated area, with the find spot of the hoard (1), building 13 (2) and the church (3). Drawing: Freerk Oldenburger, National Museum of Denmark, after Svend Åge Tornbjerg

the dwelling house. It can be characterized as semi-private. These observations indicate that the owner of the hoard may well have been the owner of the farm himself. The deposition spot was easily accessible, but the fact that the caldron was buried in the ground with no recognizable arrangements for having regular access to it suggests that it was not meant to be visited regularly. I will get back to this point later on.

When the caldron was found, it was immediately taken into the Museum of Køge for emptying, which was conducted by Svend Åge Tornbjerg and Simon Botfeldt. It was before the GIS systems, so the recording was done manually. The vertical distance from the level of the upper rim to each coin or pile of coins was measured, and their individual positions were drawn on a succession of 9 horizontal levels going from the top to the bottom of the caldron (Tornbjerg 1999b) (fig. 7-8).



Fig. 7 – The emptying of the caldron is started.

Photo: Svend Åge Tornbjerg, 1999,
digital treatment Torben Juul
Hansen

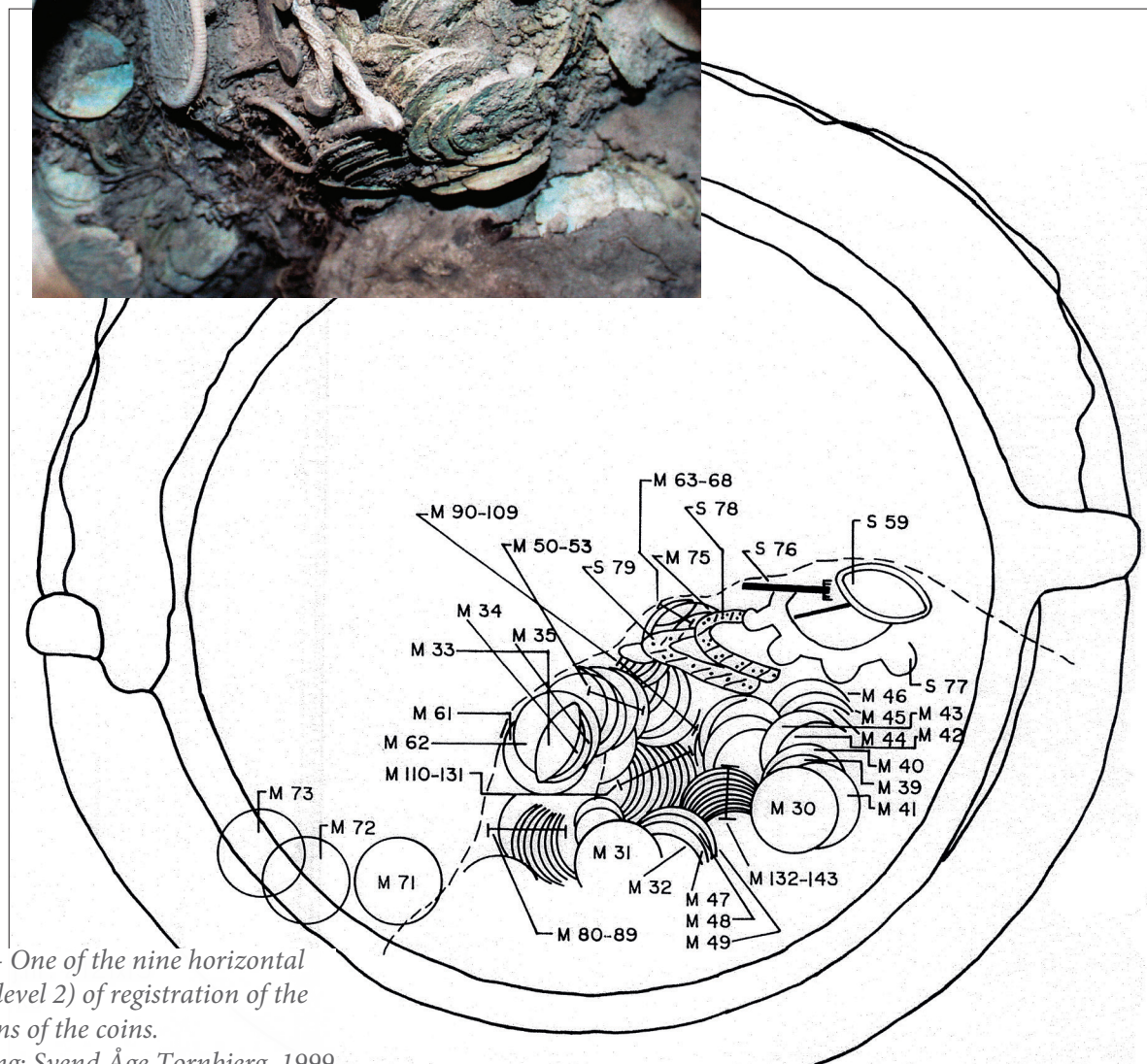


Fig. 8 – One of the nine horizontal levels (level 2) of registration of the positions of the coins.

Drawing: Svend Åge Tornbjerg, 1999

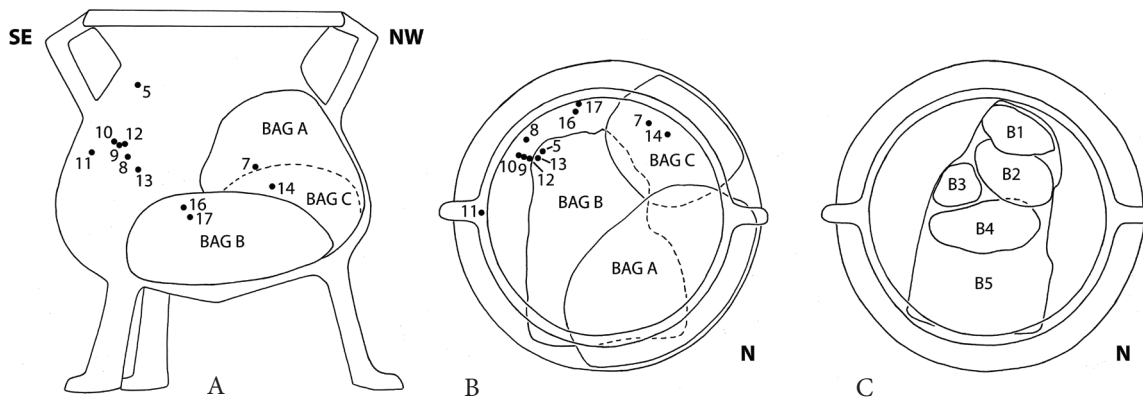


Fig. 9A – The caldron seen from the side with the position of bags A, B and C and the loose coins m. 5 to 17; 9B – The caldron seen from above with the position of bags A, B and C and the loose coins m. 5 to 17; 9C – The caldron seen from above with the position of purses B1 to 4 within bag B (bag B seen in another level than on 9B).

