

MONETARY HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL COURLAND: SOME SPECULATIONS

Ivar Leimus

PhD, Estonian History Museum, Tallinn, Institute of History, Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia.

Scientific interests: medieval prices and wages in Livonia, comparative study of the monetary history in Northern and Eastern Europe.

E-mail: ivar@ajaloomuuseum.ee

This paper deals with the problems of coinage in medieval Courland. The aim of the study is to date the launch of minting, locate the mint(s) and reveal the monetary system and minting standard. Although the data available are extremely limited, a comparative study of written and numismatic sources has provided provisional results. Also, a new hypothesis about the origins of a local monetary unit known as the *osering* is presented. Finally, the role of Westphalia merchants in the colonisation of and their route to Courland are discussed in the light of the coin finds.

Key words: Courland, Livonia, Middle Ages, numismatics.

INTRODUCTION

The medieval monetary history of Courland has received relatively little study. Latvian archaeologist Rauls Šnore and historian Arveds Švābe researched the local monetary unit of Courland – the *osering* – in the 1930s, attempting to determine its nature and value in comparison to the currencies used elsewhere in Livonia.¹ The medieval coins of Courland are rare and could only be identified recently. They are all bracteates, i.e. thin and uniface coins, and depict a cross with one or three pellets in each quarter. Basing on findings in burial sites, Tatjana Berga and Armands Vijups dated the Courland coins to the period from the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century.² The bracteate (*Fig. 1*) of a similar design to the above, which was discovered during excavations at Viljandi Hill Fort in 2002 and which, according to the finding



Fig. 1. Courlandic bracteate from the Viljandi castle. Viljandi Museum, VM 11041-756. Photo by Herki Helves

layer, dated from the third quarter of the 13th century, was even recently still not considered to originate from Courland.³ Indeed, such dating seemed too early in the light of the material known at the time. Moreover, the image on the Viljandi coin was unique, somewhat different from those on the other known Courland coins. Its principal motif is a cross with widening bars, the quarters of which have alternating pellets and six-pointed asterisks instead of regular pellets.⁴ Still, as with later Courland bracteates, the cross is rounded with a raised smooth circle (or that formed by closely placed pellets), which in turn is hemmed by an edging formed from slightly bigger pellets. However, definite conclusions cannot be made based on one coin, and hence to date there was no proof of coins being minted in Courland that early.

SOURCES

However, in early October 2012 a hoard was discovered in Courland, allowing for views held up till then to be revised. According to Peter Ilisch, a noted German historian, the hoard consisted of 75 German (almost without exception Westphalian) coins, one English (?) coin, one Irish coin, one Tallinn coin and two coins that could not be identified in greater detail. In addition to the above the hoard included five bracteates identical in design to the Viljandi coin. As no such coins have been found elsewhere (for example in Poland or the territory of the Teutonic Order, not to mention Scandinavia), their Courland origin should now have been proven beyond doubt. Judging from the German coins, the hoard must have been hidden at some point between 1252 and 1258.⁵ Such dating allows for

the rather certain statement that coinage started relatively early in Courland. Where and when it might have taken place is for written sources to determine.

Courland was conquered in the 13th century, mainly with the help of the Teutonic Order. Hence the Papal Legate William of Modena decided on 7 February 1245 to reverse the previously applied ratio for the division of land agreed upon between the Brothers of the Sword and Bishop Engelbert, according to which the Order received one and the Bishop two shares of the new territories. The Order was now to receive two and the Bishop one share of the territories. The same ratio for the division of conquered territories was applied in Prussia, and initially Courland was considered to be part of Prussia and not Livonia.⁶ In June of the same year, Emperor Friedrich II, complying with a request of Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Heinrich von Hohenlohe, allowed him to conquer Courland, Lithuania and Semigallia (Zemgale). At the same time the Emperor granted the Master of the Order the rights of a *Reichsfürst* over the conquered territories, including the explicitly stated right of coinage.⁷ On 3 March 1251, Heinrich von Lützelburg was appointed the new bishop of Courland by order of the Pope. Pursuant to the decision of William of Modena of 1245 his secular power was to extend over a third of Courland.⁸ It was probably these records that underlied the agreement signed by Bishop Heinrich and Master of the Livonian Order Andreas von Felben on 19 April 1252 declaring the intention to join forces in order to establish towns and start striking coins in the territory of Courland. In doing so the ratio of 2: 1 was applied in both cases for the division of rights.⁹ While it seems that the Grand Master's right of coinage was applied to the master of a branch of the Livonian Order, matters are less clear in the case of the Bishop's right of coinage. The Bishop, like other landlords in Livonia, was probably considered a *Reichsfürst* and as such automatically granted the right of coinage. In addition to the above mentioned intention, the *Deutschmeister*, also being the substitute for the Grand Master in Livonia and Courland (Eberhard von Seyne), and Bishop Heinrich agreed in late July 1252 that they would build a castle and a town at the confluence of the Memel (Nemunas) and Dange (Dangė) rivers, of which the Order was to have two and the Bishop one share.¹⁰ This was followed by a special agreement of the same landlords on 19 October 1252 which, amongst other things, addressed more specifically the issue of coinage. The intention was

to jointly start striking coins in the castle that was to be built, namely Memelburg, and then to use them in the whole of the diocese of Courland. The ratio for the division of coins was to be as per usual: two shares for the Order, one for the Bishop. The coinage could only be changed if both parties were willing to do so and were in agreement (NB! In later translations into German dating from the 14th and 15th century the Master of the Order reserved this right for himself only.)¹¹

As for the establishment of the castle and the town, the plan was immediately implemented: the following year a wooden castle was built, followed by a stone version, after which Memel (present-day Klaipėda in Lithuania) was granted Lübeck city rights. Apparently the town was envisaged from the outset not only as a military fort but also as a trading centre, because in the construction of bridges across the River Dangė it had been guaranteed that ships could pass under them. (Naturally, this measure could have other underlying reasons, e.g. strategic ones.¹²) As the hoard mentioned above shows, the first Courland coins were soon minted in Memel.

There are no source materials as to where the later Courland coins dating from the 14th–15th centuries were struck. As Memel had passed into the ownership of the Prussian Branch of the Teutonic Order in 1328 and the land connection between Prussia and Courland was broken in 1422, it is not plausible that they were struck in Memel. Therefore Tatjana Berga considers the place of coinage now to be the residence of the Bishop of Courland, namely Piltene.¹³ If we believe the German translations of the Bishop and the Master of the Order's agreement of 1252, originating from the 14th–15th centuries, the Order had completely taken over the right of coinage by this time. However, this fact calls into question the striking of coins in the episcopal Piltene. It is more likely that the Courland coins were struck in some of the Order's centres in Courland – either Kuldīga or Ventspils. This is also indicated by the image on the Courland bracteates (the cross) as they completely lack the bishop's attributes.

