

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF ANGLO-GERMAN CURRENCY MOVEMENT IN THE CENTRAL MIDDLE AGES: COLOGNE AND ENGLISH STERLING

JOSEPH P. HUFFMAN

COLOGNE'S medieval municipal records contain extensive documentation on many expatriate English merchants and their families who dwelt there, even from a very early date in the twelfth century, and who cultivated highly developed and close-knit social and economic relations with the Germans of the city.¹ Continuing research in the urban records of Cologne has further confirmed the fact that Anglo-German interregional contact was as highly developed by the late twelfth century as those between England and France. This was especially so in regard to economic ties, but it was also true in the areas of religious, intellectual, social, and political intercourse.² Here we shall consider additional findings of vital interregional ties between the English and German kingdoms in the area of currency exchange.

Currency exchange is a significant kind of interregional activity in Europe. It can serve not only as evidence of expanding economies and trade, but also as a signifier of a growing social and cultural interconnectedness between European regions. One expects to find such evidence existing between regions like England and France or between the Italian cities and the Levant from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries for example. Traditionally these early corridors of urban and commercial expansion identified by historians (one could also mention other centres of activity like Champagne and the Low Countries) have generally not included a highly developed economic nexus between Germany and England before the Hanseatic era. Yet there was such a vital corridor of activity, which emerged quickly after the deleterious effects of the Viking invasions were shaken off. And the central role in the growth of this Anglo-German commercial exchange was played by the city of Cologne and its inhabitants. As early as the late tenth century there is evidence that Cologne and England were becoming tied to a growing commercial nexus. And they would thereby be directly and equally affected by the ebb and flow of currency within northern Europe as a whole.

Let us establish the backdrop for our study by briefly reviewing the gradual interpenetration of the English and Cologne currencies during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With the increasing prosperity of both Ottonian Germany and Anglo-Saxon England during the late tenth century came an increase in the circulation of coinage. The discovery of silver at Goslar in the Harz Mountains in the decade of the 960s increased the flow of specie markedly, but it was the expansion of markets during this period which drew the silver from its mountain fastness and spread it throughout Saxony.³ The simultaneous growth of markets and mints throughout Germany resulted in Otto I (936–73) having this new silver made into coins at various mints.

From Saxony much silver was transported westward, reaching the Rhineland first, not only reviving the old royal mint at Cologne but also making it the most prolific in Germany.⁴ Large amounts of new silver also stimulated coin production in the Meuse valley, in Frisia, and even

¹ J.P. Huffman, 'Anglicus in Colonia: Die juristische, soziale und ökonomische Stellung der Engländer in Köln während des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 62 (1991), 1–62.

² J.P. Huffman, 'Prosopography and the Anglo-Imperial connection: A Cologne *Ministerialis* family and its English

relations,' *Medieval Prosopography*, Autumn 1990 (11 no. 2), 53–134.

³ P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 77.

⁴ As n. 3, p. 85.

in England. Only a very small amount of silver, however, passed into France, where little minting was being done in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The Frisian merchants were the primary agency by which Saxon silver entered England at this time – indeed P.H. Sawyer's thesis of a major English wool trade in the eleventh century which drew German silver to the island fits well with the evidence in Germany.⁵

Since southern and eastern England had already had active mints for centuries, the silver from Germany was not circulated as foreign specie but rather minted into English coin.⁶ Anglo-Saxon monarchs maintained strong central control over the mints and refused to allow foreign currency into the country. Thus it was silver bullion which entered England, and an increase in the number of active English mints emerging at this time parallels those of Saxony and the Rhineland.

Pamela Nightingale has shown another important aspect of the growing commercial links between England and Germany during the eleventh century.⁷ King Cnut of England (1016–35) instituted a reform of weight standards for English coinage that replaced the Carolingian pound, with the mark weighing 216g (thus a penny weighed 1.5g), and by the end of the eleventh century the Rhineland, Normandy and Flanders had all joined England and Scandinavia in instituting this Anglo-Danish currency reform. Cologne, as the commercial leader of the Rhineland, had instituted the new standard by the second half of the eleventh century.⁸ No doubt this was done for commercial reasons,⁹ and thus we find the Anglo-Cologne connection as part of the growing economic integration of northern Europe in the eleventh century. Such uniformity made currency exchange, and thereby all commercial activities, much easier and so contributed greatly to stimulating trade between the regions.

The expanding trade network fuelled by German silver experienced a major contraction by the late eleventh century, however, when the Saxon silver mines began to decline. By the 1070s an era of economic contraction and shortage of currency set in that would last until the 1160s. The impact of this decline in silver production was felt keenly in Cologne, which had been the principal bullion market to northwestern Europe for Goslar silver. Unlike many other Ottonian mints the archiepiscopal mint at Cologne did not close, yet it produced very little currency during the century from the 1070s to the pontificate of Archbishop Philip of Heinsberg (1167–91).¹⁰

⁵ P.H. Sawyer, 'The wealth of England in the eleventh century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series 15 (1965), 145–164.

⁶ Aethelstan's edict against the circulation of foreign coinage in 930 was often repeated by later kings: see *English Historical Documents*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1955), 1: 384.

⁷ Pamela Nightingale, 'The evolution of weight-standards and the creation of new monetary and commercial links in northern Europe from the tenth century to the twelfth century', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series 38 no. 2 (May 1985), 192–209. See also P. Nightingale, 'The ora, the mark and the mancus: weight-standards and the coinage in eleventh-century England', *NC* 143 (1983) 248–257 and 144 (1984), 234–248.

⁸ Nightingale, 'Evolution', p. 200: 'Although Cologne was a prolific mint in the eleventh century, there is no evidence that the mark was used by the merchants of Cologne before the second half of the century. It was then satisfied by a payment of 144 pence, and since the penny was struck to a standard of c. 1.5g there can be little doubt that Cologne had adopted Cnut's standard of 216g... it seems clear that by the end of the eleventh century, England, Normandy, Flanders, Scandinavia, and the Rhineland enjoyed a common weight-standard in the mark of 216g.' See also Walter Hävernich, *Der Kölner Pfennig im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* [Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und

Wirtschaftsgeschichte, supplement 18] (Stuttgart, 1930; rpt. Hildesheim, 1984).

⁹ B. Kuske, 'Köln. Zur Geltung der Stadt, ihrer Waren und Maßstäben in älterer Zeit (12.–18. Jahrhundert)', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 17 (1935), 113: 'Feststehen dürfte, daß der Handel der Kölner Kaufleute ausschlaggebend für das Aufkommen der neuen Mark als Edelmetallgewicht gegenüber dem alten Karolingerpfund gewesen ist. Diese Mark bürgerte sich mindestens seit dem 12. Jahrhundert unter nordischen Einfluß ein und zwar wurde diese den Kölnern wohl namentlich über England vermittelt, wo sie mit Normannen und Dänen besonders in London ständig zusammen kamen.'

¹⁰ I am following Hävernich's assertions in *Der Kölner Pfennig* as well as Spufford's in *Money* (see note 15), although there is some dispute about the extent to which the Cologne mint declined in production during this period. That the weight of the coins was slowly diminished, however, is generally agreed upon; see Peter Ilisch, 'Die Schatzfunde von Werlte und Remscheid', *Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit* edited by Bernd Kluge [Berliner Numismatische Forschungen, N.F. 3: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Monographien 31] (Sigmaringen, 1993), p. 161. A similar significant increase in the productivity of Barbarossa's imperial mint at Aachen also occurred in the 1170s; J. Menadier, 'Die Aachener Münzen', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 30 (1913), 321–422.

Likewise in England the supply of new silver was cut off and a recession was caused from a lack of demand for wool.¹¹ Further exacerbating the situation was the enormous drain on silver coinage caused by the Crusades – not only the costs of transportation and foodstuffs for individual crusaders but also the cost of maintaining the new principalities in the Holy Land drew vast amounts of currency southward and eastward.