Drawing: Freerk Oldenburger, National Museum of Denmark, after Svend Åge Tornbjerg

This meant perfect conditions for observing the internal organisation of the content (fig. 9A, 9B & 9C). It turned out that the coins and pieces of jewellery were contained in three leather bags. Bag B was at the bottom of the caldron, oriented NE-SW. Bag C was beside bag B to the W, at a slightly higher level and against the wall of the caldron. Bag A was against the wall to the N and partly covering bag B. Bag B contained a lot of loose coins (B5), but also four small textile bags containing small piles of coins (B1 to B4). Within B4, a small group was kept separately (B4b). We thus have eight different units: A, B1, B2, B3, B4a, B4b, B5 and C. As we shall see below, the bags turned out to contain very different coins from one another. The three bags only filled less than half of the interior of the caldron, and the upper portion as well as the southern portion were filled with soil when the caldron was found. The leather bags were relatively well preserved, but some parts had decayed, probably partly by the action of the soil, but also by rodents. The latter were probably responsible for a few disturbances that had occurred (see details in catalogue below).

3. THE DATE OF THE HOARD

To establish the date of deposit of the hoard, one has to single out the youngest coin. However, the dating of Danish coins of the mid-13th c. is not always straight forward. Some coins carry an inscription (or just initials) indicating the ruler responsible for the striking. As for the coin types contained in the Bjæverskov hoard, the following names are mentioned:

Kings:

Valdemar II (1202-1241), Hbg. 29, 41, 42, 42a, 42b, 42c

Eric (Erik) Plovpenning (1241-1250), MB 30-31, 105-108

Abel (1250-1252), MB 44, 45-48, 50-55

Christopher (Christoffer) I (1252-1259), MB 79-80, 91, 93-94, 95, 96-97

Bishops of Roskilde:

Nicholas (Niels) Stigsen (1225-1249), MB 12

James (Jacob) Erlandsen (1249-1254), MB 44, MB 78,

Peter (Peder) Bang (1254-1277), MB 79-80, MB 81, MB 82-85

The youngest coins securely datable by their inscription are thus those in the name of Peter Bang, bishop of Roskilde from 1254. There are three different types in his name in the hoard, and from what we know about Danish coinage at this period, it is highly unlikely that two types were struck at the same time at a mint (see below). Consequently, the three types are probably three successive issues, which brings us at least some years into Peter's reign as bishop. This observation is confirmed by the presence of several types in the name of the king Christopher I who reigned from 1252. At a first glance, there are no coins carrying the name of his successor Eric Glipping (1259-86), but we cannot be fully certain about that, since he is homonymous to his uncle Eric Plovpenning (1241-50), to whom we attribute two types mentioning this name.

The majority of the coin types do not carry a name. Successive numismatists during the last centuries have attempted to date them. I will not enter into the detailed discussion about the dates (and the mint-attributions) suggested by various authors – generally speaking, I follow the interpretations suggested by Keld Grinder-Hansen (2000), essentially based on the association of (presumably almost contemporary) types within hoards for the dates and the geographical distribution of single finds for the mint-attributions. According to the dates suggested by Grinder-Hansen, all the coin types but one fall within the reigns indicated by the inscriptions. The one exception are three specimens of MB 163, which according to Grinder-Hansen (Grinder-Hansen 2000, p. 136) must be regarded as one of Eric Glipping's (1259-86) earliest coins, potentially making it the youngest coin of the hoard.

Even if this cannot be fully ruled out, it is improbable. The three coins were all in bag A, which according to the interpretation suggested below was an assemblage of old obsolete coins. According to this interpretation (see the arguments below), the types MB 82-85 and MB 96-97 must be the youngest coins of the hoard. The latter carry the name of Christopher and is thus prior to the reign of Eric. It can be argued (see below) that the former was struck just before and during the armed conflict between king Christopher and bishop Peter in the spring of 1259.

Consequently, Grinder-Hansen, writing before the discovery of the Bjæverskov hoard, is probably wrong in attributing MB 163 to Eric Glipping. Unfortunately, he does not give his arguments for this dating of the coin. In the fundamental work from 1884, Peter Hauberg only quotes the hoard of Skrivergade at Bornholm, dated to c. 1280-85 in *DMS* (*DMS* 96), for this type, which was probably his motive for attributing it to Eric Glipping (1259-86)^[5]. However, as Hauberg^[6] noted himself, this hoard contains numerous older coins, so its evidence for dating particular types is uncertain. Kaaber and Gylling Weile date MB 163 to December 1262, based on an unsecure link between the strengthening of royal power at that time and the choice of the lily as coin motive^[7]. Knowing the Bjæverskov hoard, Sømød hesitantly redates MB 163 to Christopher I (1252-59)^[8]. No other hoards containing this type are known. In conclusion, for the moment being, the Bjæverskov hoard is the best evidence for dating MB 163. The bulk of coins in bag A were struck between 1241 and 1257/58. The relatively low silver content (12.3 %) observed for the single specimen of this MB 163 that has been analyzed indicates a date late within this chronological interval^[9].

[5] Hauberg 1884, p. 106, Eric Glipping, Roskilde n° 14.

[6] Hauberg 1884, p. 81, cf. p. 61-62.

[7] Kaaber & Gylling Weile 2002, n° 32-06, -08, -12.

[8] Sømød 2009, vol. 1, p. 58, n° D159 & vol. 2, p. 51-52.

[9] Kræmmer 2017, p. 222, cf. p. 218-19.