In addition to coins, the hoard also included at least 28 silver ingots (*Fig. 2*), a large share of which bore two types of stamps. Most have a cross with circular ends, the quarters of which bear – as per the first Courland bracteates – alternating balls and six-pointed asterisks, and around them a hem made of pellets. It is highly probable that these ingots were made in the same place and at the same



Fig. 2. Silver ingots from the find of 'Courland'. <http://www.antik-war.lv/viewtopic.php?f=41&t=279144> (viewed 7.10.2012)

time as the Courland coins, i.e. in the castle at Memel in the 1250s. On the other stamp, made only on two silver ingots, a head *en face* is depicted. Unfortunately both bars have been cut right above the image's eyes and hence we do not know what the headdress (if any) was like and who might have been represented there. Maybe the cross designated the silver that belonged to the Order and the head designated the silver owned by the bishop? However, this is guesswork.

MONETARY SYSTEM IN COURLAND

Unfortunately, the hoard includes no intact stamped silver ingots and hence it is not possible to determine their weight standard. Basing on other findings, we know that in Lithuania and in Riga silver ingots of, on average, 100 g were made in medieval times.¹⁴ Written sources also reveal what these were called in Livonia: namely, the Germans punished the Livonians in 1212 for apostatising with a fine of 100 *osering*s, i.e. 50 marks of silver.¹⁵ As a mark weighed approximately 200 g at the time, one *osering* was equal to approximately 100 g of silver – exactly the same amount as the silver ingots in

Lithuania and Riga. According to the Livonian Chronicle of Henry, in 1215 the elder of Trikāta, known as Talibald [Tāļivaldis], tried to pay off his torturers offering them 50 *oserings*.¹⁶ The Rhyme Chronicle says that in around 1245 the Lithuanians paid a ransom of 500 *oserings*, i.e. half a hundredweight of silver, for their duke Lengvenis to the knights of the Order.¹⁷

It seems that *oserings* were relatively unknown in Estonia, with the only exception being the island of Saaremaa. In 1234, Papal Legate Baldwin of Alna taxed the people of Saaremaa with 1000 *oserings*.¹⁸ The peace treaty entered into with the people of the island in 1241 by the Livonian Master of the Order specifies that the punishment for killing a male child is three *oserings*.¹⁹ But as we know, Saaremaa is not far from Courland and archaeological findings provide evidence of the close ties between the two regions in ancient times. It certainly seems probable that the above mentioned silver ingots could have been Courland *oserings*.

This notion is reinforced by the fact that later written sources referring to the *osering* invariably originate from Courland, as elsewhere in Livonia the term *stuck sulvers* – a piece of silver – was now used to denote silver ingots. In 1290, the Master of the Order allocated 12 *oserings* to the Commendator of Ventspils.²⁰ In around 1300, one of the villages of the Bishop of Courland was ransacked by the command of the Commendator of Kuldīga. In his complaint to the Master of the Order the bishop appraised the damage for a certain amount of meat and fish to be two *oserings*.²¹ In the inventory of the Commendator of Kuldīga carried out in 1341 an amount as large as 908 *oserings* for the rent of cows (?) is noted.²² In 1424, one of the subjects of the Bishop of Courland owed 10 *oserings*, and another, by the name of Konemann, 2 *oserings* to their master.²³ The tax list of Piltene refers to *oserings* as late as 1582.²⁴

The medieval peasants' rights of Courland dating from as early as the 13th century refer to fines that are, as a rule, listed in *oserings*. The fine for a knife wound was 4 *oserings*; a wound to the thumb was fined with the same amount. A wound to the index finger was more costly – 4 *oserings* and 4 *örtugs* – while wounds to the third and ring fingers were fined with a smaller amount – 2 *oserings* and 8 *örtugs* and 2 *oserings* respectively. The little finger was considered the least valuable – a wound to it was fined with 1 *osering* and 4 *örtugs*. A wound with a sword, dagger or axe cost 2 *oserings*. The fine for wounding a big toe was 2 *oserings*; that for wounding the

other toes was 1 *osering* and 4 *örtugs*. Beating the blood out of a person with a quarterstaff or bruising someone cost 2 *oserings*, but if there were no bruises or blood, just 8 *örtugs*. Beating or injuring someone at home was punished with 6 *oserings*. The fine for breaking open a beehive was 4, damaging a furrow 6 and premature cutting of hops 1 *osering* for every master and 1 for the talebearer. The theft of hay, if committed with a sleigh, was punished with a fine of 2 *oserings*; in a cartload 8 *örtugs*. Making a fire on a field or meadow or in a forest had to be compensated to the master with 3 *oserings*.²⁵

Taking into account the fact that an *osering* still meant 100 g of silver, these punishments are remarkably harsh and imply the great wealth of the population. But it is also possible that the *osering* turned, like the mark, into a unit for counting money whose silver equivalent was somewhat smaller. Comparison with the laws of the Latgallians and Livonians also dating from the 13th century helps shed light on this issue. The fines are, indeed, specified in marks there, but no longer in marks of silver – instead, in currency marks. Comparing the fines specified in different laws, Arveds Švābe came to the conclusion that the amount of a fine for the same crime was, on average, a third smaller in *oserings* than in marks.²⁶ This means that the monetary equivalent of these units was more or less the same, although not equal, implying that the *osering* in Courland law did indeed denote a unit of accounting.

Worthy of attention is the fact that in parallel with the *osering* Courland law also refers to the *örtug* (*orting* in German), whereas the amount is always either 4 or 8. We will return to these numbers below. Here it is important to note that in 13th–14th century Livonia, following the example of Visby, a currency mark consisting of 24 *örtugs*. Basing on the value ratio of the *osering* to the mark (2: 3), Švābe concluded that an *osering* must have been equal to 36 *örtugs*.²⁷ Jelena Nazarova even presumed that an *osering* might, at times, have been equal to 32 and, hypothetically, even 24 *örtugs*.²⁸

Švābe's methodology appears convincing in every respect. However, it only applies on the assumption that *örtugs* of equal value must have been used in both Livonia and Courland. Otherwise the mark/*osering* comparison cannot be valid. However, the minting of *örtugs* only started in around 1340 in Visby and 1360 in Livonia, i.e. much later than the writing of Courland law.²⁹ Consequently, the *örtugs* referred to therein cannot yet be considered coins, but

units of accounting. During the period under study the only type of coins actually struck in Northern Europe, including Livonia, was the pfennig. Since in Gotland, Livonia, Prussia, Lübeck and elsewhere the bigger unit of account – the *örtug* or schilling – always meant 12 pfennigs, the same may be assumed to be the case with the Courland *örtug*.