This silver famine was eventually relieved by the discovery of new silver veins in Freiberg in the 1160s. Freiberg would sustain output of silver until c. 1300, and it was joined by similar finds in central Europe to fuel the expanding economy of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹² Silver was even found in England at Beer Alston (Devonshire) in 1262. Although German miners were brought in and later the Frescobaldi took over the mine, it proved too expensive and unproductive to maintain. Yet it did for a time add to the expansion of English coinage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³

This revived silver supply led quickly to a new generation of coins in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but they were products of a differing system of minting than before. The so-called era of regional pfennigs had begun in Germany, mirroring the fragmented system of feudal mints in France. As a result of the Investiture Struggle imperial control over German bishops – many of whom administered imperial mints – was weakened. These mints were therefore appropriated by both secular and ecclesiastical princes, and coins were increasingly produced with varying quality.¹⁴ Hence the value of pfennigs depended on the place of production: the new Freiberg silver had thus entered a politically fragmented Germany and the result was the growth of regional currencies.

Amid the multiplicity of coins coming from feudal mints in Germany, the mint at Cologne proved to be exceptional in quality. While other German coins remained debased throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (some had begun this slide as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries) the Cologne pfennig retained its weight and fineness. Revitalized with Freiberg silver, the archiepiscopal mint produced vast numbers of Cologne pfennigs, and the high quality of the specie made it the dominant coin in the Rhineland – from Frankfurt to the North Sea – throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁵

Meanwhile in England the newly established Norman kings had maintained centralized control over the Anglo-Saxon royal mints. And after the brief period of feudal mints under Stephen's confused reign, the Angevin king Henry II reformed the mints in order to reestablish royal authority and the high standards of English coinage. He was aided in this by the increasing quantities of silver available in England from the 1170s – much of which had passed through Cologne from Freiberg – and thereby coin production in England also rose dramatically from the 1180s onward. Thus by the mid twelfth century the strongest and most widely accepted coinages in northern Europe were the Cologne pfennig and the English

¹¹ Spufford, *Money*, p. 97 estimates that the number of circulating pennies in England dropped from approximately twenty million in the year 1000 to only ten million by around 1158. Thus the cumulative effect was a remarkable halving of the currency available in England.

¹² Other primary silver mines were at Freisach (Carinthia), Iglau (on the border of Bohemia/Moravia), and the Hungarian mine of Schemnitz. Also the Italians had discovered silver at Monteri (Tuscany).

¹³ Spufford, *Money*, pp. 124–127.

¹⁴ Julia Barrow, 'German cathedrals and the monetary economy in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval History* 16:1 (March 1990), 25: 'Overall there were 215 mints in Germany in 1197, 106 of which were in church ownership and only 28 in royal control; of the 106 ecclesiastical mints, 61 were in episcopal hands.'

¹⁵ Spufford, *Money*, p. 195: 'The new silver of Freiberg can thus be seen . . . in the pfennigs of Philip of Heinsberg as Archbishop of Cologne. The pfennigs that he had minted there in the 1170s were the first to be struck at Cologne in considerable quantities since those of St. Anno in the 1070s. As early as 1174 it was possible for Philip of Heinsberg to mortgage the income from his mints for a year for 1000 marks. Dr. Elisabeth Nau has suggested that this implies an annual output of at least 13,000 marks, reckoning on a maximum seigniorage of 1 shilling per mark. In terms of actual coins struck this meant a minimum of 2 million pfennigs a year. From negligible activity to 2 million pfennigs a year is a remarkable transformation, and surviving coins suggest that the high level of mint activity that began so suddenly in the 1170s continued unabated at Cologne until the end of the thirteenth century.'

sterling, both of which had maintained their original weight and purity after the long years of economic stagnation.¹⁶

Henry's reform of English currency in 1158 reveals yet again the important commercial link between England and Cologne. The new English cross-and-crosslets coinage issued in this year was based no longer on the old Roman weight standard but rather on the French troy weight.¹⁷ This meant that the English monetary or 'Tower' mark now weighed 233g and the sterling penny about 1.46g. The Flemish assumed the troy standard also because of their growing French and English commercial contacts. More significantly, the Cologne mint began to use the Tower mark as its standard mark by 1170¹⁸ because of expanding commercial ties to England.¹⁹ Cologne increased the size of its mark from twelve shillings to thirteen shillings and four pence, while keeping the individual pfennigs the same weight. Linking the fineness of their coins to the English standard made exchanging currency on par with the sterling possible. Thus the two most valuable coins in northern Europe were kept virtually identical in weight and purity throughout this period.

Because foreign coins were not allowed to circulate legally in England, we have little direct evidence of the flow of Cologne currency to the island,²⁰ but the presence of the English sterling penny in the Rhineland and Westphalian regions can clearly be demonstrated. Indeed its high value led to some interesting activities on the part of German merchants and mints.

English sterling circulated widely enough in the Low Countries and northern Germany by the early thirteenth century to become an accepted means of exchange – even rivalling the regional standard, the Cologne pfennig.²¹ And its form was copied by many princes of the region: the duke of Brabant, and the counts of Flanders, Holland and Luxembourg to name the most important, all imitated the English sterlings.²² Some of these were honest coins in weight and fineness and easily distinguishable as derivatives independent from genuine English sterlings, but there also existed fraudulent copies, lacking in either weight or fineness and produced only for the profit of the issuer. Throughout the 1290s for example imitation sterlings were deliberately struck on the continent rather than being sent across the channel to England as whole silver ingots.²³

The cities of lower Saxony, the Netherlands, and Westphalia in particular were quite active in imitating the English sterling. Already in the eleventh century Stade fashioned its coin after

¹⁶ As in n. 15, p. 105: 'Taking a view right across Europe, the heaviest coinages on the eve of the great expansion of the late twelfth century were the sterling pennies of England and the pfennigs of Cologne weighing 1.4 grams each, of silver 92% fine.'

¹⁷ No doubt Henry's continental revenues were collected in troy weight coins, and so the king was regularizing the currency throughout his lands.

¹⁸ Hävernack, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 48–51.

¹⁹ Nightingale, 'Evolution', p. 207: 'The weight-standards of Cologne also show the effect of the monetary changes in England. By 1170 Cologne had adopted as its magna marca the English Tower mark of 160 sterlings weighing 233g. In 1157 and 1175 Henry II granted special trading privileges to Cologne merchants in England, and it appears that Cologne adopted the Tower mark because the fineness and slightly heavier weight of its pennies meant that they could be exchanged in England on par with the sterling.'

²⁰ There is very little Cologne or Westphalian material that has been found in England except for Westphalian imitative issues in small amount. The Vintry material, though not yet properly listed, contains only three pieces of Cologne or Westphalian provenance (two of these being cut halves). I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Dr Barrie Cook of the Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for this information. See also Lord Stewartby, 'German Imitations of English Short Cross Sterlings', *NC* 155 (1995), p. 221.

²¹ Hävernack, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 108–109, especially 109: 'Allmählich [in the Low Countries during the thirteenth century] wird aber der denarius coloniensis durch die Konkurrenz des Sterlings zurückgedrängt sein', and P. Berghaus, 'Das Münzwesen', *Hanse in Europa. Brücke zwischen den Märkten 12.–17. Jahrhundert. Ausstellungskatalog des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums 9. Juni–9. Sept. 1973* (Cologne, 1973), p. 74: 'In seinem Wert entsprach er [English sterling] fast genau dem weithin beliebten Kölner Pfennig, dessen Währungsregion sich wohl beiderseits des Niederrheins erstreckte und auch bis nach Westfalen hinein reichte, der aber auch gern für weiträumige Geldtransaktionen benutzt wurde und sich bis nach Ungarn hin verfolgen läßt.'

²² For a survey of the eras of sterling circulation see: P. Berghaus, 'Die Perioden des Sterlings in Westfalen, dem Rheinland und in den Niederlanden', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* I (1947), 34–53 and Berghaus, *Westfälische Münzgeschichte des Mittelalters* 2nd edition [Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte] (Münster, 1986).