As for the mint, Hauberg attributed MB 163 to Roskilde, but since then the accumulated evidence of single finds, mainly from church floors and metal detecting, rather points to an origin in Jutland, as noted by Grinder-Hansen, Kaaber/Gylling Weile and Sømod.

4. THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE BURIAL OF THE HOARD

In short, the burial of the hoard can be dated to some years after 1254 – say 1256/58 at the earliest – and probably no later than 1259. This date corresponds to the last years of the reign of Christopher I. It was a troubled time in Denmark, and in particular at Zealand. In 1256 a peasant revolt was subdued by the aristocracy. In 1257 a Norwegian fleet arrived in Øresund after having plundered Halland, but the negotiations between the Danish and Norwegian kings ended with peace. The newly elected archbishop of Lund, James (Jacob) Erlandsen, formerly bishop of Roskilde, was influenced by the papal ideas of the church's supremacy to and independence of the secular power. These ideas had led to conflict between the pope and the German emperor lasting from the 11th to the 13th c., and in Denmark, the rivalry between the king and the church escalated in the 1250s. James wanted the spiritual and secular rights of the church secured and refused to recognize the king's son Eric as heir. Subsequently the king proceeded to the imprisonment of the archbishop in February 1259, leading to the excommunication of the king and the interdict on the country. The bishops in Jutland supported the king, but the bishop of Roskilde, Peter Bang, supported his uncle, the archbishop. The king also had to deal with the opposition of Eric, son of his brother and predecessor as king, Abel. Eric's elder brother Valdemar was duke of Schleswig, but he died in 1257. The duchy of Schleswig returned to the crown. Eric's wish to succeed his brother as duke was refused by the king.

Eric's and James' ally, prince Jarimar of Rügen, attacked Bornholm and Zealand in the spring 1259. Bishop Peter ordered the citizens of his city Copenhagen to open the city to Jarimar, but they refused and the city was taken by force. The king died in May, and a few weeks later Jarimar and bishop Peter won a decisive battle near Næstved against an army of Danish aristocrats and peasants. Eric (Glipping), the son of Christopher was only 11 years old, so his mother Margareth had to act as regent. A compromise was found, the archbishop was freed from prison, and Eric Abelson got the duchy of Schleswig. However, James opposed the election Eric (Glipping) Christopherson as king, and was exiled and the conflict between the church and the king continued.

We do not know whether the burial of the Bjæverskov hoard was linked to these events. As a matter of fact, an alternative explanation is right at hand: in the bank-less society of Medieval Denmark, people often simply hid away their savings in a secure place at home. In principle, the Bjæverskov hoard may just have been concealed for everyday safekeeping without any connection with the political situation. However, in this event, one would have thought that a more easily accessible hiding spot would have been chosen (*cf.* Cardon 2016, p. 165-198). Indeed, the owner would regularly have taken some money from the hidden sum whenever he needed cash, or added some coins whenever he had gained some money. As we saw above, the hiding spot at Bjæverskov was not that easily accessible – if one wanted to handle the savings, one would probably have had to dig up the caldron. The way of burial rather points to a wish of hiding away the sum safely for some time.

This would fit a scenario implying that the magnate living at the excavated manor buried his fortune in the ground before leaving to fight in the conflict between the king and his enemies. He may have been killed during the conflict, and this is why he never recovered the hoard. We do not know on which side he would have been. He may have been one of the bishop of Roskilde's men, that fought with Jarimar against the king. But it is also possible that he sided with the king.

Maybe his involvement in the conflict brought his family into disgrace, and this is why the manor seemingly sunk to an ordinary farm about this time, as shown by the excavation (see above). This is, however, hypothetical. The land property history provides another possible explanation for the decline. Indeed, as we shall see below, during the late 12th and the 13th c. Bjæverskov gradually went from private aristocratic ownership to the monastic property, which may have made the manor redundant and explain why it turned into an ordinary farm. It may, though, be worth mentioning that by the mid-14th c. the aristocrat John Peterson, of whom we ignore other details and who may have lived at another place within the parish, could afford a nicely carved grave slab in the church for himself, his wife Åse, their son Nicolas and his wife Margareth^[10].

Let us take a closer look at what we know about the parish of Bjæverskov in the 13th c. It gave its name to the whole Bjæverskov district (*herred*), composed by 14 parishes, so it may well have been an important place. Bjæverskov is situated at the north-eastern edge of the district. The excavated plot lies on the lands of the Tingbjerggård farm, whose name means “the farm of the assembly hill”. We know that the district assembly took place in the more centrally situated Herfølge in the late Middle Ages, but it may well have been seated at Bjæverskov earlier^[11].

If we want to look at the land ownership in the 12th and 13th c., we only have ecclesiastic sources, as almost no lay archives survive from that period. Consequently, lay land ownership is only known to us, if the land passed into ecclesiastic ownership. In this respect, the late 12th c. witnessed a dramatic change in in Bjæverskov. Until then, Asser, cathedral dean at Lund, nephew of archbishop Eskild, owned the major part of the village of Bjæverskov. He was a member of the powerful aristocratic Thrugotson-family that was in opposition to royal family and its allies, the Hvide family. Asser was probably indirectly involved in a conspiracy against king Valdemar I (1157-1182) and was exiled and was subsequently discarded in 1177 for the succession of his uncle Eskild as archbishop in favour of Absalon of the rival Hvide family^[12]. Upon his death, Asser gave a small part of Bjæverskov to the Abbey of Sorø, that was founded by the Hvide family. The rest went to the cathedral of Lund and to his heirs. By the mediation of Absalon the parcels of land in Bjæverskov owned by the cathedral of Lund and of Asser’s heirs also came into the possession of the monastery of Sorø^[13].

At the time of the burial of the hoard, the Abbey of Sorø was thus the most important land owner in Bjæverskov. The Abbey of Sorø seemed keen to consolidate this position. In 1279, it obtained land in the (no longer existant) hamlet of Gederup by exchange with Tolf Michaelson^[14]. In 1307, it bought more land in the village of Bjæverskov and the hamlet of Gummersmark from Knud, vicar of Lyngby at the Island of Funen^[15]. Finally, the monastery of Ringsted, founded by the royal family, owned farms and a forest in the no longer existing hamlet Skulkerup in the north-eastern part of the parish. This land was also alienated by exchange to the abbey of Sorø in 1309^[16]. Contrary to several other land concentrations in the

^[10] *DK*, county of Præstø, p. 254 & fig 10.

