

The Hoard from the Secretaire

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Abstract

In the 1980s much effort was made to get an, until then, unknown Viking Age silver hoard into the University Museum of Lund for registration. It was a large hoard consisting of over 900 coins, jewelry and hacksilver. We succeeded to have the hoard on display a few days in 1986. Thereafter the hoard was collected again by the finders and its further destiny was unknown. This was very much to regret as the hoard contains several unique objects, some of them also of exquisite quality. There is filigree work of Scandinavian and West Slavonian origin, a couple of coin bracteates and an arm ring. Most of the objects are fragmented, which indicates that they were means of payment. The coins, German, English, Islamic, Scandinavian, Italian etc. clearly show the wide contact net of Southern-Sweden in the late Viking Age. For long, I thought that the hoard was forever lost for research. However, in spring 2021 the hoard appeared and was put at auction in Stockholm and two numismatic foundations bought the entire hoard, which is now kept at The Royal Coin Cabinet, now Ekonomiska Museet, Stockholm.

Introduction

In the middle of the 1980s The Historical Museum at University of Lund (LUHM) got information that a till then unknown Viking Age hoard was kept with a family in western Scania. Knowledge on the hoard came along winding paths. Private persons from Scania had handed in coins and silver objects for evaluation and sale first through a coin store in Stockholm and thereafter contacted Sotheby's in London. Sotheby's contacted the British Museum. Here, it was recognized that the objects were from the Viking Age and probably Scandinavian and thus the Royal

Coin Cabinet in Stockholm was involved. As the persons who delivered the objects came from Scania, the question ended up at LUHM and with me. This was the start of a long and odd process.

The aim of this article is to present a silver hoard deposited somewhere in Scania in the early 11th century. The hoard might be regarded as an ordinary Viking Age hoard, but contains several features which throw new light over important aspects on contact patterns, history and more of the region and beyond. The aim is also to tell the story of a hoard, which came

to our knowledge in the 1980s, was registered, displayed and after that, was regarded as lost forever and then, unexpectedly, after 36 years appeared and was ultimately saved for further research and for the public.

The History of the Hoard

In the beginning of 1985, Kenneth Jonsson from the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm called and told me that the hoard was considerably larger than what had been reported earlier. I established contact with a person in the family, E, who promised the LUHM access to the hoard for documentation. She suggested that we should meet at the restaurant Ming Palace, and she would bring the silver. She was there, as appointed, together with an American man. The history I got about the hoard was that the

silver was discovered in a secretaire, which for many years stood in a room that had not been used for a long time. The secretaire was said to have belonged to an elderly relative, who had passed away decades ago. The hypothesis was that this relative had found the hoard and hid the silver in small linen bags fastened at the back of the secretaire.

After a while with polite small talk, E took a pink chocolate box from her handbag and opened it. Fortunately, I was already seated. In the box were c. 290 silver coins, clearly Viking Age, and some hacksilver. She allowed me to take the hacksilver to LUHM, and promised to bring the coins later, as there were more. We talked about a possible exhibition, of course with my secret motive to get the entire hoard to LUHM.

Then followed a prolonged process with many telephone calls. After more than two



Figure 1. The “Everlöf” hoard on display at LUHM April 1986. Photo: LUHM.

months, the pink chocolate box arrived, but this was said to be only half of the hoard.

One month later, everything was ready for the exhibition at LUHM; insurances, show cases and so on. Only the silver was missing. Eventually, 190 coins came in a plastic bag. Kenneth Jonsson came from the Coin Cabinet to register the coins, I made up a catalogue of the jewelry and hacksilver. Some coins were said to remain in London.

In January, more than a year after our first encounter, E appeared with two more coins, which a brother-in-law was said to have withheld.

In February news on the “Hoard from the Secretaire” was published in the magazine *Populär Arkeologi*, which created almost a media drive by newspapers and TV. The secretaire hoard was making headlines.

At last, in the beginning of April 1986, it was finally time for the opening of the exhibition. During the Humanistdagarna about 700 people came to look at the hoard (fig. 1). For the exhibition I thought of course that it would be nice to have a photo of the secretaire and perhaps also have some of the small linen bags for display. I offered to come myself to take the picture but got a number of excuses and evasive answers about why this was not possible.

According to the Swedish Historic Environment Law, this kind of find is the property of the state and should be handed in, for a compensation to the finders. In this case, the family claimed that the silver was found in an inherited piece of furniture. Offence against the Swedish Historic Environment Law was thus committed by a relative that had been deceased for decades (Hårdh 1988). At the Royal Coin Cabinet and the Central Board of National Antiquities possible modes of procedure were discussed. Filing a report to the police was mentioned, as the last coins came to LUHM just as the ground frost had thawed. Thus, it was suggested that it was a

question about a rather new find and that the entire secretaire story was made up. Another possibility was to buy the find from the family. The Director General of the National Heritage Board would contact the Minister of Finance. Some sponsors were also interested in helping. However, when the exhibition was over, E came and collected the silver.

The events that then unfolded are sad. The family involved itself in endless disputes about inheritance of ground properties with proceedings in the City Court and Court of Appeals. The hoard appeared in both cases as means in the million class. I was present at both cases together with Henrik Klackenborg, head of the Royal Coin Cabinet, to present the antiquarian aspect based on the Swedish Historic Environment Law. The lawyers of the family were not interested in those aspects, and no one wanted to answer questions of where the hoard was kept. The details of the destiny of the hoard were unknown. The coins were published 1987 by Royal Coin Cabinet in *Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum IX-XI (CNS)* with the notation “Everlöf”.