²³ Spufford, *Money*, p. 162 n. 1. Lord Stewartby's article, 'German imitations of English Short Cross sterlings', documents very well the sizeable volume and skilful craftsmanship of these forgeries, and concludes, '... many of [these] until recently have deceived modern numismatists almost as successfully as they must have deceived their medieval users' (p. 209).

the English penny, and thereafter virtually identical derivatives appeared in Lüneburg, Goslar, Dortmund and Deventer.²⁴ In 1210 the Westphalian episcopal town of Münster minted a derivative of an English short-cross sterling that even bore on one side the inscription 'HENRI ONLUNDE' – that is, Henri of London, an English master minter.²⁵ Soon thereafter Henri's name was replaced by MONASTERIUM, and derivative short-cross types were also minted at Herford, Schwabenburg, Vlotho, Wiedenbrück, and Wildeshausen. A similar variety was minted at Dortmund, whose style in turn was copied by Arnsberg, Bentheim, Hamm, Herford, Iserlohn, and Schüttorf. Still others were fashioned at Osnabrück, Pyrmont, Lippstadt and Lemgo, on whose coins even the logo LONDON CIVITAS appeared.²⁶

The actual circulation of short-cross sterlings in the Low Countries, Westphalia, and the Rhineland was very limited, according to evidence found in both hoards and documents.²⁷ Yet in Westphalia (rather than the Low Countries, as the above-mentioned mints indicate) imitations were plentiful, especially during the 1230s–40s.²⁸ The equivalent value of sterling and the Cologne pfennig helps explain this, since those Westphalian mints which produced derivative imitations operated on the heavy Cologne weight standard and yet wished to avoid the political and legal ramifications of copying the coinage of the powerful archbishop.²⁹ Hence they chose the familiar and reliable sterling as an exemplar. Indeed, the close integration of the sterling and Cologne pfennig during the short-cross period is also illustrated by the fact that sterlings are always found in the company of Cologne pfennigs in German hoards, and also in those as far away as Croatia and Romania.³⁰

The 1247 English coinage reform, which replaced the short-cross with the long-cross sterlings, reduced such imitations from Westphalia, though the short-cross variety continued to be produced for some years thereafter, along with Scottish and Irish sterling imitations.³¹ Few long-cross derivatives were minted in western Westphalia once the circulation of the real English sterling rapidly expanded there by mid-century.³² Instead, the centre of long-cross derivative production shifted to Brabant and other territories of the Low Countries, with no intentionally deceptive copies produced.³³ The long-cross style was copied in the eastern Westphalian cities of Bielefeld, Vlotho, Lemgo, and Helmarshausen, and clearly to the point of forgery in Lippstadt.³⁴ These forgeries were produced as a source of income for the small mints³⁵ and eventually for use in long-distance trade with England. Weighing on average about ten per cent less than English sterling they assured the bearer a positive balance of trade.³⁶

²⁴ Berghaus, 'Münzwesen', p. 73.

²⁵ As n. 24, p. 76.

²⁶ As n. 24, p. 76.

²⁷ G.P. Gittoes and N.J. Mayhew, 'Short Cross sterlings from the Rotenfels Hoard', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 23; W. Jesse, 'Der Münzfund von Hildesheim vergraben um 1260', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 2 (1948), 16–48.

²⁸ Lord Stewartby, 'German Imitations of English Short Cross sterlings', pp. 210–11; '... most of the better short-cross copies come from Westphalia.'

²⁹ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in Low Countries', *Coinage in the Low Countries (800–1500)* edited by N.J. Mayhew [BAR, International Series 54] (Oxford, 1979), p. 55; Gittoes, 'Rotenfels hoard', p. 24. The earliest coins of Lemgo, for example, imitated the Cologne pfennig in the early thirteenth century, but by the 1230s sterling became the standard for imitation; H. Ihl, *Die Münzprägung der Edelherrn zur Lippe. Münzstätte Lemgo* (Lemgo, 1991), pp. 13–14.

³⁰ Gittoes, 'Rotenfels hoard', as in n. 27, p. 22 and Appendix 2; N.J. Mayhew and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The sterling element in the 1898 Ostrovo hoard', *NC* 144 (1984), 173–179; and P. Ilisch, *Münzfunde und Geldumlauf in Westfalen in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Münster, 1980), p. 37, n. 197.

³¹ H. Ihl, *Münzprägung*, p. 16.

³² For a more detailed history of the region's economic relations with England see Emil Dösseler, *Südwestfalen und England: mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Handelsbeziehungen* (Münster, 1989).

³³ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', p. 57.

³⁴ P. Weweler, 'Lippische Sterlinge', *Festschrift zur Feier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins der Münzforscher und Münzfreunde für Westfalen und Nachbargebiete* edited by K. Kennepohl (Münster, 1938), pp. 41–53 and H. Ihl, *Münzprägung*, as in n. 28, p. 18.

³⁵ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', p. 57: 'It has to be remembered that when sterlings were struck in remote areas, their manufacture was an important business in itself. We are so used to looking at coins as evidence of trade that we forget their manufacture and marketing was a trade in itself. Forgeries seem to have been produced mostly in areas with little economic importance of their own. Such backwaters attracted silver only by offering accurate sterling copies at substantially less than sterling prices.'

³⁶ As in n. 34. Ihl, *Münzprägung*, p. 18.

Whilst imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery, the additionally insincere practice of overstriking Westphalian derivative sterlings with counterfeit English dies – complete with the names of different English mints on their reverses – was apparently a common practice. These overstrikes are evidence that English money was widely used in the region by at least 1205.³⁷ Most likely these forgeries were struck for use in England, and were employed to avoid losses in currency exchange. Indeed, it appears that some German mints even took to including coins of English type as part of their regular production in order that overstriking could be avoided altogether.³⁸

Such a growth in copying sterlings obviously caused great difficulties in England by the midpoint of the thirteenth century. Edward I's new penny in 1279 and recoinage of over £250,000 of foreign silver from 1299–1302 eliminated a whole series of these crockards and pollards, but many others continued to circulate until the mid fourteenth century.³⁹ In 1299 Edward I was even moved to order the sheriffs of London to prevent German merchants from unloading foreign goods, falsely labelled as German wares, by night or to sell them without prior inspection. This was done not only to prevent the German merchants from avoiding toll charges but also to stop the importation of *mala moneta*.⁴⁰

The merchants of Cologne, many of whom had metallurgical skills because of their involvement with the episcopal mint (the most productive mint in Germany), were apparently notorious for such counterfeiting. Cologne artisans were widely known for their work as both goldsmiths (the street *Untere Goldschmied* still remains in Cologne today) and coin manufacturers. And some enterprising expatriates brought this skill with them to England and employed it in the importation and manufacture of forged English coins.

In 1252, for example, three Cologners were charged with forgery and were cast in the Tower of London, but their ingenuity apparently aided them also in finding an undetermined means of escape.⁴¹ The same charge was levelled against Gocelin of Cologne, who publicly confessed before the London Eyre in 1276 that he was a forger. He was smart enough, however, to take sanctuary in St Paul's Cathedral beforehand and was thereupon allowed to abjure the English realm.⁴² The Red Book of the Exchequer even contains a distinction made during the reign of Henry III between *Colonnenses legales* and *Colonnenses falsi*, with the former worth twice as much as the latter.⁴³ The imitating and/or forging of English pennies was thus so widespread in the districts of Cologne and Westphalia by the early thirteenth century that even Otto IV – the nephew of the Plantagenet kings Richard and John and the Welf claimant to the imperial throne – had such coins struck, as did his rival Frederick II after the Staufer's victory over Otto.⁴⁴ Lord Stewartby has even identified a German short-cross

³⁷ I. Stewart, 'Some German coins overstruck with sterling types', *Lagom. Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20. November 1979* (Münster, 1981), p. 208. The presence of English money in the region may have been the result of John's subsidy of 6,000 marks in support of Otto IV in 1207.

