

# Viking Age Hoards and Socio-Political Changes in the Slågarp Area, Scania

Results and Interpretations Based on the Archaeological Excavation in Stora Slågarp

BY CECILIA VON HEIJNE

## Abstract

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In 1881 a Viking Age coin hoard was found in the parish of Stora Slågarp, Scania. The coins were dispersed and the location of the exact find spot was forgotten. In 1999 the site was located and it was excavated in 2000. This paper presents the results of the excavation of the Stora Slågarp hoard, where a total of 53 coins were found. The coins have a unique composition for south Scandinavia, dominated by Cnut's latest Anglo-Saxon coin type, Short Cross. The hoard consists of at least two parcels of coins. The main part is likely to have been acquired in England, and a smaller part in Scandinavia. The paper also sets out to examine the local context of the Stora Slågarp hoard by comparing it to another Viking Age silver hoard found in the village of Villie in the neighbouring parish of Lilla Slågarp. The Stora Slågarp and Villie hoards are interpreted as indicating a change in the local topographical hierarchy in the Slågarp area in the Late Viking Age and Early Middle Ages.

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On land belonging to the vicarage in the parish of Stora Slågarp in Scania, a Viking Age coin hoard was discovered in 1881. The find was reported to the local authorities and most of the coins were redeemed by the Museum of National Antiquities and the Royal Coin Cabinet in 1881 (SHM 6830, 6960). A large part of the hoard was later handed over to Malmö Museum. Unfortunately, the coins have lost their provenances and no list is known of the original composition of the Stora Slågarp hoard. According to the few remaining archival notes,

the hoard consisted of Anglo-Saxon coins mainly struck during the reign of Cnut the Great (1017–1035) (Hildebrand's appendix to the inventory). In a reconstruction based on the sparse information, the original hoard is estimated to consist of a minimum of 171 complete and a few fragments of coins with t.p.q. 1035 (CNS 3.4.39). No jewellery or hack-silver was recorded (Hårdh 1976, find 123).

Almost all silver hoards found in the Nordic countries which are dated to the period between 980 and 1050 are heterogeneous finds, consisting

of coins from several countries. In Scania the two best represented countries are Germany and England. Usually the German coins constitute a proportionally larger part of the hoards than the Anglo-Saxon ones. A coin composition like the one that suggested by the archival notes for the Stora Slågarp hoard, with only Anglo-Saxon coins and with Cnut's coin types dominating, is not known from hoards outside the British Isles. Apart from the Stora Slågarp hoard, three somewhat older hoards from Scandinavia have an extreme Anglo-Saxon bias, with over 85% Anglo-Saxon coins: a hoard from Igelösa, Scania, t.p.q. 1003,5 with 87% Anglo-Saxon coins, a hoard from Tyskegaard, Bornholm, t.p.q. 997, with 100% Anglo-Saxon coins and a hoard from List, Schleswig, t.p.q. 997, with about 87% Anglo-Saxon coins.

In 1999 the area of the deposition was located and in the autumn of 2000 the site was excavated. A total of 53 coins have been found, with a concentration of Cnut's latest Anglo-Saxon coin type, Short Cross. A minority of the coins originated from Germany.

The aim of this paper is to present the results of the excavation of the Stora Slågarp hoard and to analyse the coin composition of the hoard. The paper also sets out to examine the Stora Slågarp hoard in relation to the Villie hoard from the neighbouring parish of Lilla Slågarp. These hoards can be interpreted as representing a change in the topographical hierarchy in the Slågarp area (i.e. the parishes of Stora Slågarp and Lilla Slågarp).

## The excavation of the Stora Slågarp hoard

Many of the Viking Age hoards that have been found in Scania were discovered at the end of the 19th century during work on farm land. The hoard which was found in Stora Slågarp in 1881 is no exception. While digging for drainage the tenant Per Trulsson discovered a coin hoard. The coins were scattered over an area of about four

square metres. As time went by, the exact find place was forgotten.