^[11] Woller 2000, p. 3, 15, *cf.* *DK*, county of Præstø, p. 249; Aakjær 1926-1945, vol. 2, p. 159.

^[12] *DBL* I, p. 325; IV, p. 256, 258.

^[13] Weibull 1923, p. 62 & note 5, p. 122, n°9, Weeke 1884-1887, p. 70-71; Langebek & Suhm 1776, p. 470-471. See Ulsig 1968, p. 40-41.

^[14] Langebek & Suhm 1776, p. 514, *cf.* p. 506, 522. See Weise 1975, p. 29.

^[15] Langebek & Suhm 1776, p. 511, *cf.* Weise 1975, p. 29.

^[16] Langebek & Suhm 1776, p. 513, *cf.* p. 522. See Trap vol. 9 (IV-1), p. 128; Weise 1975, p. 30.

possession of the monks of Sorø (Nørlund 1924, p. 86-89), their Bjæverskov estate was never organized as a grange. It was probably run as tenant farms.

A floor tile of a characteristic type produced in Sorø and adjacent workshops in the 13th c. was found during the excavation (Woller 2000, p. 3). Several tiles of a similar type, date and production place were integrated in the wall of the extension of the choir of the church, dated to c. 1500. They are supposed to come from a lavish tile floor of the demolished Romanesque choir^[17]. These tiles once again illustrate the link between Bjæverskov and Sorø. The one found during the excavation potentially highlights the elite status of the excavated farm, even though we do not know whether it was from a floor at the manor house or just a redundant dump from the church.

The Abbey of Sorø was founded by the Hvide family. Archbishop James Erlandsen was linked to Hvide by his mother. Peter Bang was the son of James' sister and Skjalm, who was also linked to the Hvide family by his mother. In spite of this, the abbey of Sorø seems to have managed to stay out of the conflict that opposed the king to the archbishop and the bishop (Nørlund 1924, p. 71).

The patronage of the church belonged to the chapter of the cathedral of Roskilde in the 16th c., but we do not know, if this was also the case in the Middle Ages^[18].

Unfortunately, this brief survey of the history of Bjæverskov do not tell us with certainty who was the owner of the hoard: a representative of the abbey of Sorø or some otherwise unknown lay aristocrat.

5. A POSSIBLY NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE KING AND THE BISHOP

The king's mint master in Roskilde was involved in the conflict. It was normal that the king used his mint master to make financial arrangement or pay bills (Galster 1968; Grindner-Hansen 2000, p. 79-80). C. 1256/57 the king first ordered his mint master John to pay debts to the church of Roskilde, but soon after he gave counter-order not to do so as a result of the conflict between the king and the bishop (Krarup & Norvin 1932, p. 22, § 9).

A peculiar numismatic feature connected with the type MB 82-85 deserves consideration in this context (Moesgaard & Tornbjerg 2004, p. 74-77) (fig. 10). Coinage was a royal prerogative,

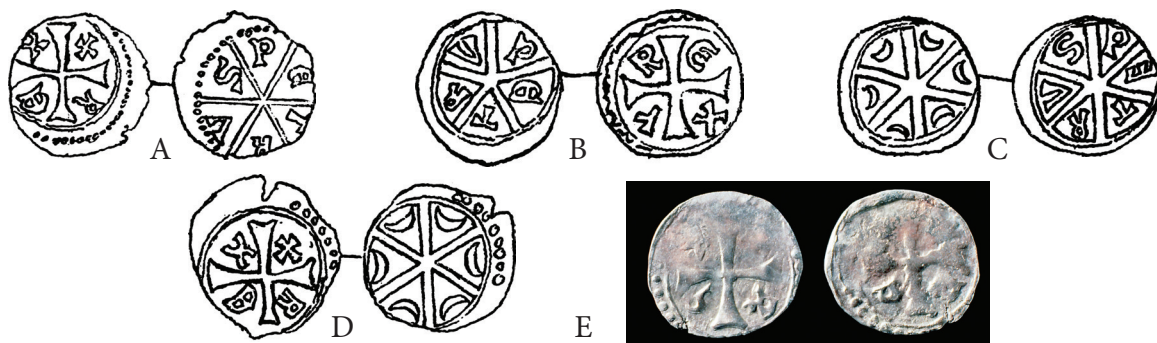


Fig. 10 – Pennies struck at Roskilde c. 1259. A. MB 82. B. MB 84. C. MB 85. D. MB 83. E. MB 82var. Drawings of MB 82 to 85 from Mansfeld-Büllner 1887.

Photo of Bjæverskov m. 1070, MB 82var., Nationalmuseet, 2001. Digital treatment Torben Juul Hansen

^[17] DK, county of Præstø, p. 250-251, fig. 3; Hansen & Sørensen 2005, p. 14-16, 176-177.

^[18] DK, county of Præstø, p. 249.

but successive kings had given part of the income from coinage to various bishops throughout Denmark. In Roskilde, this happened during the reign of Valdemar I (1157-1182)^[19]. The king decided the conditions of the coinage (weight, alloy, motive, date of issue), and the bishop had the right to mint a certain amount of coins according to the royal instructions (Moesgaard 2018, p. 228-231).

In Roskilde, this collaboration was reflected in the choice of inscriptions and types of the coins: on the obverse, a royal symbol (crowned head, king's name, crown, scepter, sword...) and on the reverse, an ecclesiastic symbol (bishop's head, name, mitre, crozier, key...). Following this tradition, MB 82 carries on the obverse a cross with the letters + R E X in the angles, making up the Latin word rex = king. On the reverse, three lines divide the field into six portions containing the letters P E T R V S for Petrus = Peter, the name of the bishop Peter Bang. On the variety MB 84, the field is divided into five portions containing the letter P E T R V. However, we know three further varieties:

- MB 83: + R E X is maintained, but the letters P E T R V S are replaced by crescents,
- MB 85: the cross and the letters + R E X are replaced by six crescents in six portions formed by three lines. On the reverse, P E T R V S maintained,
- A variety not illustrated by MB with + R E X on both sides (documented by at least 19 specimens in the Bjæverskov hoard and by a specimen in the systematic collection of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, KP 635 = Coll. O.T. Thomsen n° 147).