Therefore, in order to determine whether the Livonian and Courland *örtugs* were equal, the value of the coins (pfennigs) actually used in these regions must be compared. But coins change in time and space. According to Nazarova's analysis, Livonian law is the oldest in the region in its oldest parts, having been compiled in the first decade of the 13th century.³⁰ Livonia did not have its own currency at the time, using foreign coins from Germany and Gotland. As known from the decision made by Bishop Albert in 1211, 4½ marks of pfennigs were struck at Gotland from one mark of silver.³¹ The same standard was adopted in Riga. During the 13th century the amount of money struck from marks of silver increased in both Gotland and Livonia to 6 marks as recorded in the minting ordinance of 1265 to Tallinn of Danish Queen Margareta. Until around 1332 the centres in Livonia struck more or less similar coins (pfennigs) whose average weight gradually decreased from 0.17 to 0.12–0.13 grams. At first the coins were probably struck from pure silver as understood in medieval times (of 15–15.5 lots); later the coins had nearly 14.5 lots of precious metal in them.³² The weight of *örtug* therefore fell from 2 g to 1.5 grams. It had a little less silver in it.

However, according to Nazarova, Courland law was written no earlier than in 1267, when after an uprising the Curonians were subordinated to the Order again and subject to Livonian law.³³ As seen above, there are very few Curonian coins known from this time. The diameter of the fragment of the bracteate found in Viljandi (approx. 4/5) is 15 mm and its weight is 0.18 g – consequently the weight of the whole coin was approx. 0.22 grams.³⁴ According to the data of Renārs Jurkovskis, the single Tallinn bracteate in the Courland hoard weighs 0.13 g which gives approx. 0.28–0.29 g for a whole Curonian coin judging by its larger diameter. The later Courland bracteates, if intact, weigh 0.20–0.28 grams.³⁵ Such limited data allows us to state that the Courland coins were struck using a different minting standard than those struck elsewhere in Livonia.

There are not many possibilities. Gotland was mentioned above

and is therefore to be excluded. Courland had no contacts, either political or economic, with Denmark and mainland Sweden, which should therefore be set aside as models. The same applies to Poland. However, as seen above, Courland had close ties with the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Pursuant to the minting ordinance of the Order of 1233 and 1251 in Kulm (Chełmno), 60 schillings (i.e. 720 pfennigs) had to be struck from a mark of pure silver (approx. 190–191 g). These had to be exchanged for new ones every 10 years based on a ratio of 12: 14. The first Prussian pfennigs of the Teutonic Order, struck respectively around 1236/7–1247/8 and 1247/8–1257/8, were big, with a diameter of 20–22 mm. These weighed 0.21–0.28 g on average; according to Borys Paszkiewicz, theoretically as much as 0.30 grams. Basing on analysis, the silver content of the pfennigs in the initial stage of coinage was 12–14 lots. Probably due to the defeat of the Order in the battle of Durbe in 1260 and the subsequent uprising of the Prussians, a decrease was seen in the diameter and weight of the coins, as well as in the silver content (8–11 lots) – until the turn of the century the diameter was on average 17–18 mm and the weight approx. 0.21–0.25 grams. In the 14th–15th centuries the weight of Prussian pfennigs floated around 0.2 g and the silver content thereof fell from 12 lots to 4, especially sharply after the defeat in the battle of Tannenberg in 1410.³⁶

Hence the metrology of the Prussian and Courland coins is, as far as the limited data allows us to conclude, quite similar. As there is no reason to assume that the minting standard applied in Courland was unique (which is not seen anywhere in Livonia), the standard in Courland could only be based on the Prussian one. Due to a lack of data it is impossible to determine how closely the Prussian minting standard was adhered to. Basing on calculations it can be estimated that initially the Courland *örtug* may have contained around 3 g of pure silver ($190/720 \times 12 = 3,17$). At the time Courland law was put into writing that number would have been 1.5–2 grams.

However approximate the calculations above, one is nevertheless clear: the *örtugs* in Courland and Livonia were not equal, and when determining the value ratio of the *osering* and mark, the differences in *örtug* must be taken into account. But here we are faced with new difficulties. Namely, medieval laws tended to ‘freeze’, i.e. the fines put down in writing remained unchanged for a long time despite the developments in real life that had occurred in the meantime. This is especially evident in older Visby town law, but also in Livonia,

including in the reductions of Livonian law written at very different times.³⁷ Some of the punishments expressed in Livonian law – for example, 40 marks for killing someone – date back to the second half of the 12th century when 4 marks of coins were struck from a mark of silver.³⁸

Therefore it is very difficult to assume which specific provisions and/or coins were taken into account when Courland law was put into writing. A different approach must be taken. Let us return to the *örtugs* referred to in Courland law, remembering that when expressed in *örtugs* the fine was, without exception, either 4 or 8 *örtugs*. This leads to the logical conclusion that 4 and 8 *örtugs* must have formed a round, easily calculated share of *osering*s; most probably a quarter or half respectively. In such case an *osering* would have equalled 16 *örtugs*.

Let us validate this assumption. According to Bishop Albert's minting ordinance dating from the time Livonian law was written, his pfennig should have weighed approx. 0.17 g, an *örtug* 2.0 g and a currency mark 48 g (the exact weight of the Gotland mark of silver is not known³⁹). As Švābe's calculations indicate that the *osering* was 1.5 times more expensive (= heavier) than the currency mark, arithmetics suggest that the normative weight of the *osering* of reckoning was approx. 72 grams. In the *osering* of 16 *örtugs* the weight of one *örtug* of pfennigs would be 4.5 g, at least, which does not match the coins. Another possibility is to be guided by the money circulating at the time Courland law was put into writing. Until the mid-13th century the busiest mint in Livonia operated in Riga, and then Tartu and Tallinn began to prevail. The bracteates struck there, like the Gotland pfennigs circulating in Livonia at the time,⁴⁰ weigh on average 0.12–0.13 g, which means that the mark of reckoning of such coins weighed approx. 36 g, while its silver content was approx. 32 grams. The 1.5 times more expensive *osering* would have had a silver content of $1.5 \times 32 = 48$ g and a Courland *örtug* $48 / 16 = 3$ grams.