The Coins

The number of coins accounted for in *CNS* amount to 912, presented in a table (fig. 2). Unfortunately, the analysis was carried out during a short time and due to the find circumstances, it is also very possible that the hoard might have originally contained more coins.

The eleven Islamic coins belong to a number of dynasties from various parts of the Islamic world. The coins were around 50 to 190 years old when deposited. They are distributed to the following dynasties: two Abbasids, (220 and 327 A.H.), one Hamanid, (344 A.H.), six Samanids (283, 280-930, 301 and 317 A.H.), one Amir of Andarabah, (360 A.H.), one Buwayhid, (362 A.H.). In *CNS*,

Table of Coins

	complete	cut or fragm.	total	earliest	latest
Islamic	8	3	11	835	972/3
Byzantine	2		2	977-989	977-989
German	433	10	443	929-962	1014-1024
Italian	12		12	962-973	1004-1014
Bohemian	5		5	929-967	1012-1034
Hungarian	2		2	1001-1038	1001-1038
English	328	7	335	c. 973-975	c. 1009-1017
Irish	14		14	c. 997-	c. 1003-
Scandinavian	71	1	72	c. 997-	c. 1009-
Danish	8	1	9	1018-1035	1018-1035
Swedish	4		4	c. 994-1022	c. 994-1022
Blank flans	2	1	3		
Whole find	889	23	912	835	1018-1035

Latest coins: 1018-1035 (nos. 881-888, 912)

Figure. 2. Table of coins, *CNS* 3. Skåne, 4. 1987.

the dating of the Islamic coins is given in years after Hijrah (A.H.). To be able to correlate with Western chronology 622 years should be added.

The two Byzantine coins are struck for Basileios II, (976-1025 A.D.). This type of coin is also the most common of the fully 500 Byzantine coins found in Sweden.

Numbering a total of 453, German coins make out the largest group in the hoard. They are issued in several German regions. The largest group is coined in Sachsen. Among them the so-called Otto-Adelheid coins (991-1040 A.D.) are most common. The second largest group is coins from Niederlothringen, of which coins issued in Cologne make out a large part. Remaining coins come from Oberlothringen, Franken, Schwaben and Bayern.

There are five Bohemian coins in the hoard. This is a rare group, in all 350 such coins are known from Sweden.

The 12 Italian coins are all issued in Verona. They are coined for Otto I (962-973

A.D.) and Heinrich II (1004-1014 A.D.). Northern Italy was at this time connected to the German-Roman Empire. This is the largest collection of Italian coins in any Swedish hoard.

The two Hungarian coins, issued in Bratislava, now in Slovakia, are important as they were found in a well-dated context. They give an important contribution to the Hungarian coin history as they are stamp identic and beside those, only one more coin of this type is known (pers. com. Kenneth Jonsson).

The second largest group in the hoard consists of the English coins with 339 items from nearly 50 mint sites. Most of them are coined during the years around 1000 A.D. for king Æthelred II (978-1016 A.D.). The main share of these belong to the type Long Cross, in all 254 coins, with the Helmet type as the next largest, 40 coins and the type Crux with 31 as the third largest group.

The 14 Irish coins, connected to English types Long Cross and Helmet, came rather

via England than through direct contacts with Ireland.

The 74 Scandinavian coins consist of imitations of English coins. Similarly, Æthelred II types Long Cross and Helmet dominate here as well.

Four Swedish coins are struck in Sigtuna for Olof Skötkonung. These also connect closely to English coinage and are imitations of Æthelred II coins. English mint masters may have worked in Sigtuna as well as in Lund.

Denmark has, in Scandinavian terms, an early coinage. The ten Danish coins are struck for Canute the Great, after English models. Where the mint site could be determined on the coin, it is Lund. The youngest coins in the hoard is a collection of eight coins, struck in Lund for Canute (1018-1035 A.D.). Thus, the hoard was deposited after 1018 A.D., probably not long after *tpq* (*terminus post quem* = date of the youngest coin).

Information about the coins has been derived from Kenneth Jonsson's report in the exhibition catalogue and *CNS* (Hårdh & Jonsson 1986; *CNS* 1987).

Comments on the coins

The import to Scandinavia of Islamic coins started around 800 A.D. These coins are important for numismatic as well as historical reasons as they give information on year of issue and mint place. The year is given according to Muslim chronology beginning in 622 A.D. The largest group during the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries in Scandinavian finds are Abbasids struck in, among others, Madinat al-Salam, that is present day's Bagdad. In hoards from the 10th century, Samanid coins dominate issued in mints in present day Uzbekistan. The Islamic coins arrived mainly through present day Russia and Eastern Europe. Following along with the coins were new ideas about how silver could be used. Within the Islamic world, coins

from different regions with different weights were handled and the only way to value the silver was through its weight, which means that the silver had to be of a high quality (v. Heijne 2004, 66 ff.). The Islamic coins in "Everlöv" are few; however, the picture corresponds well to that in Scandinavian finds from the period in general. The largest group, six coins, consists of Samanids, struck in Transoxania. The Abbasids are represented by two coins, both struck in Madinat-al Salam. Abbasids and Samanids were issued in large quantities. These 9th and 10th century coins often circulated for a long period and are usually rather old when deposited in Scandinavian hoards (v. Heijne 2004, 66 ff.). The coins in the "Everlöv" hoard thus show the same composition of coins that is typical for Scandinavia and the composition of coins, for example, corresponds well to that in contemporary hoards from Bornholm (Ingvardson 2021, 96, fig. 42).