³⁸ As in n. 736, p. 210: 'A foreign merchant buying English wool would have suffered an exchange loss if he used German coin, even though it was of the same standard as the English, since foreign coins were not permitted to circulate in England and so had to be reminted. It would therefore have been to his advantage to pay in English coin or, if he did not have it, to pay in coin of English type designed to deceive the recipient. He would thereby save the loss on exchange.'

³⁹ Mavis Mate, 'Monetary policies in England 1272–1307', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 34–79; N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', pp. 54–58; Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (London, 1983). A total of just over sixty million Edwardian types were minted as a result.

⁴⁰ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn* [Roll Series 12] edited by H. T. Riley (London, 1849–1862) 2, 1: 196–197 (Liber Custumarum), *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* 1: 439–440 no 1306 (26 May, 1299).

⁴¹ *Calender of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry III 7: 277*: 'Rex perdonavit Johanni de Plessetis comiti Warr' et constabulario Turris Lond' excapium Jordani de Colon', Johannis de Colon', Hereberti de Colon', nuper detentorum in gaiola predictae Turris pro fabricacione false monete ...' (14 November, 1252).

⁴² *The London Eyre of 1276*, edited by Martin Weinbaum [London Record Society 12] (London, 1976), 4 no. 11: 'Gocelin de Colon' took sanctuary in the church of St. Paul's, London, confessed that he was a forger of money and abjured the realm before the chamberlain and sheriffs. No chattels.'

⁴³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, edited by Hubert Hall [Rolls Series 99] (London, 1896; rpt. 1965), 3: 979.

⁴⁴ S. Rigold, 'The trail of the easterlings', *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 31–55.

imitation which shares enough common features with a coin from the first Ribe hoard reading *Sancta Colonia* to conclude that they were possibly produced by the same die-sinker.⁴⁵

With the high popularity and availability of the English pennies in northern Germany by the mid thirteenth century, it should not be surprising to find sterling in Cologne. Indeed, coinage from all over Germany as well as from England, France, Italy and Hungary passed through the city during this time.⁴⁶ Hävernack accurately dated the regular appearance of English sterling in the city by at least the 1260s (that is, in the long-cross period).⁴⁷ But what is surprising is the extent to which English sterling was used as payment for local and even intra-familial property transactions. Archival documentary evidence for this activity does not appear until the 1260s, yet by this time sterling pennies appear to have been as acceptable as the Cologne pfennig as a means of payment within the city itself.

In one of the most remarkable passages of the municipal *Schreinsbücher*,⁴⁸ for example, a beguine confirmed before a parish court in 1266 that she had sold her interest in a quarter part of her familial house to her sister in exchange for a yearly rent (*census*) of one mark and six pence, which was to be paid in English pennies (**Appendix, 1**). What use a Cologne beguine would have had with English currency remains unclear, but this was not an isolated case.⁴⁹ In 1297 Peter de Houberg transferred his ownership of a house to his two brothers, with the provision that either he or his brothers would in the future purchase the *domus* above this house from beguines who were dwelling there. The buying price set by the beguines was '*infra 60 marcas vel 50 marcas novorum Angliensium denariorum vel tantum pagamenti*' (**App., 2**). Once again we have a case of rather entrepreneurial beguines whose currency activities tied them to an economy far beyond the walls of their beguinage. Incidentally, the use of the adjectives *novorum* and *bonorum* appear in descriptions of English sterling from 1286 onward, which must refer to the coinage reforms of Edward I in 1279 and 1299 as well as the proliferation of sterling imitations by this date.

It was a common practice in Cologne to sell a house in exchange for a yearly rent (*census*) to be drawn from the dwelling, with the rent always paid in Cologne currency. Yet there is a case in 1277 in which Walter the Carpenter was expressly asked to pay his rent in English pennies (**App., 3**). Walter and his wife sold the house shortly thereafter, but the rent was continued to the original owner in English pennies (**App., 4**). In order to liquefy their assets for investment purposes Cologne merchants would also often mortgage houses in exchange for a yearly rent. Such transactions appear in the court documents which request payment in English money (**App., 5**) – indeed even the local clergy sought payment in sterling (**App., 6**). Frequently these mortgages carried a clause which allowed the original owner to redeem the mortgage through a future lump sum payment. And these redemption payments are also recorded in English currency (**App., 7**). Not only did Cologners mortgage their houses, they also mortgaged rents from houses – and here too we find English sterling used as redemption money, even though the original rent was paid in Cologne currency (**App., 8**).

⁴⁵ Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations of English Short Cross sterlings', p. 233.

⁴⁶ *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* [Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 46], edited by Hans Planitz and Thea Buyken (Weimar, 1937) 15*–16*. Until 1258 merchants arriving in Cologne had to take their silver to the archiepiscopal mint for exchange, but thereafter this monetary exchange monopoly was abandoned by the archbishops and foreign currency was allowed to circulate in the city: Hävernack, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 21–23.

⁴⁷ Hävernack, *Kölner Pfennig*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ The *Schreinsbücher* are the municipal records maintained by the parish courts during this period, and are so called since

they were placed in a box or chest (*Schrein* or *scrinium*) for safe keeping. See Manfred Groten, 'Die Anfänge des Kölner Schreinswesens', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 56 (1985), 1–21.

⁴⁹ Concerning the very large beguine population in Cologne see Johannes Asen, 'Die Beginen in Köln', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzdiozese Köln* 111 (1927), 81–180, 112 (1928), 71–148, 113 (1929), 13–96; Frederick Stein, 'Einige Bemerkungen zu J. Asens "Die Beginen in Köln"', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzdiozese Köln* 178 (1976), 167–177; Frederick Stein, *The Religious Women of Cologne 1120–1320* (Unpublished Dissertation: Yale, 1977).

Both the mortgaged rent of 1292 (App., 8) as well as another property transaction in 1287 (App., 9) contain puzzling references to English *monnaie noire*. *Monnaie noire* was generally debased continental coinage (*niger denarius* as opposed to *albus denarius* or *monnaie blanche*) which only circulated within the city of its origin for small-scale purchases of daily necessities, and had little value even for exchange between the city and its surrounding countryside.⁵⁰ However, unlike most other European countries at the time, all English money was of fine silver.⁵¹ Perhaps these references to '*nigrorum Angliensium [bonorum] denariorum*' are two independent scribal errors: however, they also might refer to the farthings and halfpennies that Edward I had minted in 1279 and 1280, which served the same purpose in England as *monnaie noire* did on the continent. Henricus Quattermart appears in the 1292 transaction as the purchaser, and his merchant family was one of the most wealthy and powerful patrician dynasties in Cologne. The Quattermart merchants were very active in Anglo-Cologne trade, and thus would have found use for such coins during their frequent stays in the port cities of England.⁵² If this latter scenario was the case, the acceptability of these petty foreign coins hundreds of miles away from their original provenance is most peculiar and hard to explain. The impossibility of exchanging foreign pennies (the modern equivalent of *monnaie noire*) in one's own country these days after returning from a holiday trip abroad reminds us of the unique status English coinage apparently enjoyed in Cologne.

English currency also appears in estate settlements between Cologne family members. In a mutual agreement in the year 1274, a dower was established for Arnold de Muntabure's wife Elizabeth of one hundred marks to be paid in English pennies (App., 10). In another case a son received a house from the estate of his deceased father, but in exchange he had to pay the executors fifty marks in English sterling in order to take possession of the dwelling (App., 11). And finally, in a rather complicated series of entries, we find another disposition of property among family members (App., 12). Hubert Grin and his wife Cristina received yearly payments from Hubert's brothers, John and Ludolf, for their respective $\frac{1}{2}$ shares in the family house known as Bergerhausen,⁵³ and these payments were made in English currency. John and Ludolf (and their respective families) were able to redeem these rents within five years by paying a large lump sum of money – again in English pennies. Ludolf redeemed his thirty-shilling rent (or one mark, eighteen shillings) in two instalments during the next two years, and John redeemed his one-mark rent in one payment within the same time frame. The fact that Cologne families used English currency for exchanges *between themselves* shows the remarkable extent to which sterling was accepted in Cologne. The reverse was never the case in London or England in general.