Indeed, this was approximately the amount of silver that had to be in 12 pfennigs, i.e. a Courland *örtug*, if it had been struck on the basis of the first Prussian minting ordinances. Therefore it cannot be precluded that when recalculating the fines recorded in Livonian and Lattgallian law, the makers of Courland law proceeded from the circulating Livonian and Gotland currency and corresponding ordinances on the one hand and from the Prussian minting

ordinance forming the basis of minting in Courland on the other. The Courland coins, which were remarkably heavier than Livonian pfennigs, brought about a different currency system in which one *osering* meant 16 *örtugs* of 12 pfennigs each.

THE ORIGIN OF THE OSERING

The origin of the concept behind the *osering* is not clear.⁴¹ In his translation of the Livonian Chronicle of Henry (I, 102) the 18th century chronicler Johann Gottfried Arndt maintained that the word *osering* meant a woman's large silver brooch and assumed it to derive from the German roots *Öse* (loop) and *Ring* (hoop, ring). Originally, arising from the analogy of pendants, Arndt considered *oserings* to be silver coins with a loop having a weight of half a mark.⁴² His explanations were reiterated by Valentin Kiparsky as late as the 1930s.⁴³ Researchers have attempted to derive the origin of the *osering* in other ways,⁴⁴ for example from the Gothic word *ausahriggs* (earring), which in Old East Slavic was supposed to have taken the form *оусеряз* or *оусерязь*. But this piece of jewellery has never had any pecuniary meaning. Also, the hypothesis of the ties between *osering* and *esterling* (> *sterling*) holds neither semantically (English silver coin) nor historically (the term first being used in around 1100 in France, then in the late 12th century in England and only in the 13th century in Germany). Besides, the etymology of the word remains unexplained. The derivation of *osering* from a Russian neck ring (*ошейник*) is even less convincing, as it holds true neither linguistically nor due to its weight. The weight of neck rings in the Nordic countries has great regional variety and has not been unified; the largest number of neck rings of approx. 100 g has been registered in Gotland.⁴⁵

This is why Švābe instead equated the *osering* based on the example of the Scandinavian *baugr* to a gold ring (Old Prussian *ausis*, Lithuanian *auksas*, Latvian *auss*, Latin *aurum* (gold) + Proto-Norse *hringr* (ring)).⁴⁶ However, this is contradicted by the fact that Viking Age archaeological findings in Northern Europe do not include gold rings. Philologists⁴⁷ today consider *baugr* to be part of a duke's *kenning* (metaphor) rather than a money ring, whilst not excluding the possibility that chieftains could have given them as presents to members of their courts. Fines in the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian codes of law were also measured in *baugrs*. But this is



Fig. 3. Money ring ('osering') from the hoard of Ääsmäe, Estonia. Weight 96.9 g. Estonian History Museum, AM 13749/A70. Photo by Vahur Lõhmus

a term that belongs to the oldest (referring to the years 400–800) and most primitive stage of money use (*Nutzgeld*), which is bridged by centuries from references to *osering*. Moreover, the combining of Baltic and Scandinavian roots seems odd, albeit not impossible, in the case of this explanation.

There is, however, one more explanation whose etymology has its roots in the writings of the chronicler Arndt. In the 10th century, silver spiral money rings with their ends turned into a loop (Fig. 3), mostly weighing 100 g, were common, especially in Gotland, but also in Estonia; less so in Latvia and elsewhere.⁴⁸ It is not impossible that the term *osering* was used to refer literally to such rings. This theory is contradicted by the fact that taking into account the area in which such money rings were made, the word should have Scandinavian origins, but the root *ose* did not mean a loop or eye in the Scandinavian languages. Also, *osering* is not mentioned amongst Proto-Norse units of currency.⁴⁹ Neither do we find it in the oldest Gotlandic body of law – the so-called *gutalagen*, probably put into writing in the 1220s – which otherwise has a wealth of references to pecuniary fines.⁵⁰

Both roots of the compound were, however, represented in the Middle Low and High German languages.⁵¹ And although the Germans did not manufacture *oserings*, German merchants arrived

in Gotland at the latest in the 980s and in Estonia at the turn of the first millennium.⁵² Hence they could have seen money rings in Gotland, attributed such a name to them and spread them in other Baltic countries. On the other hand, we cannot preclude a derivation from a Baltic root with a similar sound and meaning (Latvian *osa* > Estonian *aas*).⁵³ But the fact that the money rings in question were relatively rare in the territories of Baltic tribes (in Latvia two findings of seven pieces; in Lithuania only one piece) speaks against the possibility of the word having emerged in the Baltic language area.

However, such money rings disappeared in the early 11th century. Instead, silver ingots either hammered in the shape of a spiral band or cast in the shape of bars started spreading in Northern and Eastern Europe, including Latvia in particular. The spiral bands still weigh around 100 g; the bars are usually twice as heavy (however, there are also silver bars of 100 g).⁵⁴ Incidentally, sometimes the ends of the band rings were still turned into a loop as in the money rings originating from the 10th century.⁵⁵ This fact shows the importance of the loops that decorated the ends of money rings. This may also reveal why the name *osering* was retained after the shape of the ingots had been changed. Archaeologist Rauls Šnore has equated *osering* with silver bars which he considers the first monetary units used in Latvia, not excluding the possibility that some of them may have been made locally.⁵⁶ Apparently the term *osering* was eventually passed over to a 100 g amount of silver in any form, but after the launch of minting in Courland came to be used as a unit of accounting.

The relation of an *osering* to a Curonian mark (*marca Curonien-sis*), although mentioned only once in written sources (in 1341), remains unclear. It was indeed in 1341 that in an inventory carried out in the Commandry of Kuldīga a barrel of amber standing in the treasurer's chamber was listed at a price of 13 Courland marks. The Bailiff of Kandava (*Kandau*) had amber worth 10 Courland marks, the merchant Petrus had 20 Courland marks and there were 40 Courland marks in the chest of the Commendator of Kuldīga himself.⁵⁷ The fact that 20 marks were owned by the merchant and, in particular, that there were 40 Courland marks in the chest owned by the Commendator shows that these were actual money and not just a unit of accounting. The source does not reveal the form in which the Courland marks existed – whether as coins or bars. Along-

side the Courland mark the same document also refers to the Riga mark, which was used to designate actual coins. This could lead to the assumptive conclusion that the Courland mark also represented a certain amount of coins. However, it was probably not the same as the *osering* as a unit of accounting, because the above mentioned document refers to the *osering* as well.