The South-Scandinavian hoards show that the influx of English coins was largest during the reign of king Æthelred II. Above all, there is a large amount of the types Crux and Long Cross (v. Heijne 2004, 106). As the English coins in the "Everlöv" hoard are dominated by Long Cross with Helmet type as the second and a fairly large group of CRUX types they correspond well with the picture of average South-Scandinavian finds. The "Everlöv" hoard shows also clear correspondence to the Bornholm hoards from the same period. Gitte Ingvardson reports that over 80% of the English coins in finds from Bornholm are struck during the reign of Æthelred II. Among these, like in "Everlöv", the types CRUX as well as Long Cross dominate or are abundant in hoards deposited around 1000 A.D. Ingvardson connects this with the large Danegeld payments, which are described in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Ingvardson 2021, 89, 95, fig. 35). Interestingly, the amount of the English coins of the "Everlöv" hoard,

similarly to Scania in general, corresponds well to the Bornholm finds, at the other hand not to that of Zealand (Ingvardson 2021, 94, fig. 41, 116).

German coins in Scandinavian hoards do not mirror the composition of coins in their original region. Hoards from present day Germany show an apparent homogenous picture and usually contain coins from one single mint. In Scandinavian hoards, coins from several mints are generally mixed. The influx of German coins coincides in time with the English. Above all, there are issues of the so-called Otto-Adelheid coins beginning in 991 A.D. This is the coin type that is most represented in Scandinavian hoards (v. Heijne 2004, 110 f.). The representation of German coins also shows similarities in the composition of the “Everlöf” the hoards from Bornholm from around the year 1000 A.D. Moreover, in the hoards from Bornholm, coins struck in Sachsen make out beyond comparison the largest group. An important factor is the extraction of silver in the Harz Mountains, which starts on a large scale at the end of the 10th century and the subsequent issuing of the Otto-Adelheid coins, which are generally seen in Scandinavian hoards from the beginning of the 11th century (Ingvardson 2021, 84). Worth noticing is the exceptionally large amount of coins from southern Germany, Bavaria, 121 items. This is about ten times as much as the average in hoards from this period. Moreover, it is stated that the group consists of many stamp identical and stamp linked coins. Jonsson’s interpretation is that this shows that the coins were brought in directly by a person who travelled along the Danube and Rhine. This might also explain the big amount of Italian coins together with the two Hungarian coins, which could have been brought in at the same time. Thus, the composition of coins in the “Everlöf” hoard might indicate an up until now unknown trade route. Among the German coins, there is also a big collection of

coins struck in Cologne and Goslar (Hårdh & Jonsson 1986). Wolfgang Hahn calls attention to 65 coins of Regensburg’s royal type 2, struck for Heinrich II. In this respect, such a big part of this coin type puts the “Everlöf” hoard at the third place of all known finds (Hahn 1990, 83).

Ingvardson states that the English coins on Bornholm show conformity, as they are dominated by two types of coins, struck in South-English mints, whereas the German coins show a considerably larger variation. She interprets this as a sign that the English coins on Bornholm were acquired through participation in the large Viking attacks on England during the decades around 1000 A.D. The composition of the German coins, on the other hand, might indicate that these were instead acquired through private initiative and contacts (Ingvardson 2021, 116). As the “Everlöf” hoard shows a similar picture, the same explanation could also be valid here.

The Anglo-Scandinavian coinage starts in some parts of Scandinavia c. 995 A.D. and consists of coins struck after English models. A large part of them have been identified as struck either in Sigtuna or in Lund (Malmer 1997, v. Heijne 2004, 113). Brita Malmer states that a big part of the 74 Anglo-Scandinavian coins in the “Everlöf” hoard belongs to the southern, Danish group, but also that astonishingly many coins are struck in Sigtuna. Stamp-identical coins can be used to settle localization of the mints. So, several hoards with coins struck with identical dies have been found at a relatively short distance from the assumed mint in Lund: Igelösa, Grönby and “Everlöf”. The Skovvang hoard from Bornholm shows the same pattern. The large southern die-chains are well represented in all these hoards (Malmer 1997, 50f).

Thus, the coins in “Everlöf” reflect a manifold of occurrences and contacts. The coins might have come to western Scania at various occasions and from various directions.

Some might be the result of raiding and extortion while other rather indicate trade contacts. Meticulous scrutiny of various types of English and German coins, their dating and minting sites, indicate that coins were collected at various occasions. The collected impression the coins gives shows a hoard typical for southern Scandinavia and indicates that the hoard was put together within the region where it was found. A connection to the mint in Lund is manifested.

Jewelry and Hacksilver

Besides coins, there are 46 objects, mainly fragmented as hacksilver. Among them is jewelry, often of the highest quality. One group is of Scandinavian, probably South-Scandinavian, origin, and another group was manufactured south of the Baltic, in the so called West Slavonian area. Further, there are two coin-bracteates derived from West Europe, a complete arm ring, Scandinavian, and a number of wires, rods and plates.

Scandinavian filigree jewelry

Jewelry decorated with filigree and granulation must be considered as the culmination

in Viking handicraft. Characteristic for Scandinavian filigree and granulation work is twisted, beaded, twined or grooved wires, which are often formed to loops, spirals or volutes. Spaces surrounded by wires are often filled with granules. Besides geometrical figures, animal decorations play a prominent part here. An important technical element is the use of thin plate, which was pressed on a matrix in a repoussé work that gives the outlines of the decoration. Wires and granules are soldered on the pressed plate. The thin plate is then applied on a thicker plate. If it is a brooch pin hinge, the pin catch and often also a loop for suspending chains, are attached here. Pendants were equipped with a suspension loop (see further f. ex. Lønborg 1998; Eilbracht 1999; Armbruster 2010). Inspiration to the Scandinavian style comes mainly from the Carolingian region (Eilbracht 1999).