We are fortunate that some of the passages in the *Schreinsbücher* also include exchange equivalencies between English, Cologne, and other currencies. In 1286 a rent of eighteen Cologne shillings was allowed to be redeemed either by English pennies or the *gros tournois* (App., 13). Here we learn that the English penny was accepted in Cologne at the standard rate of three sterlings to the *gros tournois*.⁵⁴ There are also entries which indicate the ratio between sterling and Cologne pfennigs. In 1292 Theoderic de Kalle and his wife mortgaged two houses to a cathedral canon for seventy-five marks of Cologne pfennigs, and were able to redeem the mortgage after six years either with seventy-five marks of Cologne pfennigs, or with English pennies at an equal exchange, or with the *gros tournois* at three pfennigs to one French coin

⁵⁰ Spufford, *Money*, pp. 379, 386–87.

⁵¹ I thank E.M. Besty for this clarification.

⁵² For a prosopographical reconstruction of the Quattermart family see Friedrich Lau, 'Haus Quattermart zu Köln', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzbischofskirche Köln* 20 (1869), 218–248, and 'Das Kölner Patriziat bis zum Jahre 1325', *Mitteilungen*

aus dem Stadtarchiv Köln 26 (1895), 134–136.

⁵³ For the genealogy of this family see Friedrich Lau, 'Das Kölner Patriziat bis zum Jahre 1325', *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln* 25 (1894), 381.

⁵⁴ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', p. 56, indicates this as the standard rate of exchange in the Low Countries.

(App., 14). Once again the exchange ratio of the *gros tournois* was three to one, and the English penny was accepted on par with the Cologne pfennig. Similar passages with a 1:1 exchange ratio between Cologne and English currency also occur elsewhere; however, they contain the phrase '*de gratia*' or '*cum gratia*', which may indicate that this was an exceptional favour being done (App., 15).

The most convincing evidence that the English penny was accepted in the city on par with the Cologne pfennig comes from 26 July 1275.⁵⁵ On this date the municipal government of Cologne borrowed 1,530 marks in English pennies from nine merchants and gave them the *Malzpfennig* tax as collateral until the loan was repaid by instalments. The government officials promised as well that if the Cologne pfennigs used in repaying the loan were of lesser value than the original English sterling they would make up the difference. Hence this entire transaction of the Cologne municipal government was based on English currency, which was treated as an equal to the Cologne pfennig.⁵⁶ We also discover that there was a sizeable amount of English currency on hand among the Cologne merchant families to make such a loan.

Two passages from the 1290s give additional information concerning the value of the English sterling among the German currencies. In 1293 Lambert de Botyn purchased half of the *domus Blankenberg* for a rent of four marks, which was to be paid by various individuals. One person was to pay a yearly rent of two marks either from Cologne pfennigs or the *gros tournois* at the usual 3:1 ratio, or pfennigs from Schwäbisch Hall (known as the Heller)⁵⁷ at a 4:1 ratio, or English pennies again at the same rate as the Cologne pfennigs (App., 16). And in 1298 John de Kannus and his wife Druda mortgaged half of a house and half of an adjacent apple orchard, which was to be redeemed by the feast of Pentecost for two hundred marks of Cologne pfennigs; this must have been a very expensive piece of real estate (App., 17). John and Druda could also use other currency at the following exchange rates: seven Cologne pfennigs to the *gros tournois*, or two black *gros tournois* for every Cologne pfennig, one English sterling for nine Cologne farthings,⁵⁸ the Heller of Schwäbisch Hall at equal value, or one Brabantiner for seven Cologne farthings. These exchange rates are favourable to foreign currency from France or Brabant, but the ratio between the English penny and the Cologne pfennig favours the pfennig. It appears that agreements reached concerning foreign currency were negotiated at varying rates and probably reflect the commercial interests and regional activities of the recipient of the payments. In this latter case we may have found a merchant whose commercial interests were directed more toward France and Brabant than England.

We can say, however, that the English sterling was consistently accepted at a 1:1 ratio to the Cologne pfennig. And, given the 1275 *Malzpfennig* transaction, this was the case even before

⁵⁵ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, edited by L. Ennen and G. Ennen (Cologne, 1860–1879) 3: 80–82, no. 109: '... 1530 marcas sterlingorum bonorum et legalium, duodecim solidis pro marca qualibet computatis... et quamdiu denarii monete coloniensis peiores fuerint quam sterlingi, defectum valoris supplebimus et ad valorem sterlingorum reducemus'.

⁵⁶ Most of the nine Cologne merchants (Daniel Jude, Bruno Hardevust, Matthew de Speculo, Cuno de Cornu, Franco de Cornu, Theoderic de Cerva, Gerard Quattermart, Henry Quattermart, and Philipp Quattermart) came from patrician families who had commercial ties with England and appear in English sources. Hence they would have had plenty of English sterling on hand. Cf. Hävernicks, *Kölner Pfennig*, p. 46, n. 38: 'Die Gleichheit vom englischen Sterling und Kölner Denar ist wiederholt bezeugt.'

⁵⁷ 'Der Heller' from Schwäbisch Hall circulated as widely as Bohemia and Cologne in the late 13th century and was

commonly used as a half-pfennig, since it contained half the silver of the Cologne pfennigs. Concerning the 'Heller' and its circulation in the Rhineland see Hävernicks, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 161, 183, 194–201; E. Nau, 'Münzen und Geld in der Stauferzeit', *Zeit der Staufer* edited by R. Haußherr (Stuttgart, 1977) 3: 97; *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, edited by F. von Schrötter (Leipzig, 1930; rpt. 1970), pp. 259–261; and N. Klüßendorf, *Studien zu Währung und Wirtschaft am Niederrhein vom Ausgang der Periode des regionalen Pfennigs bis zum Münzvertrag von 1357* [Rheinisches Archiv 93] (Bonn, 1974), pp. 182–188.

⁵⁸ Farthings (*quadrans*) and halfpennies (*obolus*) were also minted for local use in Cologne at least from 1150 onward; see Edith Ennen, 'Kölner Wirtschaft im Früh- und Hochmittelalter', *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft* edited by Hermann Kellenbenz [Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln] (Cologne, 1975) I: 144.

the defeat of the archbishop by the burghers of Cologne in the Battle of Worringen in 1288, which had a negative impact on the stability of the *denarius Coloniensis*. We can also certainly conclude that the English penny enjoyed a remarkable circulation in Cologne and was as acceptable a means of exchange as the Cologne pfennig itself. Indeed, there was enough English currency in Cologne as early as 1214 for Archbishop Adolf of Altena to have sent five hundred marks to Rome '*bonorum novorum et legalium sterlingorum*' instead of Cologne coinage.⁵⁹

The extensive use of English currency in Cologne and its environs raises the question: how did all this currency get there? Trade with England alone cannot completely account for such volume, as German merchants returned from the island with more English goods than sterling. The flow of silver specie actually went in the opposite direction, namely to England as payment for the export goods. German merchants certainly received English coins as payment for the goods they brought there, but much of this must have been used to purchase English wool and other items, since foreign currency could not circulate on the island kingdom. The lengths individuals went to in order to imitate, forge, and overstrike currency to make it appear like English sterling suggest that German merchants' desire for the sterling outstripped their own ability to obtain it in sufficient amounts as individuals. There was, therefore, an additional impetus to the spread of English currency in the Low Countries and Germany, and that was the political payments of the English monarchs.