JOURNEY

With reference to the Courland hoard mentioned at the beginning of the article, it is worth stating that it completely lacks both Riga and Tartu coins (and the single Tallinn bracteate probably ended up in the hoard accidentally). Consequently, German silver could not have come to Courland via Riga (nor via Estonia, naturally), but some other way. Peter Ilisch, basing on a single Brandenburg pfennig, supposes that it may even have arrived by land,⁵⁸ although it was undoubtedly easier to get to Courland by sea. True, there were not many centres here at the time – alongside Memel we can only mention Jesusburg (later Goldingen, present-day Kuldīga) established by the Order near the River Venta on the mainland in 1242. As a result of the division of land in 1253 the Order also took power in the Curonian settlement of Sagare located on both banks of the Venta estuary⁵⁹ – the place where Ventspils castle was established by the end of the 13th century. Therefore the German merchants could have come to the River Venta or to Memelburg.

Many factors speak in favour of the latter. Firstly, there was already a castle in Memel and a town was emerging there. Secondly, Memelburg apparently had close contacts with Westphalia. Some time from 1253–1256 a request was sent to Dortmund to forward a copy of the town rights to Memel, with the intention of giving the new settlement the name ‘New Dortmund’ (*novam Tremoniam*). It has been thought that the citizens of Dortmund formed a large proportion of the resettlers in Memel. On the other hand, this may simply be an indication of the attractiveness of the code of law of Dortmund – a town with privileges granted by the Emperor. In any case it was only a scouting attempt, as at the same time the Order ordered a copy of town law from Lübeck, which was completed there in 1254.⁶⁰ Lübeck law was adopted and it came to regulate life in Memel until 1475, when it was replaced by Chełmno (Kulm) law.

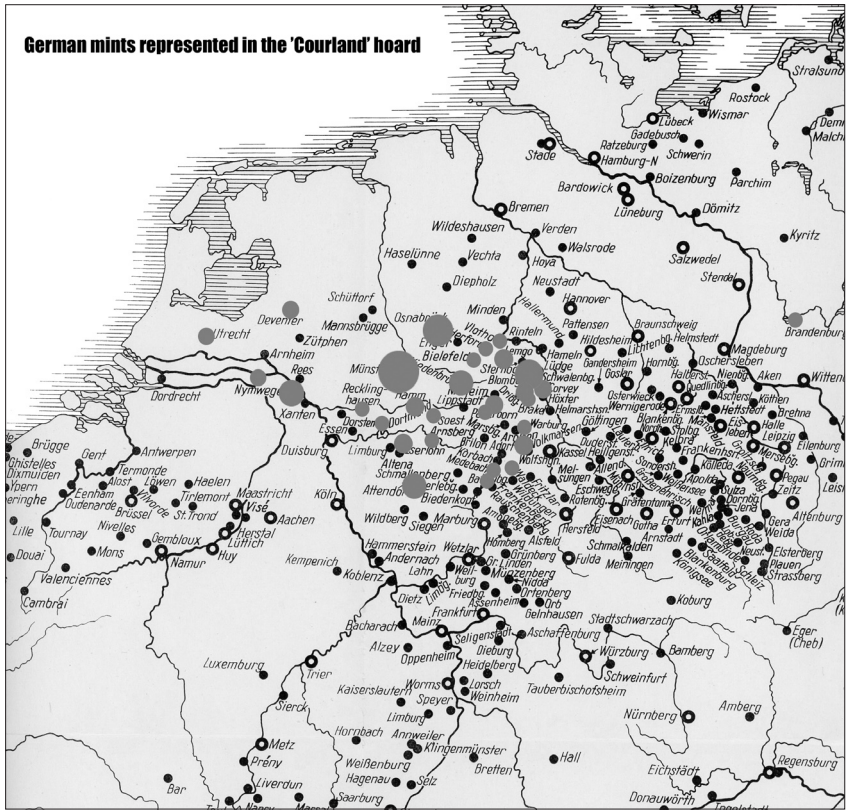


Fig. 4. German mints represented in the 'Courland' hoard

Nevertheless, the fact that town law was requested from Dortmund is worthy of attention. Although the composition of coins does not show a direct link to Dortmund – other towns, especially Münster, Osnabrück and centres of Lippes (Fig. 4), prevail⁶¹ – these all, almost without exception, originate from Westphalia. The same applies to other coin hoards in Courland dating from the 13th century (Laukmuiža, tpq. c.1240; Pasileciems, tpq. c. 1235; Ventmala, tpq. 1261; single coin found near the River Venta, 1250–1260).⁶² The coins prove that the occupiers of Courland in the 13th century were mainly of Westphalian origin.

While the presence of coins in the hoard in question from centres around the lower course of the Rhine such as Nijmegen, Utrecht and

Deventer attracts attention, this hoard as well as other coin findings in Courland show no ties whatsoever to Lübeck. Apparently the merchants from Westphalia used the old Rhine trade route they had used to go to Livonia at the end of the 12th century and in the early 13th century to access the sea as late as the mid-13th century. In fact, from the point of view of origins, the coins in the 13th century hoards in Courland show great similarities to the composition of coins in the Livonian hoards of half a century earlier.⁶³ However, there is one important difference. Namely, there are no longer any coins from Cologne – the most important Rhine trading centre at the time. This could mean that the Cologne merchants were no longer among those occupying Courland.

CONCLUSIONS

The comparative study of numismatic and written sources proved that the first coins in Courland were struck by the Livonian Order and the bishop shortly after 1252 in Memel (Klaipėda). After 1328 the minting thereof continued pursuant to the Order's regulations in another centre located in Courland – either Kuldīga or Ventspils. The minting was probably based on the standard of the Prussian Order. Alongside the coins, silver ingots called *oserings* were used as currency in Courland. Initially one *osering* may have denoted an approx. 100 g money ring from Gotland; later it may simply have been used as a unit to denote a hundred grams of silver. In the 13th century it also became a unit of accounting in Courland, probably equalling 16 *örtugs* consisting of 12 local pfennigs each.

Besides, numismatic sources point in particular to the great interest amongst Westphalia merchants towards Courland in the mid-13th century. The composition of the coins unearthed in Courland shows that even at the time in question people travelled from Westphalia to the present-day Baltic States along the Rhine and via the Netherlands, not through Lübeck as generally thought.