These three varieties are much rarer than the standard type^[20]. It is tempting to see this as the result of the political conflict between the king and the bishop. At first, they struck coins mentioning both of them, according to tradition (MB 82, 84). Then, when the conflict sharpened, the king's moneyers omitted the bishop's name (MB 83 and the variety with +REX on both sides) and vice-versa (MB 85). We will of course never know, if this is what really happened, but if the linking of the hoard to the events of spring 1259 and the assumption that MB 82-85 was the current coinage at the time of the burial of the hoard are correct, this suggestion is plausible.

6. HANDLING WEALTH IN A *RENOVATIO MONETAE* SYSTEM

As stated above, the lucky circumstances of discovery of this hoard allowed us to examine how the coins were organised within the caldron. It turned out, that the coins were contained in a number of leather bags and textile purses. The assemblage of coin types differs markedly from bag to bag. In order to understand why the owner had sorted the coins, one needs to take a look at the Danish monetary system in the 13th c. The basic work on the Danish coins from this period still remains the publications of Peter Hauberg from the late 19th early 20th c. (Hauberg 1885; 1906), but it has been supplemented by later works, e.g. by Grinder-Hansen (Grinder-Hansen 2000), recently conveniently surveyed in a comprehensive publication on Danish Medieval coinage and currency (Moesgaard 2018; Märcher 2018).

Three features seem to have structured the Danish coinage from the late 11th c. to the mid-14th c.:

- The exclusion of foreign coins. It seems that their circulation was forbidden and they had to be exchanged into Danish coins. Indeed, finds of foreign coins are rare in Denmark during the period under consideration. The few finds of foreign coins probably reflect

^[19] Moesgaard 2014, p. 19, with references.

^[20] Cf. Moesgaard & Tornbjerg 2004, p. 76, table 3.

the inevitable exceptions to the rule, as it is almost impossible to apply an interdiction 100 %^[21].

- The division of the country into regional currency zones. The coins struck in the different regions of Denmark – Scania, Zealand, North Jutland and South Jutland (= Schleswig) – did not have the same weight, fineness and motives. The hoards and single finds show that coins from one region only exceptionally circulated in the other regions. This was probably the result of the obligation to exchange coins from other regions. Only the local coin would have been legal tender^[22].
- The *renovatio monetæ* system. The relative dominant position of only one type in most hoards from the period despite the high number of different types points to the existence of the *renovatio monetæ*^[23] which indeed is documented by written sources from 1284 and 1304^[24]. This system consists in the frequent introduction, maybe at regular intervals, of a new coin type, which was the only accepted legal tender. The old coins had to be exchanged into new coins.

We must assume that the exchange of foreign, extra-regional and old coins was done at an unfavourable rate for the coin-holders, which produced income for the issuing power. Coinage was a royal prerogative, so the instigator behind these measures was probably the king.

These features were not specific to Denmark. They were part of the general pattern of the organization of coinage and currency in medieval Europe (Spufford 1988). This essentially reflected the wish of the minting authorities to exploit coinage fiscally. We find exclusion of foreign coins at many places in Europe, most pronounced in England (Allen 2012, p. 346-368). Distinct regional coinages under one and the same king are known e.g. from Sweden (Svealand and Götaland) (Jonsson 1995) and from France (tournois and parisian coinages) – but in the latter case, the two coinages circulated jointly throughout the realm. The *renovatio monetæ* probably started in Normandy c. 930 (Moesgaard 2011) and was practiced at several places at different periods throughout England and large parts of Central and Eastern Europe and Scandinavia^[25].

The frequent renewals of coinage and the compulsory exchange of old coins must have been a brake for economic activity. It was probably unpopular among coin-users. This may have been the reason for the change c. 1234 in Jutland and Zealand from the *renovatio monetæ* system to the plough tax (a land tax) aimed at paying the king for his loss at his renouncement of coin renewals (Märcher 2018, p. 313-316). The dominant coin types were Hbg. 29 from Roskilde and Hbg. 41-42 from Jutland, that were struck c. 1234-1241. They accounted for 98-100 % in the hoards from the period (DMS 67-70, 72-74). Even after 1241, and well into the 1250s, these types maintained a dominant role, with between 50 and 92 % in some hoards, like Aalborg, unknown location and Herlufsholm (DMS 78, 83, 86). This prolonged circulation time is not compatible with an application of the *renovatio* system. Unless we are facing sums of obsolete coins kept for savings reasons, it is clear that the coins were meant for remaining in circulation for a long time as a *denarius perpetuus*. This is indirectly supported by the large number of single finds of Hbg. 42b in particular, indirectly indicating a long circulation

^[21] Moesgaard 2018, p. 208-214 with references; Grinder-Hansen 2000, p. 91-102.

^[22] Grinder-Hansen 2000, p. 81-91; Moesgaard 2018, p. 214-221; Märcher 2018, p. 308-311.

^[23] Jensen 1996; Grinder-Hansen 1997; Moesgaard 2018, p. 221-225; Märcher 2018, p. 316-322.

^[24] Mørkholm *et al.* 1989, n° 99; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, vol. 2-5, n° 310 § 3.

^[25] For a recent survey, see Svensson 2013.

time. But at the end of the reign of Christopher I, these types suddenly disappear from the circulation as documented in the hoards: only 8 out of 5654 coin in Øster Hæsinge (DMS 88) and none at Nærum and unknown find spot at Fyn (DMS 87, 89). Their disappearance from circulation was probably also a result of their good silver content comparing to the coins struck at the end of the 1250s (see below). Thus, after about two decades its abandon, the *renovatio* system seems to have been reintroduced. At the time of the burial of the Bjæverskov hoard c. 1259, the *renovatio* was functioning again (Märcher 2018, p. 316-322).

It is important to note, that if the caldron found at Bjæverskov had just been emptied without observing the internal organisation of the bags and purses or if the caldron had been hit by the plough and the coins scattered in the plough layer, we would have had a hoard with 1 326 specimens of the dominant type MB 82-85 out of the 2 271 identified coins (58 %) along with a multitude of other coin types. Consequently, we would be reluctant to conclude that this hoard reflects *renovatio monetæ*. However, as we will see below, this hoard is fully consistent with the *renovatio monetæ* system, if we look at the bags individually. As a matter of fact, the functioning of this system helps us to understand the composition of the Bjæverskov hoard and the way the sum was sorted up into the different parcels. In turn, the exceptionally well-documented evidence of this hoard provides new insights in the *renovatio* system.