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a series of massive payments were sent from the English kingdom to Germany as a result of political and diplomatic initiatives. When we add up the amounts of silver sent from England to Germany alone because of (1) the 1114 marriage of the emperor Henry V and the English princess Matilda,⁶⁰ (2) Richard I's ransom,⁶¹ (3) Richard's pensions to German princes after his release,⁶² (4) the financial support of the Welf Otto IV by both of his uncles Richard I and John of England,⁶³ (5) the 1235 marriage of the emperor Frederick II and the English princess Isabella,⁶⁴ (6) Richard of Cornwall's quixotic kingship in Germany,⁶⁵ and (7) Edward I's anti-French alliance project with German princes from 1294-98,⁶⁶ we get the ponderous total of over £355,000 or some 532,500 marks of silver. If this amount were actually paid in sterling (some was surely paid in bullion) it would have totalled 85.2 million pennies. This is a very conservative estimate, and of course it does not take into consideration inflation during the nearly two hundred years covered here, yet the sheer number of pennies that must have been sent helps to explain why English currency was circulating so thoroughly in northern Germany and the Low Countries. Since English sterling was of such high quality it was not melted down for reminting, but rather was used over and over again as a means of exchange. Therefore its circulation in Germany was rather long-lived.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, edited by T.J. Lacomblet (Düsseldorf, 1840-58) 2: 24-25, no. 47; *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter* 3, 1: 23, no. 124 (February 1214).

⁶⁰ 10,000 marks (£6,667).

⁶¹ 150,000 marks (£100,000). See Heinrich Fichtenau, 'Akkon, Zypern und das Lösegeld für Richard Löwenherz', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 125 (1966), 11-32.

⁶² Approximately £4,000. This figure cannot be accurately determined since the surviving financial records are spotty for this period. It is particularly uncertain whether rents were always paid annually or continued after Richard's death. This amount is based on Austin L. Poole's article, 'Richard the First's alliances with the German princes in 1194', and other evidence of payments.

⁶³ At least £40,000 and possibly more. John spent some 40,000 marks of silver (over £26,000) to pay for the Bouvines

campaign alone: see Hugo Stehkämper, 'Geld bei deutschen Königswahlen des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte 4: Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege 1: Mittelmeer und Kontinent* edited by H. Kellenbenz and J. Schneider (Bamberg, 1978), p. 110, and G. Duby, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines* (Paris, 1973), p. 39.

⁶⁴ 30,000 marks (£20,000).

⁶⁵ 28,000 marks (£18,667) for his election, and untold amounts for his perambulations through Germany and for gifts to the German nobility (we are unable to include these payments in our calculation but Richard was said to have poured out this money like water): Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947), p. 89; Stehkämper, 'Königswahlen', pp. 96-98.

⁶⁶ At least £165,000 alone in Germany. For the additional payments to the Low Countries and elsewhere, see Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 399-400.

⁶⁷ Spufford, *Money*, pp. 160-161.

These vast English subsidies flowed in the opposite direction to the regular movement of silver from Germany into England. In fact the English kingdom enjoyed such an overwhelming advantage in the balance of trade – namely, silver in exchange for wool and other exports – that it could not only afford such expenditures but could also recover from such drain of silver in a very short period of time.⁶⁸ Therefore these diplomatic investments functioned as an impetus for renewed circulation of the German silver which had come to England, and as such they played a significant role in the economy of silver in northern Europe.

So did the city of Cologne, the leader among German cities in the realm of interregional commercial relations with England in the pre-Hansa period. The unique economic ties between the two can be seen in several ways. Cologne was the central and directing force behind the early development of Anglo-German trade, and continued to play an important role (though no longer unique) during the Hanseatic era. Its merchants enjoyed unparalleled monopolistic trade privileges in England, which were not equalled by other German merchants until the mid thirteenth century. They thereby played a key role in the return of sterling specie to England, along with various continental imitations. The uniform weight and purity of the English sterling and the Cologne pfennig, along with the coordinated weight standards of their respective mints, made these two coins the most acceptable and circulated currency within the northern commercial world. Indeed, they shared common areas of circulation, and their forms were copied by others in the Low Countries, Rhineland, and Westphalia. The use of English coins in Cologne, even for payments between local family members, the clergy and religious individuals, and for petty cash transactions, shows just how closely interwoven the economies of the city and England were. Both the flow of German silver into England in exchange for wool and other goods, and the reciprocal outflows of this silver from England as a result of political payments, functioned as a major stimulus to the growing northern European economy and circulation of specie – and both streams of silver passed through Cologne at one point or another. Commercial activity had so interpenetrated and linked England and Germany before the Hanseatic era that bootleg versions of sterling were a widespread phenomenon, and a devout beguine could be assured that her inheritance stipend was based on sound foreign currency. Such was the fabric of this significant interregional nexus.

APPENDIX: *SCHREINSBÜCHER* MANUSCRIPT ENTRIES

(1) Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (hereafter HASK) Schreinsbuch 1 Saphiri (St. Martin parish) fol. 25r: 'Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus, quod Agnes dicta de Fossa Porta acquisivit sibi iure hereditario erga sororem suam Aleidim, begginam, quartam partem domus et aree, que dicitur ad Fossem Portam, site ex opposito cappelle sancte Norburgis pro annuo censu unius marce et sex denariorum Angliensium denariorum [sic] solvendorum in festo pasche vel infra quatuor septimanas postea ad longius: tali captione, quod si dicta Agnes dictum censum aut eius heredes in dicto termino non persolverint Aleidi, beggine predictae, alia quarta pars dicte hereditatis dicte Agnetis cedet sorori sue Aleidi cum sua prescripta quarta parte libere et absolute et sine aliqua contradictione. Actum anno Domini 1266.'

(2) HASK Schreinsbuch 17 Eckardi A (St. Martin parish) fol. 24r: 'Notum sit, quod Petrus dictus de Houberg tradidit et remisit Johanni et Frederico fratribus, cognatis suis, domum et aream sitam ex opposito ecclesie Sancti Martini, que vocatur domus Corduwenarii, ante et retro subtus et superius, prout ibi jacet et sicut in sua habebat proprietate: ita quod ipsi Johannes et Fredericus fratres predictam domum iure et sine contradictione optinebunt, potestate tamen predicto Petro reservata istud mutandi in vita sua, si voluerit. Actum anno Domini 1297. Et sciendum, quod, si predictus Petrus non comparaverit domum unam beckinis commorantibus super predicta domo

⁶⁸ As in n. 65, p. 391: 'Many of these very sterling[s], exported for political reasons, returned to England by way of

trade, unfortunately accompanied by large numbers of their continental imitations.'

Corduwenarii ad manendum infra 60 marcas vel 50 marcas novorum Angliensium denariorum vel tantum pagamenti, tunc predicti fratres Johannes et Fredericus eam comparabunt pro denariis supradictis ad manendum eisdem, et antea non exhibunt beckine predictae, potestate tamen reservata predicto Petro istud mutandi in vita sua, si voluerit.' The text is also published in *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Hans Planitz and Thea Buyken [Publicationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 46] (Weimar, 1937), p. 439, no. 1634.

(3) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 30r: 'Notum, quod Welterus Carpentarius et Aleydis uxor sua acquisiverunt sibi domum unam cum area hereditarie sitam ex opposito cimiterii sancti Johannis iuxta domum vocatam ad Latam Ianuam superius erga Johannem dictum Schalle et Engilradem uxorem suam singulis annis pro XV solidis Angliensium denariorum, medietatem in festo Omnium Sanctorum vel post infra quatuor septimanas sine captione solvendam. Quod si adimplere [sic] ipse Welterus et Aleydis predicti neglexerint dictum censum non solvendo terminis predictis, mittentur dicti Johannes Scallo et uxor sua in proprietate hereditatis predictae per sententiam scabinorum, ita quod iure et sine contradictione obtinebunt' (1277).

(4) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 33r: 'Notum, quod Gobelinus de Henerischem et Methildis uxor sua emerunt sibi domum unam cum area sitam supra Latam Plateam ex opposito cimiterii Sancti Johanni iuxta domum vocatam ad Latam Ianuam superius erga Walterum Carpentarium et Aleydis uxorem suam, prout Welterus et Aleydis uxor sua predicti habuerunt in sua proprietate et possederunt. Salvis Johanni dicto Schallo et Engilradi uxori sue XV solidis singulis annis solvendis Angliensium denariorum.'