As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the Germans did not introduce the currency they brought with them from home to Livonia and Courland, but instead adopted the coin system widespread in the area. In most of Livonia the minting standard employed in Gotland was used as a basis in the 13th century. In Courland, however, both the minting ordinance of the neighbouring Prussian Order

and the local currency unit, the *osering*, were used to suit local needs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article was prepared within the framework of a targeted research project SF0130019s08 entitled ‘Christianization, Colonization and Cultural Exchange: The Historical Origins of the European Identity of Estonia (13th–17th centuries)’ and led by Anu Mänd.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Rauls Šnore (1938). Par vēlā dzelzs laikmeta sudraba atradumiem Latvijā. *Senatne un Māksla*, 2, pp. 94–110, here p. 110; Arveds Švābe (1940). Mūsu senās naudas sistēmas. In: *Straumes un avoti*, Vol. 2. Rīga: A. Gulbis, p. 289.
- ² Tatjana Berga, Armands Vijups (2008). Coinage of the Bishopric of Kurzeme. In: Outi Järvinen (ed.). *Scripta varia numismatica Tuukka Talvio sexagenario dedicata*. Helsinki: Suomen Numismaattinen Yhdistys, pp. 107–120 (Suomen Numismaattisen Yhdistyksen julkaisuja, Vol. 6).
- ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119, Fig. 13; Museum of Viljandi, VM 11041: 756 A.
- ⁴ Cross with a star is also depicted on some Polish bracteates from the 2nd half of the 13th c., influenced by the Prussian Order. Emil Waschinski (1934). *Brakteaten und Denare des Deutschen Ordens*. Frankfurt a. M.: Hess, 1934, Tab. 1: 21–26; Borys Paszkiewicz (2009). *Brakteaty – pieniądze średniowiecznych Prus*. Wrocław: Wydawn. Uniw. Wrocławskiego, p. 329, Tab. 7 (Złota Seria Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Vol. 3).
- ⁵ Peter Ilisch (2012). Rheinische und westfälische Münzen in Funden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts aus dem Baltikum. In: Ivar Leimus (ed.). *Monetary History of the Baltics in the Middle Ages (12th–16th cc.)*. *International symposium in Tallinn, 9–10 Dec. 2010*. Tallinn: Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, pp. 44–53, here pp. 50–52 (*Varia historica*, Vol. 6).
- ⁶ Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch (1853) (hereafter *LECUB*), Vol. 1. Reval: Kluge und Ströhm, No. 181 ([...] *quod Curonia seu Curlandia inter regiones Pruciae totaliter computator*); Arveds Švābe (1938). Senā Kurša. In: *Straumes un avoti*, Vol. 1. Rīga: A. Gulbis, pp. 45–114, here p. 102.
- ⁷ *LECUB*, 1, No. 185: *monetam cudere*.
- ⁸ *LECUB*, 1, No. 219.
- ⁹ Albert Bauer [s.a.]. Kurländische Güterurkunden, No. 13: *Preterea ubicumque in dicta Curonia civitas fuerit instauranda vel opidum, hoc fiet de*

communi episcopi et fratrum consilio et consensu, ibique fratres in omni iure et iurisdictione temporali duas partes et episcopus terciam obtinebunt. Hoc eciam erit similiter in moneta. <http://www.herder-institut.de/index.php?id=424&nr=18> (viewed 05.11.2012).

¹⁰ *LECUB*, 1, No. 236, 237.

¹¹ Bauer, Kurländische Güterurkunden, Nos. 15, 16. <http://www.herder-institut.de/index.php?id=424&nr=30>; <http://www.herder-institut.de/index.php?id=424&nr=31>; *LECUB*, 1, No. 241: [...] *sic tamen, quod sola moneta, de qua convenimus in Mimelburg facienda, currat per totam Curoniensem dyocesim, in qua episcopus unam partem et fratres duas partes optinebunt, nec alia unquam fiet moneta, nisi de communi consilio et consensu.* [...] aldus doch, dat die munte allene, darvon wi overeyn komen to der Mimelborgh to makene, gaen sal over dat gantze stichte to Curlande, in der die bisscop eyn deyl sal behalden unde die brodere twe deil, unde anders en sal nummer munte werden ane von der meyner volbort unde rade.

¹² *LECUB*, 1, No. 245.

¹³ Berga, Vijups. Coinage of the Bishopric of Kurzeme, p. 109.

¹⁴ As to Lithuanian ingots, the relevant literature is too extensive to refer to at all. For Latvia, there is still one single study compiled more than a century ago: Anton Buchholtz (1896). Münzen und Medaillen, Silberbarren. In: *Katalog der Ausstellung zum X. archäologischen Kongress in Riga 1896*. Riga, pp. 213–219.

¹⁵ Leonid Arbusow, Albert Bauer (eds) (1955). *Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* (hereafter *HCL*). *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*. Hannoverae, chapter XVI: 4: [...] *modicam summam argenti centum videlicet oseringos vel quinquaginta marcas argenti.*

¹⁶ *HCL*, XIX: 3: *Et ostendit eis oseringos quinquaginta.*

¹⁷ Leo Meyer (ed.) (1876). *Livländische Rheinchronik mit Anmerkungen, Namenverzeichnis und Glossar*. Paderborn: F. Schönningh, p. 71:

[...] *do wart geloset Lengewin
dar nach von den vrunden sin.
alsus wart ir gedinge:
vumfhundert oseringe.*

¹⁸ *LECUB*, 1, No. 169; Hans Hildebrand (1887). *Livonica, vornämlich aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, im Vaticanischen Archiv*. Riga: J. Deubner, pp. 39–49; *Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti* (1937, 1940) (hereafter *SLVA*). Comp. Arveds Švābe. Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgādiens, Vol. 1, No. 204.

¹⁹ *SLVA*, 2, No. 245.

²⁰ *LECUB*, 1, No. 536.

²¹ *LECUB*, 1, No. 603.

²² *LECUB*, 2, No. 803.

²³ *LECUB*, 7, No. 229, 230.