The most magnificent item in the hoard is without doubt the large, round brooch, (cat. 1, fig. 3). It belongs to a type, labelled by Mårten Stenberger as Sp 1. He states that these brooches show artistry of the highest level within the Scandinavian silver handicraft. The type was developed during the second half of the 10th century (Stenberger 1958, 34). The



Figure 3. Round animal-decorated brooch. Catalogue No. 1. Photo: author.

manufacturing of these brooches is described in detail by Barbara Armbruster, who states that 51 examples of this type, which she calls disk brooch of Hiddensee type, are known (Armbruster 2010, 118ff, 157). Stenberger numbers 13 items from the Swedish mainland, of which seven are complete. From Gotland, only one complete item is known, together with several fragments from various hoards (Stenberger 1958, 31ff). From Scania only fragments of this type of brooch are known. In the hoard from Södra Sandby there are at least five fragments of type Sp 1 and in the hoard from Johannishus, Hjortsberga, Blekinge, there are also several fragments (Hårdh 1976, Tafel 7:I; Tafel 46). Roar Skovmand reports six complete brooches of this type and fragments from three hoards from Denmark (Skovmand 1942, 52).

The “Everlöf” brooch has three animal representations with heads seen in profile in the middle of the brooch with the hips placed close to the border. This is an unusual variety. Most brooches of Stenberger’s type Sp1 have four animals with the heads seen from above and the noses directed to the center and each head with two round eyes. Earlier, this composition with three animals seen in profile was known from only two brooches, in the Tolstrup hoard from Denmark and the Tråen hoard from Norway. Sunhild Kleingärtner reports, besides the complete items, seven fragments from six different hoards, all except one from Gotland (Kleingärtner 2007, 74 f, Tafel 19). That the hoards from Gotland only contain fragments probably indicates, as Stenberger maintains, that the type Sp 1 was not manufactured on the island and probably also not used as decoration there (Stenberger 1958, 34f). As mentioned above, Skovmand reports six complete brooches from Denmark, which strengthens the idea of a South-Scandinavian production.

In 1979, a spectacular find was made in the harbor of Haithabu, 41 patrices and a

draw-plate, which probably had been kept in a leather bag (Kleingärtner 2007, 21f, Tafel 1). Among the patrices there is one, which shows clear conformity to our brooch in size as well as in composition (Kleingärtner 2007, Tafel 1, 5th patrix from the left, 2nd row from below). To claim that the “Everlöf” brooch really was made on the Haithabu patrix is difficult. Filigree and granulation is soldered onto the repoussé plate, which prevents a study of the exact pattern of the plate. Kleingärtner thinks that the two brooches from Tolstrup and Tråen probably were made on the same patrix but according to their size, they cannot be put in connection to the Haithabu patrix (Kleingärtner 2007, 74). There are also small differences in decoration between the “Everlöf” brooch and those from Tråen and Tolstrup.

The three animals on the “Everlöf” brooch have heads seen in profile with a long head crest, similar to those from the well-known beaker from Jelling. David Wilson mentions the brooch from Tråen as an example of the Jelling style of filigree. He remarks that the bodies of the animals mainly consist of bands, whereas the hips are more rounded than what is usual in the style. Wilson thinks it likely that the style originated before 900, was gradually transformed into the Mammen style, and disappeared at the end of the 10th century (Wilson 1995, 117ff, fig. 99). Kleingärtner associates the “Everlöf” brooch, together with Tråen and Tolstrup to the Mammen style (Kleingärtner 2007, 388).

There is also a smaller fragment of a large filigree-decorated brooch of Stenberger’s type Sp 1 (cat. 2, fig. 4). Here, part of the edge border, a granulated hip of the animal, a foot and several loops are preserved. In the middle of the hip is a spiral of filigree. This kind of ornament, hip with spiral, is known on a brooch from Middle Sweden (Stenberger 1958, Abb. 3.7). A complete brooch from Inedalsgatan, Stockholm (SHM 9154) has

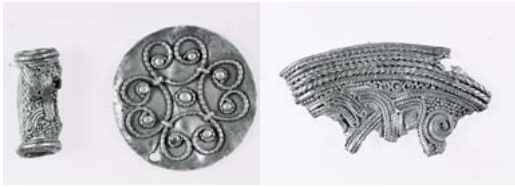


Figure 4. Filigree and granulate decorated objects. Catalogue Nos. 6, 3 and 2. Photo: author.

a decoration of four animals with spirals on the hips. A fragment, similar to that from “Everlöv” is known from the Hjortsberga hoard. Here is also a hip with spiral decoration (Hårdh 1976, Tafel 7:1, 41). A hoard from Östjädra, Dingtuna, Västmanland (SHM 16217) contains at least four fragments of type Sp 1, one of which shows a hip with a spiral. Similarly, the hoard from Snäckarve, Stenkumla, Gotland has a fragment with a spiral-decorated hip (Stenberger 1947, Tafel 122, 3). The quality of the “Everlöv” fragment shows that it was really an exquisite brooch.

There are also five fragments of edge borders, consisting of various types of filigree wires, twisted, beaded, grooved or twisted, which probably belonged to brooches or pendants of this type (cat. 7–10, fig. 5).