The composition of parcels B1, B2, B3, B4b, B5 and C is very similar, and it is reasonable to look at them together. Out of the 1 326 MB 82-85 in the hoard, 1 325 derive from these parcels that totalise 1 423 coins (of which 1400 are identified). MB 82-85 thus accounts for 95 %. There are 58 MB 96-97 (4 %), eight MB 95 and only nine specimens of other types. Knowing that MB 82-85 is from Roskilde and MB 96-97 from Jutland, this distribution would be consistent with considering these two types of being the types in production at the time of the burial of the hoard in respectively Zealand and Jutland. MB 95 must be the second-youngest Jutlandic type. The clear domination of the Zealandic coins is logical given that Bjæverskov is located at Zealand. MB 82-85 and MB 96-97 would thus have been the only types that in accordance with the *renovatio monetæ* were official legal tender in c. 1259 that could be traded without problems at face value.

The owner must have been aware that the older coins had another legal status. This is why he kept them apart in bag A and purse B4a. Purse B4a contained a homogeneous parcel of coins struck c. 1234-1241, which a clear dominance of the type Hbg. 42b (149 out of the 168 identified specimens, i.e. 89 %). The sole post-1241-coin is a MB 82-85, and it is not even certain that it belongs in purse B4a, because it was found in an unsecure position between B4 and B5. On the contrary, the content of bag A was quite mixed. It contained 29 different coin types scattered among each other within the bag without any discernible pattern or marked concentration of one type. This suggests that the Bjæverskov hoard represents a rather active saving being handled frequently and having sums of money being added on a regular basis. Among the 703 identified coins from this bag, 375 (53 %) were of the type MB 86, which was probably the most recent Zealandic issue just before MB 82-85. MB 39-41 was represented by 137 specimens, and MB 70 and 81 by 44 specimens each. It is tempting to see them as the youngest issues just before MB 86, but we do not know the rhythm of saving of the owner, and they may well represent slightly older parcels, acquired and kept under circumstances that we do not know.

But why had the owner not exchanged the old obsolete coins to the new official coin? At each exchange, the holder of the coins lost money due to the unfavourable exchange rate. This may have inspired him to keep the old coins as long as possible before exchanging them. Or alternatively, one may think that the compulsory use of the most recent coin was only systematically enforced for official payments of e.g. taxes (cf. Stewart 1990, p. 467-468). Maybe in deals between private individuals, one could obtain a rate for old coins that even if

it was less than the former official face value, when the coin was officially valid, was still more than the rate given by the king for obsolete coins. Another possible use for obsolete coins is offerings in the church^[26].

The possibility of trading coins at intrinsic value may also explain why the 195 coins struck c. 1234-41 were kept separately in purse B4a instead of being mixed with the 845 coins of many different types struck 1241-c. 1258 (except 4 pre-1241 coins) and stored in bag A along with 6 pieces of jewellery. We will have to look at the weight and the alloy of the relevant coin types. These features have not been looked at as for the specimens from the Bjæverskov hoard itself, but previous studies on the relevant coin types provide information, albeit particularly the figures for the alloy rely on very few analyses.

The weight seems relatively stable around 1 g throughout the period under consideration^[27]. As for the alloy, the pre-1241 types Hbg. 29 and Hbg. 41 42 and 42a, 42b, 42c contain c. 20-22 % silver (Lindahl 1964, p. 55; Kaaber 1987, p. 231). The post-1241 coins contained in bag A represent several silver standards: c. 21-22 % (MB 5, 105, 14, 30, 33, 44, 78, 80, 50), c. 17-18 % (MB 57, 70, 39), c. 15-16 % (MB 81, 86, 91), c. 11-12 % (MB 163, 100, 103). The coin types that make of bulk of bag B and C, MB 82-85 and 96 contain c. 12 % silver (Kræmmer 2017, p. 221-222). Behind these figures, there seem to be a downward tendency over time and maybe Jutland struck baser coins than the eastern provinces. In 1257, the archbishop complained that the king had debased coinage (Krarup & Norvin 1932, p. 27, § 23), which indeed seems to be confirmed by the modern analyses (Kræmmer 2017, p. 218-219, 221-222). However, the exact pattern of the debasements is difficult to determine, due to the imprecise dating of many coin types and the small number of analyses available (frequently just one specimen analysed for individual coin types. For many types, there are no analyses at all). What is more important for our purpose is that the four most numerous types in bag A, MB 39-41, 70, 81, 86, accounting for c. 85 % of the coins, are all baser than the pre-1241 coins. The owner of the hoard thus seems to have been aware that the pre-1241 were worth more in metal value, and consequently he sorted them out and kept them apart, probably in order to negotiate a better price for them. The question is whether these coins had been put aside long before the burial of the hoard, or whether they derive directly from current coin circulation. In the latter case, they would have circulated for approximately two decades. We cannot know for certain, but the coins show relatively little signs of wear, indicating that the former case may be the correct one.

The internal organisation of the coins within the caldron thus shows us a coin-holder fully aware of which coin is legal tender and which is not. He navigated as best he could in order to avoid the costs that the *renovatio monetae* put on him. It is an important methodological insight, that this conclusion would not have been possible if the internal organisation of the hoard had not been observed in detail.

The existence of hoards with several types, that at first sight is incompatible with the *renovatio* system, is not isolated to Denmark. Martin Allen has re-examined the English hoards recently, in the light of the numerous new finds thanks to the metal detector (Allen 2012, p. 35-40 & appendix F). During the reign of Edward Confessor (1042-1066), multi-type hoards are common (13 out of 18 recorded hoards). Some of them are however completely dominated by one type, like Appledore (5 types, but 497 coins out of 503 of one type), that for all practical purposes can be regarded as single-type hoards in accordance with the *renovatio* system. Others are, however, genuine multi-type hoards. If one takes a closer look, it turns out

^[26] On coin use in churches, see Burström & Ingvardson 2017; Melin & Jonsson 2019.