(5) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 31r: 'Notum, quod Johannes dictus Abelline et Methildis uxor sua impignoraverunt domum suam cum area sitam super Latam Plateam iuxta domum Compostere superius versus Sanctum Johannem Philippo Rufo dicto Hartvust pro septem marcis Angliensium denariorum solvendis in festo beati Johanni Baptiste . . .' (1277).

(6) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 29v: 'Notum, quod Arnoldus sacerdos impignoravit sive exposuit duas domus sitas sub uno tecto in platea Lata iuxta domum Widonis superius versus Sanctum Johannem Hermanno de Cluele et Henrico de Leopardo pro quinquaginta marcis Angliensium denariorum infra festum beati Martini nunc venturum redimendis . . .' (1277).

(7) HASK Schreinsbuch 290 Porta S. Pantaleonis (Airsbach) fol. 36v: 'Notum, quod, Hermannus et Theodericus, fratres, filii Engelberti Ligatoris Vasorum, emerunt sibi tertiam partem domus et aree site in platea Filtrorum iuxta domum vocatam Muntabur, que fuit mansio Engelberti predicti, erga Nicolaum, fratrem ipsorum, et Gertrudem, uxorem suam, tali conditione, quod, si Nicolaus predictus tertiam partem predictam retinere voluerit, quod illam reabebit a festo beati Johannis Baptiste ad sex anno pro 13 marcis Angliensium denariorum. Si vero reabere noluerit, tunc Hermannus et Theodericus, fratres predicti, dabunt Nicolao, fratri ipsorum predicto, 5 marcas Anglienses et retinebunt tertiam domus et aree predictae absque omni contradictione' (1275). The text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, pp. 202–203, no. 837.

(8) HASK Schreinsbuch 80 De super muros (St. Alban parish) fol. 10r: 'Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris, quod Henricus dictus Quattermart et Aleydis uxor sua, emerunt sibi erga Tilmannum dictum de Irco et Engilradem uxorem suam marcam unam census Coloniensium denariorum de quarta parte domus et aree vocate ad Gigantem site in Bovenmure, tali conditione, quod predicti Tilmannus et Engilradis reemere poterunt predictam marcam pro sedecim marcis nigrorum Angliensium denariorum cum censu predicto infra festum beati Remigii proximum futurum vel infra quatuor septimanas postea. Quod si non fecerint, habebunt predicti Henricus Quattermart et Aleydis uxor sua unam marcam Coloniensium denariorum hereditarii censu solvendam de quarta parte domus predictae eisdem singulis annis in festo beati Remigii vel infra quatuor septimanas postea sine captione. Quod si dictum censum predicto termino solvere neglexerint, predicta quarta pars domus et aree predictae ad ipsos Henricum et Aleydem uxorem suam devolvatur libere et absolute divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint. Datum crastino beatorum apostolorum Symonis et Jude [October 29] anno Domini 1292.' The text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, p. 339, no. 1311.

(9) HASK Schreinsbuch 290 Porta S. Pantaleonis (Airsbach) fol. 50r: 'Notum sit, quod Constantinus de Ecclesia Lisolfi et Rigmudis uxor sua emerunt sibi erga Everardum predictum et Gertrudem, filiam suam, et Wilhelmum, maritum eius, contra quemlibet nonam partem domus et aree dicte Juliacum site in Ripa pro quinque marcis et sex solidis nigrorum bonorum Angliensium denariorum tali apposita condicione, quod predicti Everardus et Gertrudis, filia sua, et Wilhelmus, maritus eius, reemere poterunt pro quinque marcis et sex solidis predictorum denariorum et pro sex solidis datis ad scribendum infra festum beati Johannis Baptiste proximum futurum. Quod si non fecerint, cedent predictae due nove partes hereditatis predictae predictis Constantino et Rigmudi libere et absolute et divertere poterunt quocumque voluerint. Datum anno Domini 1287 in vigilia beati Gregorii.'

(10) HASK Schreinsbuch 315 Generalis (Airsbach) fol. 6r-v: 'Notum, quod Arnoldus dictus de Muntabure et Elizabet [sic] uxor sua, que quondam fuit filia Henrici dicti Schoneweder, inter se concordaverunt, quod ipsa Elizabet predicta dedit Arnoldo marito suo predicto liberam potestatem omnes hereditates quas ipse habet Arnoldus et de cetero est habiturus et omnia mobilia que habet et est habiturus divertendi, ad quamcumque voluerit manum, sine omni contradictione. Et si Arnoldus decessit sine prole, tunc ipsa Elizabet uxor sua predicta habebit in bonis ipsius Arnoldi centum marcas Angliensium denariorum et ultra nichil, nisi sit de ipsius Arnoldi predicti bona et libera voluntate. Si vere Arnoldus et Elizabet uxor sua inter se prolem vel proles genuerint, ipse Arnoldus habebit liberam potestatem dandi uni puere et alteri minus de bonis suis pro sua voluntate. Set si Arnoldum predictum contingat ingredi viam universe carnis et Elizabet Arnoldum supravivat et ad secundas nuptias transire noluerit, tunc ipsa Elizabet sedebit cum pueris suis et utetur bonis puerorum quamdiu sedere et esse voluerit cum pueris ipsius. Et si pueri ipsius Elizabet in vita ipsius decesserint, tunc ipsa Elizabet predicta habebit centum marcas Angliensium predictas tantum pro sua portione et omnia alia sua bona mobilia et hereditates. . . . omnes habebit potestatem liberam divertendi, ad quamcumque voluerit manum et si bona sua alicui in vita sua non . . . gaverit seu donaverit, cederet ad proximos suos heredes' (1274).

(11) HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 36v: 'Item notum, quod Ingebrandus de Wederhane, filius Ingebrandus, et Druda uxor eius tradiderunt et remiserunt Johanni, fratri ipsius Ingebrandi, domum cum area, ante et retro suptus [sic] et superius, que quondam fuit mansio Alberti dicti Kolnere sitam in Platea Sancti Columbe omni iure, quo ipsi eam habent. Ita si ipse Johannes infra festum nativitatis Domini proximo nunc venturum quinquaginta marcas bonorum Angliensium denariorum non pagaverit sive persolverit Franconi de Cornu, Hildegere dicto Schoneweder, Franconi de Reno et Ingebrandi fratri suo, executoribus testamenti quondam Ingebrandi de Wederhane, quod dicta domus omni iure, quo ipsi Ingebrandus et Druda eam habent, ad dictos executores testamenti sit libere sit libere [sic] devoluta, quod divertere possit, quocumque voluerint. Actum . . . anno Domini 1300.'

John apparently did not come into his inheritance until three years later, when he was able to make the payment to the executors: HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 39v: 'Notum, quod, quia Johannes, filius quondam Ingebrandi de Wederhane, reemit sibi erga Franconem de Cornu, Hildegereum Schoneweder, Franconem de Reno et Ingebrandi fratrem ipsius pro quinquaginta marcis bonorum Angliensium denariorum domum, que quondam fuit Alberti dicti Kolnere sitam in Platea Sancti Columbe cum area, ante et retro subus et superius, ita quod eandem domum, prout iacet, omni iure, quod prius habuit, optinebit et divertere poterit, quocumque voluerit. Salvo censu hereditario. Actum crastino beate Katherine anno Domini 1303.'