In the autumn of 1999 the site of the Stora Slågarp hoard was re-discovered through metal detecting and thirteen coins from the hoard were found (von Heijne 2000). The composition of the coins matched the description of the hoard in the archival notes fairly well. Twelve of the coins were Anglo-Saxon from the reign of Cnut and one was German. In the autumn of 2000 the area was excavated. The purpose was to trace the context where the hoard was deposited, and to recover the remaining coins from the hoard. Another 40 coins from the hoard were found. Four of the coins were of German origin and 36 were Anglo-Saxon (von Heijne 2001).

The excavation method was adopted from similar excavations on the island of Bornholm. Initially the area was surveyed with a metal detector to establish the central area of the distribution of the coins, and then the soil was removed with an excavator in layers about 7 centimetres thick. After each layer had been removed the ground was surveyed with a metal detector. In all 430 square metres were excavated. In the top layer the distribution of the coins was more extended and in the lower layers the coins tended to be concentrated in the original place of deposition. The topsoil was stirred to a depth of roughly 30 centimetres. Under the topsoil the unstirred soil consisted of yellowish clay and gravel. When the topsoil was removed the drainage ditch which was dug in 1881 clearly stood out from the surrounding surface (Fig. 1). The drainage ditch was filled with brown mould that contrasted with the light yellow surrounding soil.

It is known that the hoard was found during digging for drainage, so it is possible to conclude that somewhere along the drainage ditch the hoard was found. Two additional factors help to further pinpoint the original place of deposit. Firstly, in one place the worker had dug an extension to the drainage ditch. The otherwise straight edges of the drainage ditch in this area bulged out. It is likely that this is the place where



Fig. 1. The drainage ditch in Stora Slågarp.

the hoard was found and the worker made an effort to find as many of the coins as possible by digging the extension to the ditch. Secondly, the distribution of the coins indicates that this place is the probable place of deposit. Eight coins were found in the actual ditch. No part of the hoard remained *in situ*. The distribution of the coins shows that many of the coins had been pulled by the plough down a slight slope (Fig. 2). Apart from the coins, no other Viking Age silver artefacts were found, but a few fragments of bronze were found and some of them may date to the same period as the hoard. One bronze artefact that was found in the drainage ditch is possibly a mounting from the container in which the coins had been deposited.

The suggested original place of deposit was situated between four postholes. The postholes obviously belonged to a construction together with a fifth posthole. The postholes were rather small and they were placed somewhat asymmetrically. The limited size of the postholes indicates that the hoard was deposited in a small building, perhaps an outhouse, or inside an

enclosure. Two stray finds which may be remains of a Viking Age settlement are one piece of clay from a wall with marks of branches and a possible part of a whetstone. In the excavation area four rubbish pits were found. One of them contained small parts of coal from oak and hazel, that has been radiocarbon dated to Roman Iron Age (c. 220±35 AD). Because of the small construction that the hoard was deposited within and the few settlement remains that were found, the conclusive impression is that the hoard was deposited in the outer parts of a Viking Age settlement.

## The composition of the coins in the Stora Slågarp hoard

### *The coins found in 1881*

The Stora Slågarp hoard was published in the CNS series in 1987 (CNS 3.4.39). Based on an analysis of the archival notes, the original hoard is estimated to have consisted of 128 complete and a few fragments of Anglo-Saxon coins and 43 unspecified coins. Only two coins are described with mint and moneyer, and one coin has been attributed to a mint. Possibly another ten coins described in CNS 3.4.71 belong to the Stora Slågarp hoard. According to CNS one Anglo-Saxon coin from the Stora Slågarp hoard was sold by Mr Jönsson of Östra Grevie to Mr L. C. Petersen, Odense, in April 1911 (the village of Östra Grevie is situated close to Stora Slågarp parish). Petersen later sold this coin by auction in 1917 (CNS 3.4.39). In CNS 3.4.71 ten Anglo-Saxon coins are listed that were bought by Mr Petersen on the same occasion as the Anglo-Saxon coin mentioned above from Mr Jönsson. The ten coins were said to have been found in Scania, and it is probable that they all originate from the Stora Slågarp hoard. The composition of the ten coins from Petersen's collection correlates well to the composition of the 53 coins found in Stora Slågarp in 1999 and 2000.