- ²⁴ Šnore. Par vēlā dzelzls laikmeta sudraba atradumiem Latvijā, p. 110.
- ²⁵ Jevgeniia Nazarova (1980). “Livonskie Pravdy” kak istoricheskii istochnik. In: *Drevneishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR*. Moskva: Nauka, pp. 5–218, here pp. 175–178.
- ²⁶ Švābe. *Mūsu senās naudas sistēmas*, p. 289.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Nazarova. “Livonskie Pravdy”, pp. 101, 102.
- ²⁹ Kenneth Jonsson (1995). The Early *gote*. In: Ivar Leimus (ed.). *Studia Numismatica: Festschrift Arkadi Molvögin*, Vol. 65. Tallinn: Huma, pp. 76–82, here pp. 77, 79; Ivar Leimus (ed.) (1999). *Tallinna mündiraamatud 1416–1526 / Revaler Münzbücher 1416–1526*, pp. 19, 41 (Tallinna Linnaarhiivi toimetised 3 / Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Tallinn 3).
- ³⁰ Nazarova. “Livonskie Pravdy”, pp. 40.
- ³¹ *LECUB*, 1, No. 20.
- ³² Kristine Pelda (1978). Datirovka i opredelenie nekotorykh spornykh monet Latvii XIII – pervoi poloviny XVI veka. *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis*, 11, pp. 46–52, here pp. 46–47; Tatjana Berga (2007). *Rīgas Peldu ielas 13. gs. monētu depozīts*. Rīga: Biedrība Mantojums, pp. 41–44; Ivar Leimus (1998). Gotlands og Livlands aeldste mønthistorie belyst af middelalderlige love. *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 4, pp. 59–63; Ivar Leimus (2002). Beiträge zur Revaler älteren Münzgeschichte. In: Adam Musiałowski (ed.). *Moneta i kontakty mennicze w rejonie morza Bałtyckiego XIII–XVIII w*. Toruń, pp. 69–87, here pp. 75–78. Pure silver was of 16 lots.
- ³³ Nazarova. “Livonskie Pravdy”, pp. 47; *LECUB*, 1, No. 405.
- ³⁴ Calculations of Jaak-Madis Lilover.
- ³⁵ Berga, Vijups. Coinage of the Bishopric of Kurzeme, pp. 110–114.
- ³⁶ Waschinski. Brakteaten und Denare, Pl. 1; Emil Waschinski (1952). *Die Münz- und Währungspolitik des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen, ihre historischen Probleme und seltenen Gepräge*. Göttingen: Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis, pp. 37–38, 48, 49, 65, 234; Paszkiewicz. Brakteaty, pp. 68, 73, 77, 86, 93, 327, 328, Tab. 6.
- ³⁷ E.g. Wolfgang Schlüter (1907). Zwei Bruchstücke einer mittelniederdeutschen Fassung des Wisbyschen Stadtrechtes aus dem 13. Jahrhundert. In: *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, 18, pp. 487–593; Nazarova. “Livonskie Pravdy”, pp. 178–198.
- ³⁸ Schlüter. Zwei Bruchstücke, p. 532, note 1; Leimus. Gotlands og Livlands aeldste mønthistorie, pp. 61, 62.
- ³⁹ Leimus. Gotlands og Livlands aeldste mønthistorie, p. 62.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 60.
- ⁴¹ Most recently: Ineta Polanska (2002). *Zum Einfluss des Lettischen auf das Deutsche im Baltikum*. Inaugural-Dissertation in der Fakultät Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg. Bamberg, pp. 296, 297. However, the author only refers to former explanations here.

- ⁴² Johann Gottfried Arndt (1747). *Der liefländischer Chronik*. T. 1. Liefland unter seinen ersten Bischöfen [...]. Halle im Magdeburg, p. 102.
- ⁴³ Valentin Kiparsky (1936). *Fremdes im Baltendeutsch*. Helsingfors, p. 101 (Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors, Vol. 11).
- ⁴⁴ Woldemar von Gutzeit (1874). *Wörtertschatz der Deutschen Sprache Livlands*. Vol. 2. Riga: N. Kymmell, pp. 314–316; Šnore. Par vēlā dzelzs laikmeta sudraba atradumiem Latvijā, pp. 108, 109. The author is indebted to Dr. Reet Bender for directing attention to some relevant philological studies.
- ⁴⁵ Birgitta Hårdh (1996). *Silver in the Viking Age. A Regional-Economic Study*. Stockholm, pp. 58–65 (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Vol. 25).
- ⁴⁶ Švābe. Mūsu senās naudas sistēmas, pp. 230–232.
- ⁴⁷ Sigrud Engeler (1991). *Altnordische Geldwörter. Eine philologische Untersuchung altnordischer Geld- und Münzbezeichnungen und deren Verwendung in der Dichtung*. Frankfurt a. M.; Bern; New York; Paris: Peter Lang, pp. 195–199 (Germanistische Arbeiten zu Sprache und Kulturgeschichte, Vol. 16).
- ⁴⁸ E.g. Mårten Stenberger (1958). *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingzeit*. Vol. 1. Stockholm: Almqvist – Wiksell International, p. 226; Lillemor Lundström (1973). *Bitsilver och betalningsringar. Studier i svenska depåfynd från vikingatiden påträffade mellan 1900 och 1970*. Stockholm, p. 56 (Thesis and Papers in North-European Archaeology, Vol. 2); Vladislavs Urtāns (1977). *Senākie depozīti Latvijā (līdz 1200. g.)*. Rīga: Zinātne, pp. 168, 171; Laima Vaitkuskienė (1981). *Sidabras senovės Lietuvoje*. Vilnius: Mokslas, p. 93; Ivar Leimus (2002). Raha Eestis AD 1200. Margad, nogaatad ja oseringid. *Tuna*, 4, pp. 39–46, here pp. 45, 46. The most recent hoard of such spiral bars was discovered in Kinksi village, Western Estonia, in 2011. Apart from 3 money rings a set of scales and weights was unearthed (Ülle Tamla, Mauri Kiudsoo, Tarvi Toome (2012). Viking Age Hoard from Kinksi, County of Läänemaa. In: *Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia 2011*, pp. 227–236).
- ⁴⁹ Engeler. Altnordische Geldwörter, passim.
- ⁵⁰ Hugo Pipping (1905–1907). *Gutalag och Gutasaga jämte ordbok*. København, passim; <http://www.guteinfo.com/?id=1957&meny=gutalagen>; <http://www.tjelvar.se/varia/24-1.htm> (viewed 29.04.2013).
- ⁵¹ Karl Schiller, August Lübber (1877). *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 3. Bremen: Verlag von J. Kühtmann's Buchhandlung, pp. 241, 485; Matthias Lexer (1872–1878). *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, Vols. 1–3. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer> (viewed 29.04.2013).
- ⁵² Ivar Leimus (2009). Millennium Breakthrough. North Goes West. *Past (Tuna 2009 special issue)*, pp. 7–34, here pp. 12–17.
- ⁵³ Iris Metsmägi (ed.) (2012). *Eesti keele etimoloogiline sõnaraamat*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, p. 41.