A round thin plate is decorated with four volutes of beaded filigree wire and round granules (cat. 3, fig. 4). The object was probably provided with a border. As border,



Figure 5. Border from brooch. Catalogue No. 7. Photo: author.

loop and or pin hinge/catch are missing it is not possible to state if this has been a brooch or a pendant. Pendants with volutes are for example known from the Scanian hoards from Bräcke, Brunnby (Hårdh 1976, Taf. 26:I, 18, 24). In the Gotland hoards, from Burge, Levide, and Fölhagen, Björke, there are pendants with volutes decoration as well as among the finds from Birka (Stenberger 1947, Taf. 151, 170; Arbman 1940, Taf. 98: 17, 18). Brooches with this decoration are also known from Birka (Arbman 1940, Taf. 79:8, 9).

Other fragments come from round ornaments, brooches or pendants. One is a round thin plate with remains of filigree and granulation. Another consists of an edge from a round ornament with clear visible cuts along the inner edge, which shows that the central part of the ornament was cut out (cat. 4, 5, fig. 11).

Pendants of high quality, decorated with filigree and granulation, sometimes have a suspension loop in the shape of a tube showing an animal head, often a bird. Well-known are the cross-shaped gold pendants from Hiddensee and the magnificent Thor’s hammer from Scania (Hårdh 1976 Tafel 55:X; Armbruster 2010, 160, 183). A simpler variety shows a cross-shaped pendant from Eskelhem, Gotland (Stenberger 1947, Tafel 185, 2). The Danish Tolstrup hoard contains two cross-shaped pendants, like to those from Hiddensee. Moreover, there is a tube reminiscent of the item from “Everlöv” (Skovmand 1942, fig. 9).

The “Everlöv” item (cat. 6, fig. 4) has a transverse band of beaded wire and two bands, which might indicate eyebrows. The space between the wires is filled with granules, and between the “eyebrows”, there are small rings. A similar fragment belongs to the hoard from Södra Sandby. Here, two spirals make out the eyes of the animal (Hårdh 1976, Tafel 46:26).

West Slavonian silver

Thirteen objects, mainly fragments, come from the region south of the Baltic, mainly north and central parts of present day Poland and northeastern parts of present day Germany.

Figure 6 shows a crescent-shaped pendant, so called lunula (cat. 11). All pendants of this shape are, according to Władysław Duczko, of Slavonian origin. Centre for their production was Western Russia and the next largest group of lunulae comes from Polish hoards. All Russian finds are dated to the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century. The main part of the Polish finds is dated to the second half of the 10th century (Duczko 1985, 66ff). Most common is a decoration consisting of angular lines and triangles in granulation, sometimes combined with small bosses. The filigree is usually restricted to the edges of the pendant. The “Everlöf” pendant has an unusual decoration with bosses, surrounded by twisted wire and small rings of twisted wire, which fill most part of the surface between the bosses. I have not been able to find a parallel to this decoration on a lunula, but the shape of the item, together with the character of the decoration undoubtedly indicates a Slavonian origin.



Figure 6. Half-moon shaped pendant, so called lunula. Catalogue No. 11. Photo: author.

Five fragments probably derive from earrings (cat. 12-16, figs. 7-8). Catalogue number 14 (fig. 7) has remains of beads and a bow with a wire, that is bent into windings. This is probably fragment of an earring of Świątki- or Tempelhof type. This type is not unusual, 54 items are known in the West Slavonian region, 51 of these from hoards (Kóčka-Krenz, 66f, 338, Mapa 18). In hoards from Gotland, they make out the most common group of West Slavonian earrings (Stenberger 1958, 144). Two magnificent earrings of this type belong to the hoard from Sturkö, Blekinge (Hårdh 1976 II, Tafel 11:II). The Pæregård hoard from Bornholm contains two pairs of almost complete earrings, one pair is of the Świątki- or Tempelhof type (Ingvardson 2021, 128, fig. 67).

The remaining four earrings from “Everlöf” are so fragmented that it is difficult to classify them, but it is possible that they also belong to earrings of Świątki- or Tempelhof type.

Seven beads are all of shapes and decoration that are characteristic for West Slavonian silver (cat. 17-23, fig. 7-8). All except one are more or less fragmented or deformed, which is why their type can only be determined with caution. One bead, pyramid shaped, is almost intact. Each of its four, triangular sides



Figure 7. Beads and fragments from earrings. Catalogue Nos. 38, 14, 22, 12, 18, 20 and 19. Photo: author.

have a decoration of a small hourglass shaped figure in granulation. Kóčka-Krenz shows the distribution of double conic beads, which may be regarded as related to this item (Kóčka-Krenz 1993, Mapa 42, 45). Two beads were obviously of oval shape, which is a common type. Like the pyramid shaped and the double conical it has a clear concentration to middle Poland, between Odra and Wisla (Kóčka-Krenz 1993, Mapa 43). Skovmand, as well as Stenberger maintain that this type of beads is common in hoards in Slavonian regions south of the Baltic, from Mecklenburg, west of Poland, and Silesia in the east (Skovmand 1942, 125, Stenberger 1958, 211). From Scania, this type of beads is known from the hoards of Glemminge and Grönby (Hårdh 1976, Tafel 29:19, 21, 32:1,9).

A bead with bosses wound with plain wire, and another one, wound with plain and twisted wire have parallels in the Polish hoard from Lizówek, Rzepin. Two good parallels that show well how the beads might have looked when complete belong to a find from Quermathen, Kreis Westhavelland (Kirkebusch 1931, Abb. 8). One bead with a three-leaf shaped transection has a parallel from Wiktorowo, pow. Środe (Arch. Muz. Poznań). A bead with a quatre-leaf transection



Figure 8. Beads and fragments from earrings. Catalogue Nos. 21, 15, 23, 16, 17 and 13. Photo: author.

belongs to the hoard from Baldringe, Scania (Hårdh 1976, Tafel 20:18).