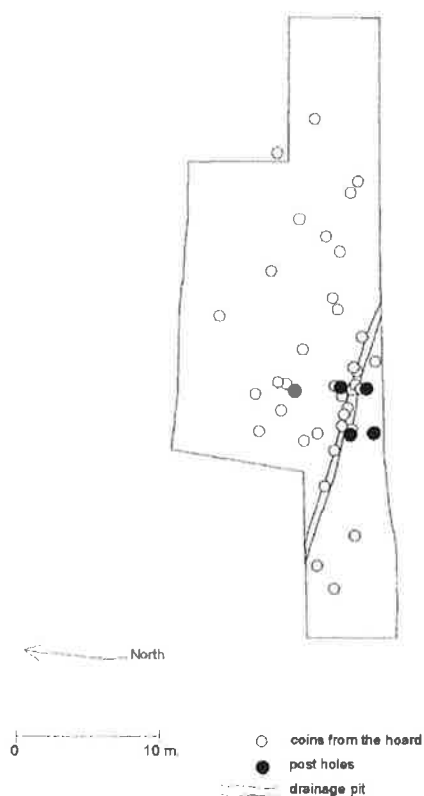


Fig. 2. The excavation area in Stora Slågarp, Scania.

#### *The coins found in 1999 and 2000*

The composition of the 53 found coins which were found in 1999 and 2000 was dominated by Anglo-Saxon coins and especially Cnut's latest coin type, Short Cross. Altogether 48 Anglo-Saxon and 5 German coins were found. The latest coin is Harold I Jewel Cross type, struck c. 1035–1037 (Fig. 3).

The five coins of German origin make an interesting contribution to the composition of the hoard. The coins are bent and have more pecks than the Anglo-Saxon coins. Among the Anglo-Saxon coins Æthelred's Long Cross type (997–1003) is represented in one specimen. This coin differs in two respects from the other Anglo-Saxon coins, it is older and it is heavily pecked. Among the other Anglo-Saxon coins very few pecks exists. Pecking is making small marks by stabbing the coin with a knife or

another sharp object. It is a typical and very common Scandinavian treatment of coins during the Viking Age, and the pecks are usually interpreted as test-marks for controlling the silver content (Archibald 1990, 11 ff.). It is therefore plausible that the German coins together with the Anglo-Saxon Long Cross coin were acquired in Scandinavia.

Among the moneyers represented in the Anglo-Saxon material, the name form *Æstan Loc* from Winchester (no. 47 in the list) belongs to a group of double names that have received special attention. It has been suggested that the name form represent either two moneyers working together or a single moneyer with a byname. Veronica Smart has suggested the later. Some of the second names indicate the age or the title of the moneyer, for example *Edwald the Alda* and *Ulfcetel Theginc*. In *Æstan Loc* both parts of the name are known as single moneyer names. Smart suggests that *Loc* alone could be an ellipsis for *Æstan Loc* (Smart 1990, pp. 448 f.). The practice of using double names was at its height in the last years of Cnut and during the reigns of his two descendants Harold and Harthacnut. Only one example (*Osulf Thein*) is known from the reign of Æthelred II (978–1017) (Smart 1990, p. 443).

In the Stora Slågarp hoard three coins out of nine of the Pointed Helmet type are minted in Chester. Two of the coins are die-identical on the reverse, with the moneyer's name *Svertingr*. It is not possible to draw definite conclusions from the limited material as to whether the over-representation of the Chester mint is accurate for the whole hoard or if it is a coincidence. A possible explanation for the over-representation of the Chester mint in the Pointed Helmet type could be that the person who acquired the coins either visited Chester or in other ways had direct contact with persons from Chester.