- ⁵⁴ Rauls Šnore (1938). Zur Typologie der frühen Silberbarren in Lettland. In: *Pirmā Baltijas vēsturnieku konference, Rīga 16.–20. VIII 1937*. Rīga, pp. 168–196, here pp. 184–188.
- ⁵⁵ Eglė Gričiuvienė (ed.) (2005). *Žiemgaliai – The Semigallians. Baltų archeologijos paroda. Katalogas – Baltic Archaeological Exhibition. Catalogue*. Lietuvos Nacionalinis muziejus & Latvijas Vēstures muzejs, p. 175 (the hoard of Joniškis from the area of Semigallians in North-Lithuania, 11th–12th cc.).
- ⁵⁶ Šnore. Par vēlā dzelzs laikmeta sudraba atradumiem Latvijā, p. 109; Šnore. Zur Typologie der frühen Silberbarren, p. 193.
- ⁵⁷ *LECUB*, 2, No. 803.
- ⁵⁸ Ilisch. Rheinische und westfälische Münzen, p. 50.
- ⁵⁹ *LECUB*, 1, No. 248.
- ⁶⁰ Ferdinand Frensdorff (1882). *Dortmunder Statuten und Urtheile*. Halle a. S.: Verein für hansische Geschichte, pp. CLXV–CLXIX (Hansische Geschichtsquellen, Vol. 3); Johannes Sembritzki (1926). *Geschichte der königlich preussischen See- und Handelsstadt Memel*. Memel: F. W. Siebert Memeler Dampfboot Akt.-Ges, p. 24. Frensdorff dates the document from 1254–1256, but most probably the copy of the Dortmund law was ordered the same year as that of the Lübeck law, i.e. 1254.
- ⁶¹ Map's background: Artur Suhle (1968). *Deutsche Münz- und Geldgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, 3. Auflage. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Karte 4 – Münzstätten aus der Zeit Philipps v. Schwaben, Ottos IV. und Friedrichs II. 1197–1250; attributions of coins: Ilisch. Rheinische und westfälische Münzen, pp. 50–52.
- ⁶² Ilisch. Rheinische und westfälische Münzen, pp. 47–50. Recently, additional coins from Courland were sold by Münzen und Medaillen GMBH, auction 38 on 5 June 2013 (Nos. 357, 369, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 385): 1. Corvey, Hermann von Holte, 1223–1254; 2. Hofgeismar, Gerhard I von Dhaun, 1251–1259; 3–5. Blomberg, Bernhard III von Lippe (1229–1265); 6–7. Iserlohn, Adolf I, 1199–1249; 8. Vlotho, Heinrich der Bogener, 1234–1270 – all of them from Westphalia. Most of coins seem to belong to the hoard under discussion but some have a suspension loop or the rest of it (Nos. 369, 374, 378) and may have been excavated at some burial site.
- ⁶³ Ivar Leimus (2004). Wann und woher ist der deutsche Kaufmann nach Livland gekommen. Eine numismatische Studie. In: Manfred Mehl (ed.). *Delectat et docet. Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestehen des Vereins der Münzenfreunde in Hamburg*. Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Abt. Münzkabinett, pp. 317–332 (Numismatische Studien, Vol. 16).

VIDUSLAIKU KURZEMES NAUDAS VĒSTURE: DAŽI PIEŅĒMUMI

Ivars Leimuss

PhD, Igaunijas vēstures muzejs; Tallinas Universitātes Vēstures institūts.
Zinātniskās intereses: cenas un algas viduslaiku Livonijā, Ziemeļeiropas un Austrumeiropas salīdzināmā naudas vēsture.
E-pasts: ivar@ajaloomuseum.ee

Rakstā aplūkota naudas kalšana viduslaiku Kurzemē. Pētījuma mērķis ir datēt naudas kalšanas sākumu, noskaidrot kaltuves (kaltuvju) atrašanās vietu, izpētīt naudas sistēmu un naudas kalšanas standartu. Lai gan pieejamā informācija ir ārkārtīgi ierobežota, rakstisko un numismātisko avotu salīdzinošais pētījums ir devis provizoriskus rezultātus. Rakstā sniegta arī jauna hipotēze par vietējās naudas vienības – ozeriņa izcelsmi. Beidzot saistībā ar monētu depozītu atradumiem tiek apspriesta Vestfālenes tirgoņu loma Kurzemes kolonizācijā un ceļš, pa kādu viņi ieradās Kurzemē.

Atslēgas vārdi: Kurzeme, Livonija, viduslaiki, numismātika.

Kopsavilkums

Numismātisko un rakstisko avotu salīdzinošais pētījums liecina, ka pirmās monētas, kas bija apgrozībā viduslaiku Kurzemē, kalis Livonijas ordenis un bīskaps neilgi pēc 1252. gada Mēmelē (Klaipēdā). Pēc 1328. gada monētu kalšana atbilstoši ordeņa priekšrakstiem turpinājās citā centrā, kas atradās Kurzemē, – vai nu Kuldīgā, vai Ventspilī. Monētas acīmredzot tika kaltas, balstoties uz Prūšu ordeņa standartiem. Līdztekus monētām kā naudas vienība Kurzemē apgrozībā bija arī sudraba stieņi, ko sauca par ozeriņiem. Iespējams, ka sākotnēji tie bijuši no Gotlandes ievesti ap 100 g smagi, no kalta sudraba stieņa saliekti gredzeni vai spirāles; bet vēlāk sākti izmantot taisni stieniņi kā 100 g sudraba atbilstoša maksāšanas vienība. 13. gadsimta dokumentos ozeriņi minēti kā maksāšanas līdzeklis visā Kurzemē, iespējams, līdzvērtīgs 16 ārtīgiem (vienā ārtīgā bija 12 feniņi).

Turklāt numismātikas avoti norāda arī uz lielo interesi, kādu 13. gadsimta vidū par Kurzemi izrādīja Vestfālenes tirgoņi. Kurzemē atrasto monētu depozītu sastāvs atklāj, ka jau tolaik ļaudis no Vest-

fālenes uz Baltiju ceļojuši pa Reinu un tālāk caur Nīderlandi, nevis caur Lībeku, kā parasti tiek uzskatīts.

Tāpat kā citviet Eiropā, arī Livonijā resp. Kurzemē vācieši neieviesa no dzimtenes līdzatvesto naudu, bet pārņēma šajā reģionā lietoto naudas sistēmu. 13. gadsimtā lielākajā daļā Livonijas par pamatu tika ņemts Gotlandē izmantotais naudas kalšanas standarts. Tomēr Kurzemē vietējām vajadzībām tika pielāgots gan kaimiņos esošā Prūšu ordeņa naudas kalšanas standarts, gan arī vietējais maksāšanas līdzeklis ozeriņš.

Iesniegts 24.05.2013.