The main part of these “Everlöf” beads and earrings have parallels in the regions south of the Baltic. In details, the ornaments show a geographic variation within the Slavonian region. Those that have been found in Scandinavian hoards are mainly of West Slavonian origin that have parallels in present day northern Poland and northeastern Germany. The objects in the “Everlöf” hoard also have parallels in these regions and have their origin in the West Slavonian sphere, primarily in its northern part. The origin of the lunula is, however, more difficult to determine. It might have a more eastern provenience.

Arm ring

The overwhelming part of the decoration in the “Everlöf” hoard consists of fragmented objects. In contrast to this, the arm ring (cat. 24, fig. 9) is completely preserved. This is a solid object, weighting close to 30 grams. It belongs to the most common type of rings from Scandinavian Viking Age, a smooth rod with round transection tapering off at the ends, which are twisted into a simple knot.

The arm ring has eight small marks, distributed along the ring body. Within



Figure 9. Arm-ring and rod with test marks. Catalogue Nos. 24, 25. Photo: author.



Figure 10. Coin bracteates. Catalogue Nos. 27 and 28. Photo: author.

numismatics such marks are labelled as notches or pecks. Notches were made with the edge of a knife which is held “as to peel potatoes” to lift up a small part of the silver. This does not mean a loss of weight for the silver object. Pecks appear on coins from the latter part of the Viking Age, mainly on West European coins and on objects like arm rings, ingots etc. (Rispling 2004, 4-5). The marks, sometimes called test marks, were probably made to test the quality of the silver. That this arm ring carries such marks indicates that it, in spite of being complete, probably was considered as means of payment rather than as an ornament.

Gitte Ingvardson has stated that 50% of the objects in Bornholm hoards have some type of marks. The widespread use of marks on all categories of objects might indicate that they were made in connection to exchange, either to test the fineness of the silver or as some kind of ritual confirmation of an agreement. At the other hand, Ingvardson thinks that marks on complete rings did not debase their role as marker of status (Ingvardson 2021, s. 123ff).

Two more items show test marks (cat 25, 26, figs. 9, 11). One is a rod with a round transection, tapering towards the ends, which are grooved, and one bent into a hook. It has nine test marks. The other is rod with square transection, cut at both ends and marked along all four edges along its entire length.

Christoph Kilger remarks that peckings often are manifold and repetitive on an object. This indicates that they usually were

made on a single occasion, which would give the person, who was applying the test a good perception of the consistency of the silver. Probably this could be understood as parts of the exchange situation between two trading partners (Kilger 2006, 461, 464). Several coins in the hoard also show pecks or other types of secondary markings (*CNS* 1987, 147-180, Malmer 1997, 51).

Coin bracteates

The hoard contains two so-called coin bracteates, (cat. 27, 28, fig. 10). These are imitations of coins, often cast, provided with borders, generally consisting of a number of twisted or beaded wires and with arrangements for fastening at the back. They were thus usually used as brooches. On one of the items the central part is partly missing, and from the second one about one quarter is preserved.

This is an unusual ornament type in Scandinavian silver hoards. Stenberger mentions nine complete or fragmented coin bracteates from Gotland. All of them were found in hoards, none is known from graves, what Stenberger sees as a sign that they were not part of the costume on Gotland. Their date is, based on Gotland hoards, late, the first part of the 11th century or around the middle of the century. Stenberger knows of very few of the type from the Swedish mainland. From Överlänäs, Ångermanland, one is reported from a grave (Stenberger 1958, 56).

A complete item of high quality comes

from Gärnsnäs, Östra Herrestad in Scania (Hårdh 1976, Tafel 52:II,3). The Gärnsnäs brooch shows on the front side a formalized half-length portrait in profile and a not-readable inscription. The back shows an altar with a cross. The mid-section is surrounded by six rows of beaded wire.

On the larger “Everlöf” fragment, there is a very clear inscription: HINRIC IMP G.....E, thus *Hinricus imperator*. This can only indicate one single emperor, Henrik II, 1002-1024 A.D. The “Everlöf” hoard also contains several coins struck for emperor Henrik II (CNS 1987).

The coin-bracteates or coin-brooches have a long tradition, stretching from the Roman Imperial Period until the West European Middle Ages. It was especially adopted by the Carolingian dynasty. Louis the Pious struck gold solidi, which were copied in the shape

of gold jewelry, often with borders of several beaded wires. Medallions with portraits of Louis the Pious were also made. This tradition was continued by the Ottonians and their successors during the 10th and 11th centuries. Often, they were struck of copper alloys of lead/tin. Stenberger maintains that the coin-bracteates have a southwestern connection and that the Scandinavian items arrived together with the German coin flow (Stenberger 1958, 61, Berghaus 1965, CNS 3.4, 15, Berghaus 1994, p. 106ff). Maria Baastrup presents nine coin brooches in her thesis, which have been found in Denmark, all made of copper alloy, two of which are gilded. They are usually difficult to date, among other factors, due to heavy corrosion. Three items are dated to the 9th century, one the 11th, while the rest is generally referred to the 9th to the 11th centuries (Baastrup 2012, 95f).



Figure 11. Brooch fragments, twisted ring and rod with test marks. Catalogue Nos. 5, 4, 29 and 26. Photo: author.