#### *The Anglo-Saxon mints represented in the Stora Slågarp hoard*

During the reign of Cnut coins were struck in his name in England and Denmark. In Denmark,

Table 1. The thirteen coins from the CNS volume. In CNS 3.4.39 three coins are described: one Cnut Short Cross type from Exeter and one from Lincoln, and one Harthacnut coin from Lincoln. The other ten coins belong to the Petersen collection (CNS 3.4.71), and probably originate from the Stora Slågarp hoard. Abbreviations: Cn E: Cnut Quatrefoil type; Cn G: Cnut Pointed Helmet type; Cn H: Cnut Short Cross type; Harth. A: Harthacnut Jewel Cross type.

	Cn E	Cn G	Cn H	Harth. A	Total
Exeter			1		1
Dover			1		1
Lincoln	1	1	3	1	6
London		3			3
Southwark	1				1
Winchester				1	1
Total	2	4	5	2	13

Table 2. The Anglo-Saxon coins from the Stora Slågarp hoard found during the excavation and metal detector survey in 1999 and 2000.

Abbreviations: Æ II D: Æthelred II Long Cross type; Cn E: Cnut Quatrefoil type; Cn G: Cnut Pointed Helmet type; Cn H: Cnut Short Cross type; Harold A: Harold I's Jewel Cross type.

	Æ II D	Cn E	Cn G	Cn H	Harold A	Total
Chester			3	1		4
Colchester				1		1
Dover				1		1
Hastings				1		1
Hertford				3		3
Lincoln				7		7
London	1	1	3	9	1	15
Stamford			1	1		2
Thetford				1		1
Winchester		2		1		3
Worcester			1	1		2
York		3	1	4		8
Total	1	6	9	31	1	48

the English coin types were often used as prototypes, but the intention never seems to have been to conform with the English coinage. Throughout Cnut's reign foreign coins dominated the currency in Denmark (Jonsson 1994, p. 230). In England three main coin types were struck: Quatrefoil (c. 1017–1023), Pointed Helmet (c. 1023–1029) and Short Cross (c. 1029–1035) (see Fig. 3). Most Anglo-Saxon Cnut coins are found outside the British Isles,

and the hoard that contains the largest number of coins of Cnut is that of Lübeck with 1,813 specimens. The second largest is Äspinge, Hurva parish, Scania, with 1,436 coins of Cnut (Jonsson 1994, p. 206). The Anglo-Saxon monetary system during the reign of Cnut was established through a monetary reform in 973 by Edgar (959–975). The reform had eight main objectives (Jonsson 1987, p. 189):



Fig. 3. Seven coins from the Stora Slågarp hoard found during the excavation in 2000.

1. England, Æthelred II Long Cross type (997–1003), London, Leofnoth (no. 6).
2. England, Cnut Quatrefoil type (1018–1023), Selakollr, York (no. 10).
3. England, Cnut Pointed Helmet type (1023–1029), Chester, Svertingr (no. 14).
4. do. stamp identical reverse (no. 15).
5. England, Cnut Short Cross type (1029–35), Winchester, Æstan Loc (no. 47).
6. England, Harold I's Jewel Cross type (1035–37), London, Duding (no. 53).
7. Germany, Trier, K. Henrik II (1014–1024) (no. 1).

- 1 the withdrawal from circulation of all coins in England in exchange for coins of a new type
- 2 the new coins should circulate freely all over England
- 3 a common motif on all coins and with a portrait of the king on the obverse
- 4 the rendering on all coins of the moneyer and the mint in the reverse legend
- 5 periodic recoinages to the effect that only one type was to be allowed to circulate at any given time
- 6 the creation of a number of new mints which could supply local needs
- 7 control of the coinage achieved by centralized production of dies
- 8 an increase in royal revenues since the new coins had to be acquired at a premium

The quality of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Stora Slågarp hoard, apart from the Æthelred II Long Cross coin mentioned above, shows that they did not circulate much and certainly not in