(12) HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 73v: 'Notum, quod predicta divisione concordatum, quod Johannes dictus Grin predictus cum uxore sua Richmude solvent singulis annis hereditarie dicto Hupertio Grin et Cristine eius uxori de sua tertia parte domus et curie de Berghusen predictae contigue capelle sancti Apri unam marcam Angliensium denariorum solvendam singulis annis in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, quatuor septimanas post sine captione. Quod si neglexerint, quod ipsa tertia pars ipsorum Johannis et Richmudis dicte domus et curie ipsis Hupertio et Cristine libere sit devoluta, quod divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint. Et sciendum, quod ipsi Johannes et Richmudis dictam marcam Angliensium infra V annos, qui currere incipient in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, reemere poterunt cum XVIII marcis denariorum Angliensium. Actum ut supra. Notum, quod Ludolphus Grin et pueri sui solvent hereditarie dicto Hupertio Grin et Cristine eius uxori de sua tertia parte domus et curie de Berghusen, videlicet media tertia parte, XXX solidos Angliensium singulis annis in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, quatuor septimanas post sine captione. Ita si ipsum terminum neglexerint, ipsa tertia pars predicta ad ipsos Hupertum et Cristinam eius uxorem libere devolvitur, quod divertere possunt, quocumque voluerint. Et sciendum, quod ipsi Ludolphus et pueri sui ipsos XXX solidos infra quinque anno, qui currere incipient in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, reemere poterunt cum quadraginta quinque marcis denariorum Angliensium. Actum ut supra.' (1301).

HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 76v: 'Notum, quod Ludolphus dictus Grin et pueri sui reemerunt sibi erga Hupertum dictum Grin et Cristinam eius uxorem XVIII solidos bonorum Angliensium denariorum de triginta solidis Angliensium, pro quibus tertia pars ipsorum Ludolphi et puerorum suorum curie et domus de Berghusen fuerat et est obligata. Ita quod ipsi Ludolphus et pueri sui optinerunt et diviserunt ipsorum XVIII solidos, quocumque voluerint. Actum crastino Symonis et Jude anno ut supra' (1302).

HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 77v: 'Notum, quod Johannes dictus Grin de Berghusen et uxor eius Richmudis reemerunt sibi erga Hupertum dictum Grin et Cristinam eius uxorem unam marcam Angliensium denariorum, quam eis solvere consueverunt de tertia parte domus et curie de Berghusen sitam versus sanctam Apram in Lata Platea. Ita quod ipsi Johannes [dictam expugned] et Richmudis dictam marcam in dicta domo et curia, seu tertia parte earundem, optinebunt et divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint liberam et solutam. Acto anno Domini 1303.'

HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 77v: 'Notum, quod Ludolphus dictus Grin et pueri sui reemerunt sibi erga Hupertum dictum Grin et Cristinam eius uxorem unam marcam Angliensium denariorum de triginta solidis Angliensium denariorum, pro quibus tertia pars curie et domus de Berghusen fuit

obligata. Ita quod ipsi Ludolphus et pueri sui dictam marcam in dicta tertia parte et curie et domus et Bergerhusen optinebunt et divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint. Actum ut supra* (1303).

(13) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 36r: 'Item notum sit, quod idem Wilhelmus et Agnes (uxor) sua reemere poterunt predictos decem et octo solidos Coloniensium denariorum hereditarii census erga Henricum dictum Eszmenger et Hildegundem uxorem suam, infra festum beati Johannis Baptiste proximum nunc futurum vel infra sex septimanas postea sine capcione pro decem et nonem marcis novorum Angliensium denariorum vel quolibet magno Turonense semper computato pro tribus novis Angliensibus denariis. Quod si reemerint, solvent predicto Henrico et Hildegundi expensas factas ab eis secundum veritatem circa hereditatem predictam. Datum anno Domini 1286 in die beati Lamberti [September 17].' This text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, p. 361, no. 1379.

(14) HASK Schreinsbuch 324 Wetschatz (Airsbach) fol. 9r: 'Notum sit, quod Theodericus dictus de Kalle et Hadewigis, uxor sua, posuerunt in pignore Hermannio dicto Scherfgin, canonico Resensi, domum vocatam Kalle sitam in Buttegasse et domum vocatam Bickilsten sitam in Lata Platea cum omni iure, sicut eas habebant in eorum proprietate, pro 75 marcis Coloniensium denariorum alborum et ponderosorum. Tali apposita conditione, quod predicti Theodericus et Hadewigis, uxor sua, predictas duas domus redimere potuerunt transactis sex annis continuis proximis et non prius pro predictis 75 marcis Coloniensium denariorum vel novorum Angliensium denariorum vel magnorum Turoniensium denariorum de Francia, quolibet magno Turonensi denario pro tribus denariis Coloniensibus computato' (February 1, 1292). The text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, p. 624, no. 2136.

(15) HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 28r: 'Item notum, quod Johannes dictus de Porta et Druda uxor eius predicti acquisiverunt sibi erga Johannem, Richmudim et Belam, fratrem et sorores dicte Drude, aliam dimidietatem domus predictae, que fuit mansio Henrici Stillekin patris eorundem, et aree, ante et retro subtus et superius, pro viginti et septem solidis Coloniensium denariorum — seu bonorum Angliensium de gratia in festo nativitate beati Johannis quatuor septimanas post sine capcione singulis annis solvendis. Tali capcione, quod si dictum terminum neglexerint, dicta dimidietas simul cum alia dimidietate, quam dicti coniuges ad hoc obligaverunt, ad prefatos pueros Johannem, Richmudim et Belam libere devolveantur sine contradictione, quocumque voluerint, divertende. Actum anno Domini 1293 in crastino nativitate beati Johannis Baptiste.'

HASK Schreinsbuch 179 Clericorum (St. Columba parish) fol. 50v: 'Item notum, quod Wilhelmus et Greta uxor eius acquisiverunt sibi erga Thilmannum dictum Cleyngedanc et Durginim eius uxorem medietatem unius domus et aree, ante et retro subtus et superius, prout iacet in cymiterio beate Margarete et retro, protendit ex opposito murum urbis, pro XV solidis bonorum Coloniensium denariorum vel Angliensium cum gratia solvendis singulis annis: XIII solidis in festo nativitate beate Virginis et VIII solidis in festo annuntiatoris ... (1300).'

(16) HASK Schreinsbuch 179 Clericorum (St. Columba parish) fol. 40v: '... singulis annis duas marcas Coloniensium denariorum alborum iusti ponderis debiti, seu magno Turonense pro tribus denariis Coloniensium, quatuor Hallensibus pro uno denario Coloniensium, seu novo Angliensium pro Coloniensium denariorum numerandis ...' (1293).

(17) HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 34v: 'Item, quod Johannes dictus Kannus et Druda uxor eius tradiderunt et remiserunt Franconi de Cornu militi et Philippo dicto Quattermart medietatem domus dicte Walkinberg site in termino campanarum, que fuit ansedil quondam Gerardi de Gluele et E. uxoris eius, prout iacet cum area, ante et retro subtus [sic] et superius et ex iusta cadere potest divisione; item medietatem pomerii siti ex opposito dicte domus, salvo censu hereditario utriusque iure suo. Ita tamen, quod ipsi Johannes et uxor eius Druda vel pueri sui vel Herbordus, frater dicti Johannis, [sic] medietatem dicte domus et medietatem dicti pomerii infra festum Pentecosten reemere poterunt et in illa die pentecosten tota cum duocentis marcis denariorum Coloniensium usualium, videlicet grosso Turonense pro septem denariis, novo Angliense pro nonem quadrantibus, uno Hollense pro denario, duobus nigris Turonensibus pro uno denario, uno Brabantino pro septem quadrantibus. Ita [si] scripti Johannes et uxor eius vel pueri sui vel Herbordus, frater dicti Johannis, medietatem dicte domus et pomerii infra festum Pentecosten non reemerint, ut dictum est, quod ad ipsos Franconem et Philippum sint libere devoluta, quod divertere possint, quocumque voluerint, salvo censu hereditario. Et sciendum, quod ipse Franco et Philippus dictas medietates domus et pomerii ipsi Johanni et D. vel pueris eorum vel Herbordo predictore remittere poterunt, cum eas reemerint ut est dictum, absque eorum uxoris, que eis super hoc dederunt potestatem. Actum sabbato post oculi anno Domini 1298.'