^[27] Hauberg 1906, p. 365-366; Lindahl 1964, p. 57-58; Bendixen 1973, p. 56-57, 60; Kaaber collection, p. 11-17.

that we are often facing savings hoards. Indeed, several hoards are large, and the distribution between types and mints is quite erratic, which probably reflects larger parcels acquired by the owner at specific occasions and never mixed in general circulation. This underlines that a saving hoard does not necessarily reflect the currency at the time of its burial.

In order to explain the existence of mixed hoards at periods and places where the *renovatio* system is well documented by written sources, German numismatists have suggested that old coins were kept to be used at metal value for foreign trade (Mehl 2011, p. 34). This may also have been the case of the mixed hoards in England after 1042 (Metcalf 1998, p. 94-99; Allen 2012, p. 35-40). Indeed, these arguments previously put forward by foreign scholars indirectly gain in credibility thanks to the parallel to the Bjæverskov hoard.

Fortunate circumstances allowed us to examine the internal organisation of the Bjæverskov hoard. I have attempted to interpret this internal organisation as the owner's handling of coins within the framework of the inconveniences caused to him by the *renovatio monetarum* system. It should however not be forgotten, that sorting coins into different groups may be motivated by other factors than the constraints of the *renovatio*. One just has to look at the 14th c. document quoted in the call for papers for the present volume: in his will, the count of Noyers provided an overview of the contents of his money chest. One bag of gold écus was intended to repay a loan; a second bag of écus was set aside to secure the welfare of his servants; a third contained solely *pavillons d'or*, rare and heavy coins that were to be used to settle his funeral expenses; and the last was a mixed group of unallocated gold coins. In other words, coins sorted out according to the use they were put to (Dumas 1985).

Other historical sources mention how money were packed in parcels of currencies. An example is the sorting of coins into English, French, Gotlandic and others in St. John's church in Bergen (Norway) in 1308. Each group was kept in separate bags, the all in a chest (Gullbekk & Sættem 2019, p. 289). A similar sorting of coins according to origin can be documented archaeologically, e.g. in the mid-13th c. hoard of Gisors (départ. Eure, France), where more than 800 high value English pennies were kept apart from the almost 11.000 petty French pennies (Dumas & Brand 1971; Dumas 2013). This sorting was motivated by the different value of the coins. On the contrary, the seven wrapped rolls, in a disintegrated bag found at Häffinds IV (Gotland, Sweden), show no particular sorting. This hoard totalizes 205 Islamic silver dirhams buried after 934. The lack of sorting is probably due to the coins being used in the Viking manner by weight at silver value, and there was apparently no reason to single out any specific specimens on the suspicion of being of base silver. The size of the rolls varied between 7 and 56 coins without any attempt to obtain multiples of a specific number. It just seems that coins were wrapped randomly in order to store them easily (Östergren, Brisholm & Rispling 1991). The Stumle hoard, likewise from Gotland, consists in 1 310 coins and some silver artefacts, kept a bronze container, buried after 1059. It is a mixture of Islamic, German, English and other coinages, typical of the Viking use of silver by weight, rather than considering the face value of the individual coins. This hoard was also excavated in laboratory. There were no traces within the bronze container of internal organisation made by bags, rolls or other. However, there was a marked difference in composition – especially the ratio German-English coins – between the top 800 and the bottom 500 coins. The two groups also show a slight chronological difference, the top one being some years younger than the bottom one. The explanation probably is that the very homogeneous top parcel was acquired in one single trade transaction and then added to the existing savings (Jonsson & Östergren 1990).

These examples show that a close scrutiny is necessary in every individual case before drawing conclusions, because the reasons for choosing to handle and sort coins in various

ways may be very different from one case to another, according to monetary and other circumstances.

7. CATALOGUE

Tingbjerggård, Bjæverskov parish.

FP 12951; KØM 2121x15; site n° 050101-9

The cleaning of the coins is not yet fully completed. Consequently, the identifications and the exact counting of the number of coins given below are not definitive.

Type	Date	Mint	Bags								Total
			B4a	A	B4b	B5	B1	B2	B3	C	
Jewellery			-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Hbg. 29	1225/41 (PH)*	Roskilde (PH)	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Hbg. 41	1234/41 (PH)	Ribe (PH)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hbg. 42	1234/41 (PH)	Ribe (PH)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hbg. 42a	1234/41 (PH)	Ribe (PH)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hbg. 42b	1234/41 (PH)	Ribe (PH)	149	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	152
Hbg. 42c	1234/41 (PH)	Ribe (PH)	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hbg. 15var	1202/41 (PH)	Lund & Zealand (PH)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
MB 5	1241/50 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
MB 7	1241/50 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
MB 105-8	1241/50 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
MB 57	1252/59 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
MB 62	1252/59 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	4
MB 64-69	1252/59 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
MB 70	1252/59 (KGH)	Lund (KGH)	-	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	44
MB 11	1241/50 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
MB 12	1241/49 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
MB 13-18	1241/50 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
MB 30-31	1241/50 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
MB 33	1241/50 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
MB 39-41	1241/50 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	137	-	-	-	-	-	-	137
MB 44	1250/52 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
MB 45-48	1250/52 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
MB 58	1252/57 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
MB 78	1252/54 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
MB 79-80	1254/57 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
MB 81	1257/59 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	44	-	-	-	-	1	-	45
MB 86	1257/59 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	-	375	-	-	-	-	-	-	375

Type	Date	Mint	Bags								Total
			B4a	A	B4b	B5	B1	B2	B3	C	
MB 163	1252/57 (JCM)	N. Jutland (KGH)	-	3	-		-	-	-	-	3
MB 50-55	1250/52 (KGH)	Ribe (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
MB 91	1252/57 (KGH)	N. Jutland (KGH)	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
MB 93-94	1257/59 (KGH)	N. Jutland/Ribe (KGH)	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
MB 100	1257/59 (KGH)	Schleswig (KGH)	-	2	-		-	-	-	-	2
MB 101	1257/59 (KGH)	Schleswig (KGH)	-	1	-		-	-	-	-	1
MB 103	1257/59 (KGH)	Schleswig (KGH)	-	1	-		-	-	-	-	1
MB 82-85	1257/59 (KGH)	Roskilde (KGH)	1	-	4	645	112	69	27	468	1326
MB 95	1252/59 (KGH)	Ribe (KGH)	-	-	-	5	-	1	1	1	8
MB 96-97	1252/59 (KGH)	N. Jutland/Ribe (KGH)	-	-	-	27	3	-	-	28	58
Not yet identified-			28	142	-	1	10	2	7	3	193
Total coins			196	845	4	683	125	73	36	502	2464

Fig. 11 – Catalogue of the Bjæverskov Hoard

JCM = dating of MB 163 suggested by the author above.