Scandinavia because they are not worn and very little pecked. Also the large proportion of Anglo-Saxon coins in the hoard indicates that the coins were brought directly from England to Scania where they were deposited. The distribution of the mints can give a clue to where the coins were acquired, because even though the monetary system made it possible for a coin type to circulate all over England, the hoards and stray finds of coins in the British Isles show that the currency was less mobile in the northern parts of England than in the south (Jonsson 1994, pp. 212 f.). Based on this fact, it is interesting to analyse the distribution of the mints in the Stora Slågarp hoard and to compare it with contemporary hoards from the British Isles. Unfortunately, many of the hoards from the British Isles are unsatisfactorily documented. A total of 24 hoards that are dated to the reign of Cnut have been found in the British Isles, but only the hoards from Bryn Maelgwyn, Halton Moor, Caldale, and a hoard from the south-east Midlands are well documented (Jonsson 1994, pp. 207 ff.)

and the Kingsholm hoard has been reconstructed (Dolley & Metcalf 1958, pp. 69–81). The hoards from Bryn Maelgwyn, Wales, and Kingsholm, Mercia, are found in the west. In both hoards Chester is the largest mint. The exact find location of the hoard from the south-east Midlands is unknown, but the Stamford and London mints are the most well represented, suggesting that the hoard was found in the south-east Midlands. The Halton Moor hoard from the York area has an extreme northern bias with 96% coins from York. Finally, the Caldale hoard, which was found on the Orkney Islands, also has a northern bias, but not as pronounced as in the Halton Moor hoard. In the Caldale hoard 59% of the coins were struck in York, Lincoln and Stamford.

Compared to the hoards from the British Isles, there is no mint in the Stora Slågarp hoard that clearly dominates the coin composition. The London mint is the most well represented and the three major northern mints – York, Lincoln and Stamford – together constitute 35% of the Anglo-Saxon coins. The composition of the mints in the Stora Slågarp hoard can be compared to Bertil Peterson's analysis of the Anglo-Saxon mints. Peterson has examined the distribution of coins from various mints from Edgar's Reform Small Cross (c. 973) to Harold II Pax type (1066) based on the entire preserved 34,707 Anglo-Saxon coins from the Nordic countries, the British Isles, Ireland, Germany and Austria. A little more than half of the Anglo-Saxon coins were found within the present borders of Sweden, mainly on Gotland, and in total about 80% were found in the Nordic countries (Petersen 1969, pp. 61 ff., 140). The four single mints with the largest coin production were London, Lincoln, York and Winchester. During the reign of Cnut the mints are represented in the material in the following proportions (a source-critical remark is necessary about Petersson's figures for York, which are slightly increased because of the Halton Moor hoard) (Table 3).

The proportions of the mints in the Stora

Slågarp hoard (Table 4) corresponds fairly well to Peterson's average representation of the mints. It is therefore hard to distinguish a single area where the coins were acquired. A possibility is that the coins in the Stora Slågarp hoard were collected in different areas, and that could also explain the overrepresentation of the Chester mint among the Pointed Helmet coins, and also the over-representation of the Lincoln mint in the Short Cross type.

## The Viking Age hoards in the Slågarp area

Most Viking Age hoards in Scania have been found in the southern and western parts. The parish of Stora Slågarp is located centrally in this area. In the village of Villie, which belongs to the neighbouring parish of Lilla Slågarp, another Viking Age hoard has been found (SHM-KMK 5870). The Stora Slågarp and Villie hoards were deposited about 1–1.5 kilometres from each other. The t.p.q. of the Stora Slågarp hoard is 1035 and the t.p.q. for the Villie hoard is 1027. Hence, the hoards are closely related in space and time, but despite this the compositions of the hoards are fundamentally different.

As previously described, the Stora Slågarp hoard has an exceptional composition with Anglo-Saxon coins predominating. The composition of the Villie hoard is more typical south Scandinavian. The proportion of the coins from the different countries in the Villie hoard is that out of 936 coins, 689 are German (Hatz 1976, find 182), 208 are Anglo-Saxon and 29 are Danish coins or Scandinavian imitations (based on Hildebrand's appendix to the inventory). In Hildebrand's list 24 of coins are described as imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins of Æthelred's Long Cross type and five coins are defined as Danish of Small Cross type from the reign of Cnut (two of the coins are listed in Malmer 1997, p. 329). Among the Anglo-Saxon coins it is remarkable that none of Cnut's types are found. Instead Æthelred's Long Cross type

Table 3. The proportions of the four major mints during the reign of Cnut based on the entire preserved material (Peterson 1969).