Thus, the coin bracteates make out a small but exclusive group with traditions which go back all the way to Antiquity, but experienced a renaissance especially during Carolingian and Ottonian time. It is not only that the type is rare but a bracteate with emperor Henrik II is, as far as I know, unique. It was also quite young when deposited in the hoard.

Concluding Remarks

A hoard of “Everlöf”-character shows a number of separate occurrences at separate points of time. The coins reached Scandinavia from various directions and at various times. The main part of the jewelry is either of Scandinavian or Slavonian origin. This reflects the situation in Europe of the 10th and 11th centuries, with a monetarized zone in western and southern Europe, and a bullion economy in northern and eastern Europe. The border between the two systems is usually defined as the river Elbe. The West Slavonian silver should thus be regarded as currency from the non-monetarized zone. Hoards from the late Viking Age, like “Everlöf” show the beginning of monetarization in north Europe. The composition of the hoard, that on one hand shows interesting distinctive features, but on the other hand corresponds well to finds from the same period from southern Scandinavia, indicates that the silver in the “Everlöf” hoard is part of the means of payment that circulated in the region, and that the hoard also is collected within the region of discovery.

Unfortunately, the find place and circumstances of the discovery of the hoard are unknown. The notation “Everlöf” is a reconstruction and the place of deposition might be another. The persons who delivered the hoard are reticent and, in some cases, dead. It is, however, likely that the hoard was found somewhere in the southeastern part of the district of Lund. This is a region where the

fully cultivated landscape changes to a hilly one, where forest areas change into cultivated land. The Scanian silver hoards are mainly distributed in coastal areas, with a prominent concentration to southwestern Scania. The probable find place of the hoard is a region south of the Vomb lake, that as otherwise lacks Viking Age hoards. East of this region there is a sparse distribution of silver hoards including for example the hoards from Baldringe and Tolånga. The assumed find place is an inland region, which seems to have been sparsely settled during the Viking Age (Strömberg 1961, 193 Textabb. 26, Hårdh 1975b, 80, Svanberg 2003, 19, fig. 4). If the hoard was found at the lands of the actual family, it was buried at the periphery of the known Viking Age settled region.

The hoard is on one hand typical for a South-Scandinavian hoard from the decades around year 1000. At the same time, it contains many interesting features, sometimes unique, which each give new aspects on the region and the period.

Epilogue

When this article was almost finished, I got the most surprising news that the hoard had appeared, after thirty-six years. It was at an auction company in Stockholm and was to be sold. Several colleagues engaged themselves eagerly in attempts to save the hoard. Newspapers, TV and Swedish Radio reported on the story and two days before the auction we got to know that two numismatic foundations purchased the entire hoard, which will be kept at The Royal Coin Cabinet (now Ekonomiska Museet, Stockholm). So, this long and winding story ended well after all.

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Catalogue

1. Fig. 3. Brooch. Round and dome shaped. Plate with a border of twisted, twined and grooved wires along the edge. The twined wires are placed to create a fish-bone effect. Within the border a sheet with repoussé is placed. This sheet has an animal decoration, accentuated with filigree and granulation. In the center of the brooch, there are three heads, seen in profile, three hips are placed in the periphery. The surfaces of the heads and hips are filled with granules. The outlines are marked with plain and twisted wires. The decoration is worn. On the back are a pin hinge, a pin catch and a loop, all of grooved bands.
The brooch is bent with damage, especially at the border part. The repoussé sheet is partly loose. On the back of the brooch there are a pin hinge, a pin catch, and a suspension loop, all made from grooved silver bands.
60.8 x 55.1 mm. Weight: 21.82 grams.
2. Fig. 4. Fragment of filigree and granulated brooch. Repoussé sheet, border of grooved wires, twisted 2 and 3 together. The repoussé sheet shows part of an animal body, a hip, marked with filigree wire and filled with granulation and a spiral figure in the middle. One foot is preserved.
31.0 x 16.4 mm. Weight: 1.59 grams.
3. Fig. 4. Round plate with decoration. Round granule in the middle surrounded by a ring of beaded wire, 4 volutes of beaded wire with a granule in the middle of every spiral. The volutes are linked to one another with flat small wires.
22.5 x 22.9 mm. Weight: 1.83 grams.
4. Fig. 11. Round plate in two fragments. On the plate is one round granule surrounded by a band shaped wire. On the plate are imprinted round marks probably traces after granules.
Diameter of the plate: 31.7 mm. Collected weight: 2.43 grams.
5. Fig. 11. Ring of sheet, one side is profiled. The inside has many cut marks after a removed central part. Obviously, a round ornament where the central part is cut out.
32.9 x 33.1 mm. Weight: 1.35 grams.
6. Fig. 4. Loop for pendant. Cylindrical shape with possible animal decoration. Beaded wire around the orifices. Surface filled with granulation and small rings.
16.7 x 6.9 mm. Weight: 1.18 grams.
7. Fig. 5. Edge border, fragment. At least 3 thick, beaded wires, smooth, band shaped and double twisted wires, flat hammered and placed on its edge. These are placed alternatively to create a fish-bone pattern. A ring of beaded wire and two loose wires belong to the border.
77.5 x 73.4 mm. Collected weight: 33.45 grams.
8. Edge border, fragment. 1 beaded and 18 double twisted wires.
26.4 x 12.3. Weight: 2.08 grams.
9. Edge border, fragment. 16 double twisted wires and 1 smooth. 45.2 x 8.7 mm.
Weight: 1.54 grams.
10. Edge border to a brooch. 2 grooved wires with a smooth one in between together with a double oblique placed sheet.
52.2 x 3.9 mm. Weight: 3.24 grams.
11. Fig. 6. Crescent shaped pendant. Completely preserved but in three fragments. The front side has 5 bosses, surrounded by rings of twisted wire and with small rings on top of them. The rest of the surface is filled with rings of twisted wire. Twisted wire also along the border.
32.3 x 18.7, 27.0 x 16.5, 23.0 x 20.4 mm. Collected weight: 4.36 grams.
12. Fig. 7. Earring, fragment. Two squeezed beads. Between them, a hoop of twisted wire and a band-shaped wire bent into windings. At the middle of the hoop is a filigree decorated capsule out from which a double, band shaped wire protrudes.
19.9 x 23.8 x 8.4 mm. Weight: 2.36 grams.
13. Fig. 8. Fragment of earring? Rod with soldered, beaded wires. 2 rings of beaded wire around the rod.
L. 40.9, th. 3.5 mm. Weight: 1.93 grams.
14. Fig. 7. Earring. Band shaped sheet and double twisted wire with a band shaped wire bent into windings. Remains of beads of a simple shape of a cut cone. 2 test marks. 31.7 x 6.7 x 6.7 mm. Weight: 1.01 grams.