KGH = dating and mint attribution of post-1241 coins according to Grinder-Hansen 2000 (Grinder-Hansen, p. 134, divides Christopher I's coins into an early and a late phase. The division between the two is the devaluation dated to c. 1257, p. 125).

PH = dating and mint attribution of pre-1241 coins according to Hauberg 1906.

* = probably introduced in connection with the monetary reform c. 1234.

7.1. LIST OF THE BAGS (CF. TORNBJERG 1999B)

l. = artefact number, leather or textile

m. = artefact number, coin found within the caldron

s. = artefact number, silver jewellery

x = item number, found outside the caldron

7.1.1. A – 845 coins

Bag made of thin leather, covered by textile (l. 846-47, 1844-46). Only the lower part of the bag was preserved. The upper part had been eaten by rodents. This bag contained six pieces of jewellery that were kept together as a group within the bag (s. 59, 76-79, 718, l. 719 (string probably linking s. 59 and 718). As far as could be observed, only a part of the coins was piled. The different coin types were mixed up within the bag, except for a few piles with predominantly a few types.

- Secure attribution to A: 803 coins, m. 30-41, 42a&b, 43-58, 60-68, 80-717, 720-757, 758a&b, 759-760, 762-845.
- Coins that have slid a bit, probably from A: 4 coins, m. 72-75.
- At the top of A, slightly to the east, probably from A: 12 coins, m. 18-29.
- Found between A and B, clearly disturbed, maybe by rodents. Attributed to A, because the same assemblage of coin types as A: 5 coins, m. 852-856.

- Found at various position in soil above the bags within the caldron (Moesgaard & Tornbjerg 2004, fig. 2 et 3). Probably moved by rodents. Attributed to A, because the same assemblage of coin types: 15 coins, m. 1-5, 7-14, 16-17.
- Found at various position in soil immediately outside the caldron. Probably removed from the caldron by rodents. Attributed to A, because the same assemblage of coin types: 6 coins, x82-86, x95.

7.1.2. B

Leather bag B, relatively well-preserved (l. 2476). The sewing was preserved. A leather band may have been meant for knotting the opening, but the leather at the opening was eaten by rodents. Within bag B, the coins were organized in several sub-groups:

B1, 125 coins

Textile purse, within leather bag B, at the top. Textile only partially preserved at the lower side. The upper part was eaten by rodents. The coins were piled. Almost all coins of one type only.

- Secure attribution to B2: 89 coins, m. 1748-1836.
- Excavated before the textile purse was recognized, but probably belonging to B1: 36 coins, m. 1365-1400.

B2, 73 coins

Textile purse, within leather bag B, almost at the top. Textile poorly preserved. Coins in two piles. Almost all coins of one type only.

- Secure attribution to B2: 73 coins, m. 1401-1440, 1441a & b, 1442-1472.

B3, 36 coins

Small textile purse, within leather bag B, in the middle. The coins seem piled. Almost all coins of one type only.

- Secure attribution to B3: 36 coins, m. 1709-1738, 2470-2475.

B4a, 196 coins

Textile purse, within leather bag B, in the middle. Well-preserved textile with the knot at the top (l. 2397). Piled coins.

- Secure attribution to B4a: 194 coins, m. 1698b-1708, 2282-2340, 2341a & b, 2342, 2344-2396, 2398-2465.
- Unsecure location, B4 or B5, here attributed to B4a because of the presence of a Valdemar II, Hbg. 42b (the other is MB 82-85, however otherwise unrepresented in B4a): 2 coins, m. 1526-1527.

B4b, 4 coins

Found together in what must have been a fold of textile purse B4 or a separate small purse, that has not been preserved. Regarded as a separate parcel, because the coin types are not the same as in B4a.

- Secure attribution to B4b: 4 coins, m. 2466-2469.

B5, 683 coins

B5 covers the loose coins in the bottom of the bag B. The different coin types were mixed up without any concentrations of one specific type.

- Secure attribution to B5: 672 coins, m. 1473-1525, 1528-1655, 1656a&b, 1657-1698a, 1739-1747, 1837-1839, 1847-2281.

- Had fallen out of bag B, arbitrarily attributed to B5, rather than B1-4: 7 coins (all MB 82-85), m. 1358-1364.
- At the bottom of the caldron, probably B5: 1 coin (MB 82), m. 1357.
- Moved by accident during transportation, maybe from B (all MB 82-85): 3 coins, m. 69-71.

7.1.3. C – 502 coins

Leather and textile bag, only partially preserved (l. 862, 1841-43). The different coin types were mixed up without any concentrations of one specific type. Several piles with various orientations.

- Secure attribution to C: 498 coins, m. 857-861, 863-1356
- Disturbed, probably C: 4 coins, m. 848-851

8. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I warmly thank former curator at Køge Museum (today part of Museum of South Eastern Denmark), Svend Åge Tornbjerg for our close and fruitful collaboration concerning the excavation and interpretation of this hoard. I also thank curators Annemette Kjærgård and Maja Kildetoft Schultz for their help in providing access to excavation reports and other information kept at Museum of South Eastern Denmark. The web site <http://www.roskildehistorie.dk/> has been a very useful first quick guide to the real estate situation at Zealand during the Middle Ages. Freerk Oldenburger, National Museum of Denmark, made the drawings, and Torben Juul Hansen kindly digitalized and ameliorated the original photos.

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DK = *Danmarks Kirker*

DMS = Jensen *et al.* (eds.) 1992

FP = Find register of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum of Denmark

Hbg. = Hauberg 1906

KØM = Køge Museum (today part of Museum of South Eastern Denmark)

KP = Purchase register of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum of Denmark

MB = Mansfeld-Büllner 1887

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