	London	Lincoln	York	Winchester	Other
Quatrefoil	22%	8%	9%	6%	55%
Pointed Helmet	34%	10%	12%	4%	40%
Short Cross	25%	14%	13%	5%	43%

Table 4. The proportions of the four major mints in the Stora Slågarp hoard. The figures within the parentheses are the actual number of coins.

	London	Lincoln	York	Winchester	Other
Quatrefoil	17% (1)	–	50% (3)	33% (2)	–
Pointed Helmet	33% (3)	–	11% (1)	–	56% (5)
Short Cross	29% (9)	23% (7)	13% (4)	3% (1)	32% (10)

(997–1003) constitutes the largest share of the Anglo-Saxon coins. Most of the German types are also concentrated in the period around 1000. A minor part of the hoard appears to have been added at one or several later stages, when the main part of the hoard was acquired. The Villie hoard contains a few pieces of silver that together weigh 50.11 grams. Among other things, an almost complete west Slavonic cross-shaped earring, a fragment of a half-moon-shaped west Slavonic earring, two round brooches of probably west European origin and two toilet utilities belongs to the find (Hårdh 1976, find 88). The Villie and the large Äpinge hoard are representative for the period when hack-silver becomes less important in Scania from a point some decades into the 11th century. Both hoards comprise a large number of coins, some complete ornaments and a small number of fragments (Hårdh 1996, p. 105).

It has been established that almost every hoard from Scania has a close relationship to a historical village (Callmer 1980) and so do the hoards from Stora Slågarp and Villie. The village name *Villie* belongs to a group of older name forms. The ending *-ie* is a transformation of the word *-hög*, i.e. “mound” (Pamp 1988, p. 12). In Villie several mounds (probably Bronze Age) are located which can be associated with the place-name. The mounds together with the village

name indicates that the place had an important position before the Viking Age. It is known that some Iron Age activities can be associated with Bronze Age mounds, for example Viking Age and early medieval cemeteries placed close to the mounds (Billberg 1989, p. 41) and hoarding in or close to mounds (von Heijne, manuscript).

The place-name Stora Slågarp has the ending *-arp*, which is a transformation of *-thorp*. This is the most common village name form in Scania and in its older forms is dated to the Viking Age and early medieval period. The element *-thorp* usually mean “new settlement” (Pamp 1988, p. 17). The first time that Slågarp was mentioned was in 1334–66, when the name was spelled *de Slokethorp* (NE: Stora Slågarp), which probably is a combination of the man’s name *Sloke* and *-thorp*. The *-thorp* names in Scania have been discussed by Mats Anglert, who has shown that a fairly extensive proportion of *-thorp* settlements existed at the time of the establishment of the mediaeval churches in south-western Scania in the 12th century (Anglert 1995, pp. 27 f.). Anglert argues that there seems to be a connection between the settlement expansion associated with the *-thorp* names in the late Viking Age, and the establishment of Danish royal supremacy in Scania (Anglert 1995, p. 49).

The adjective *Stora* (i.e. “Great”) in Stora Slågarp should be discussed in relation to the



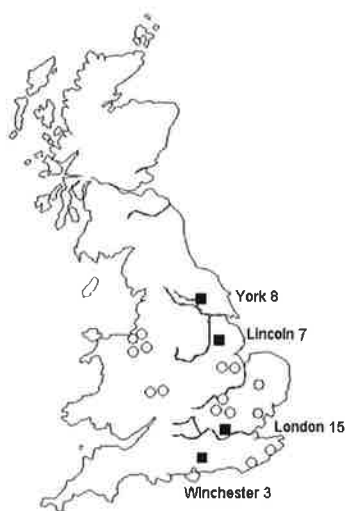


Fig. 4. The distribution of the Anglo-Saxon mints in the Stora Slågarp hoard.