15. Fig. 8. Fragment of earring. Bent rod with 3 twisted wires and granule. L. 25.2, th. 15.0 mm. Weight: 0.95 grams.
16. Fig. 8. Earring, fragment. Plain rod with twisted wires soldered on it together with a spiral wound plain wire.
16.0 x 8.9 mm. Weight: 0.83 grams.
17. Fig. 8. Bead, probably fragment of an earring. Smooth wire in wave-like lines over the entire surface.
14.3 x 9.9 mm. Weight: 0.59 grams.
18. Fig. 7. Pyramid-shaped bead. Small ring of sheet metal around the hole in the top. Bottom is plane, somewhat bulged with a large irregular hole. Each side is decorated with an hourglass shaped figure of granules and each side is framed by a row of granules.
11.4 x 11.2 x 10.8 mm. Weight: 1.08 grams.
19. Fig. 7. Bead, fragment. Cut up along each side. Oval sections, demarcated by a simple row of granules divided by a double row. Belt of a narrow sheet, surrounded by granules. Small figures of 4 granules each.
19.7 x 15.2 x 8.7 mm. Weight: 0.76 grams.
20. Fig. 7. Bead, fragment, probably of the same type as no. 19 with similar decoration.
22.5 x 13.0 x 5.9 mm. Weight 0.88 grams.
21. Fig. 8. Bead, half preserved. 3 bosses soldered on it. Smooth wire is wound around the bead.
13.0 x 11.5 mm. Weight: 1.06 grams.
22. Fig. 7. Bead with a three-foil transection. Ring of smooth wire around the openings. Single or double rows of granules. Small groups of 4 granules.
14.0 x 10.5 x 10.2 mm. Weight: 0.78 grams.
23. Fig. 8. Bead, fragment. Squeezed together. Smooth and twisted wire wound around it.
12.2 x 11.0 mm. Weight: 0.55 grams.
24. Fig. 9. Arm ring. Round rod, tapering at the ends, which are twisted together to a simple knot. 8 test marks.
70.6 x 59.8 mm. Weight: 29.72 grams.
25. Fig. 9. Rod with round transection, tapering at the ends, which are grooved. One end bent to a hook. 9 test marks.
70.2 x 14.4 mm. Weight: 6.24 grams.
26. Fig. 11. Rod with square transection with several test marks.
L. 40.5, th. 3.3 mm. Weight: 4.22 grams.
27. Fig. 10. Coin bracteate, fragment, most of the central part is missing. Text, partly preserved: HENRICIMP E. The central part is surrounded by a border of 2 thin and one thicker beaded wire.
Ø 37.0 mm. Weight: 14.66 gram
28. Fig. 10. Coin bracteate, fragment. The front side shows 2 Latin letters and an equal-armed cross. A thick beaded wire and one grooved are attached to the border. A band on the back may be rest of a suspension loop.
25.3 x 16.2 mm. Weight: 2.14 grams.
29. Fig. 11. Ring of two wires with round transection, and a small sheet that connects them.
22.8 x 23.2 mm. Weight: 0.91 grams.
- 30-32. 3 tin plate bands. One bent into a pin catch. Impressed decoration that imitates filigree.
24.1 x 9.5 mm. Weight: 0.31 grams.
25.4 x 9.4 mm. Weight: 0.38 grams.
18.0 x 9.4 x 6.2 mm. Weight: 0.60 grams.
- 33-35. Three tin plates med impressed decoration of the same kind as 30-32. All with a round hole.
18.5 x 8.7 mm. Weight: 0.20 grams.
15.3 x 9.2 mm. Weight: 0.24 grams.
24.9 x 8.5 mm. Weight: 0.16 grams.
36. Grooved tin plate bent into a triangle. Round hole.
8.1 x 6.0 x 6.8 mm. Weight: 0.12 grams.
37. Tin plate, band shaped, grooved with a round hole.
12.0 x 7.2 mm. Weight: 0.06 grams.
38. Band shaped wire and tin plate.
6.2 x 4.0 x 3.0 mm. Weight: 0.15 grams.
- 39-42. Tin plates and wires.
Weights: 0.09, 0.08, 0.02, 0.01 grams.
- 43-46. Twisted wire.
Weights: 0.15, 0.02, 0.16, 0.06 grams.
- All Nos. 39 – 46 might be fragments from damage in modern times.

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