neighbouring parish, Lilla Slågarp, as *Lilla* means “Little”. Probably one original manor has existed with the place name *Slågarp/Sloketorp*. Before the churches were built in the Slågarp area and the parishes were constituted, the original Slågarp manor was divided. It is plausible that the original manor was located in Stora Slågarp and a new manor with its roots from Stora Slågarp was established in Lilla Slågarp. Divisions of manors are known to have been frequent in Scania in the early medieval period (Riddersporre 1989, p. 136). Romanesque stone churches were built in each of the parishes (Ahlenius & Kempe 1908, pp. 104 f.). It is noteworthy that the village of Villie did not become a church village. It is possible that the building of churches in Lilla and Stora Slågarp was a power manifestation against the formerly important persons in the area who resided in Villie. A strategy during the Viking Age was to establish new alternative power centres in connection with old ones in order to break the topographical hierarchy of the landscape (Thomasson 1998, p. 91). A parallel is the relation between Uppåkra and Lund, but in the Slågarp area the reorganization of the topographical hierarchy is on a more local level.

Finally, it is important to bring together the analysis of the Stora Slågarp and Villie hoards with the discussion about the villages and place-names in a comprehensive discussion. On one hand we have the Villie hoard with a composition of coins, jewellery and hack-silver that is rather typical of the period in the south Scandinavian area. The hoard was deposited in the village of Villie which was established pre-Viking Age. The place continuity, together with the hoard, a single find of a Byzantine coin (Hammarberg *et al.* 1989, find 103) and the association with the mounds, indicates that Villie had a prominent position in the Slågarp area during the Viking Age. On the other hand, we have the Stora Slågarp hoard with its exceptional composition. Most of the coins were acquired in England. Judging by the coin composition, the owner of the coins apparently left England a short time after the death of Cnut. It is possible that the same person or persons that deposited the hoard initiated the establishment of Slågarp. The expansion of *-thorp* villages was connected with the new sovereignty and social order in Scania at the end of the Viking Age. This is indicated by rune-stones that are connected to the royal hird and that were erected at *-thorp* places (Anglert

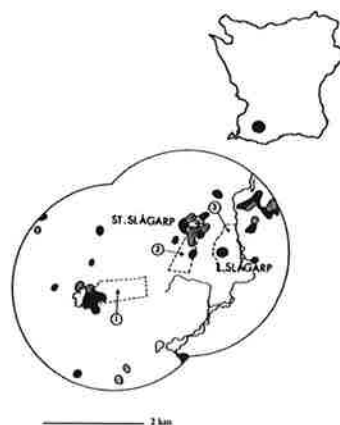


Fig. 5. Map of the Slågarp area, i.e. the parishes of Stora Slågarp and Lilla Slågarp (Callmer 1980, p. 143). 1: the site of the Villie hoard; 2: the site of the Stora Slågarp hoard.

1995, p. 49). The topographical hierarchy appears to have changed in the Slågarp area in the late Viking Age and early medieval period. The original manor of Slågarp was divided into two parts, Lilla and Stora Slågarp. Both became church villages in the Early Middle Ages, but Villie, which had a prominent place during the Viking Age, did not become a church village. Against this background the hoards may be seen as indicating a social-political change in the area, with the Villie hoard belonging to an older society and the Stora Slågarp hoard representing the new supremacy that gained influence at the end of the Viking Age.

## Acknowledgement

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List of coins from the Stora Slågarp hoard, found in 1999 and 2000.

## GERMANY

### Oberlothringen

1. Trier Emperor Henry II (1014–1024) Dbg. 462, Weiller 45 1.41 g

### Niederlothringen

2. Köln Archbishop Pilgrim and Emperor Conrad (1027–36) Häv. 232a. 1.36 g

3. Soest Köln imitation. (Otto III) (1000–1040) Häv. 850 1.38 g

### Sachsen

4. Goslar? Otto-Adelheid penny Hatz V, 21 1.32 g

5. Zürich Count Burkhard II (945-973) Dbg. 993? 0.78 g

## ENGLAND

### Æthelred II (978–1016)

#### Long Cross Type

6. London Leofnoth Hd 2673 1.54 g

### Cnut (1016–1035)

#### Quatrefoil Type

7. London Godric Hd 2438 1.04 g

8. York Selakollr Selecol Hd 740 var 1.00 g

9. Ulfgrimr Ul[?] Hd 832 0.86 g

10. [?] 0.65 g

11. Winchester Ælfstan Hd 3678 1.09 g

12. S[?] cf. Hd 3815/3821/3823/3827 1.07 g

#### Pointed Helmet Type

13. Chester Krokr Croc Hd 1323 1.12 g

14. Svertingr Sweartinc Hd 1427 1.09 g

15. do. do. Hd 1428 1.15 g

16. London Æthelweard Ælwerd Hd 1991 1.02 g

17. Eadsige Etsige Hd 2335 0.94 g

18. [?] 0.41 g

19. Stamford Ead/God/Leofwine [?]wine 0.75 g

20. Worcester Alfwold Hd 3632 1.09 g

21. York Sunulfr Sun[?] cf. Hd 777–787 0.64 g

#### Short Cross Type

22. Chester Ælfsige Hd 1303 1.07 g

23. Colchester Godric Hd 227 1.01 g

24. Dover Eadsige Etsige Hd 331 1.06 g

25. Hastings Ælfweard Ælfwerd Hd 1102 0.98 g

26. Hertford Deorsige Hd 1150 1.00 g

27.	Leofric		Hd 1155	0.99 g
28.	L[?]			0.80 g
29. Lincoln	Asleikr	Oslac	Hd 1706	0.99 g
30.	Godric		Hd 1550	1.13 g
31.	Kolgrimr	Colgrim	Hd 1535	1.05 g
32.	Matathan		Hd 1657	0.99 g
33.	Svartbrandr	Swertebrad	Hd 1766	1.06 g
34.	Vathlauss	Wadlos	Hd 1787	0.96 g
35.	do.	Wedlos	Hd 1792	0.98 g
36. London	Eadmund		Hd 2143	1.09 g
37.	do.	Eadmun[?]	cf. Hd 2137–2143	0.57 g
38.	Eadræd	Edred	Hd 2243	1.08 g
39.	Goda	[God]god	Hd 2407	0.48 g
40.	Godric		Hd 2463	1.06 g
41.	do.		do.	1.00 g
42.	Leofweald	Leofwold	Hd 2598	1.04 g
43.	Sveinn	Swan	Hd 2710	1.03 g
44.	[?]d			0.45 g
45. Stamford	Fargrimr	Fægrim	Hd 3254	1.05 g
46. Thetford	Ælfweald	Al[?]d	Hd 3457–3460 var	0.71 g
47. Winchester	Æthelstan Loc	Æstan Loc	Hd 3695	1.02 g
48. Worcester	Leofstan		Hd 3636 var	1.08 g
49. York	Crucan		Hd 543	0.98 g
50.	Farthegn	Færthein	Hd 563	1.09 g
51.	Godman		Hd 608	1.00 g
52.	Hrafn	Ræfen	Hd 763	1.01 g

**Harold II (joint king 1035–37, sole king 1037–1040)**

*Jewel Cross Type*

53. London	Duding	Dudinei	Hd 717	1.11 g
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**ABBREVIATIONS:**

Dbg: H. Dannenberg. 1876-1905. *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*. Bd. I-IV. Berlin.  
 Hatz: G. Hatz, V. Hatz, U. Zwicker, N. Gale & Z. Gale. 1991. *Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige: Untersuchungen zu Münzen des 10./11. Jahrhunderts*. Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI, in Suecica repertis. Nova Series 7. Stockholm.

Hd: B. E. Hildebrand. 1881. *Anglosachsiska mynt funna i Sveriges jord*. Ny tillökt upplaga. Stockholm.

Häv: W. Hävernack. 1935. *Die Münzen von Köln. Die königlichen und erzbischöflichen Prägungen der Münzstätte Köln, sowie die Prägungen der Münzstätten des Erzstiftes Köln*. Köln.

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