

Anglo-Saxon coins from Finnish finds in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm

As early precursors to *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Svecia reperti sunt*, two important volumes were published in the 1840s. These were the first edition of Bror Emil Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet* (1846) and Carl Johan Tornberg's *Numi cufici Regii Numophylacii Holmiensis* (1848). Both works began with chapters discussing the hoards and other finds, but it was not then customary to keep the finds separate, and the coins were published without individual provenances. The volumes had, however, sub-titles stating that all the coins were found in Sweden.

These sub-titles must not be taken quite literally. First, it is natural for an old royal collection to consist of materials acquired from very diverse sources, not all of them domestic, and secondly, the borders of Sweden have changed several times since the systematic collecting of coins and other antiquities began in the seventeenth century. From Finland, four Viking-Age hoards are known from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Two of them were acquired by the royal collection, and they were listed by Jakob von Engeström, who has been characterized as the most acute of Swedish numismatists of the late eighteenth century.¹

A comparison of Engeström's lists with the Hildebrand catalogue shows that the Anglo-Saxon coins from the two Finnish finds apparently were incorporated into the systematic collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet. In addition to the hoards from the Swedish time, several coins from a Finnish hoard of the 1830s found their way to Stockholm, and as late as 1896 a coin of Aethelred II – a common one but interesting as a find – was sent there.

The finds discussed on the next few pages have already been described in the recent Helsinki volume of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, where further details and references can be found.² No attempt was, however, made in that publication to relate the coins with those in the systematic collection. It has also become apparent that the picture presented in 1978 can be augmented and is at some points in need of correction.

Salo, Uskela 1686

The earliest recorded find of Viking-Age coins from Finland was made in 1686 in the present town of Salo, then a village belonging to the parish of Uskela. Petter Dijkman tells in his 'Observations' (1687) that the hoard included Anglo-Saxon coins of Aethelred II, Cnut, and Edward (the Confessor), as well as Arabic, Byzantine, and various German coins.³ Elias Brenner, the Finnish-born assessor of the College of Antiquities in Stockholm, mentions, however, only coins of Aethelred and Arabic

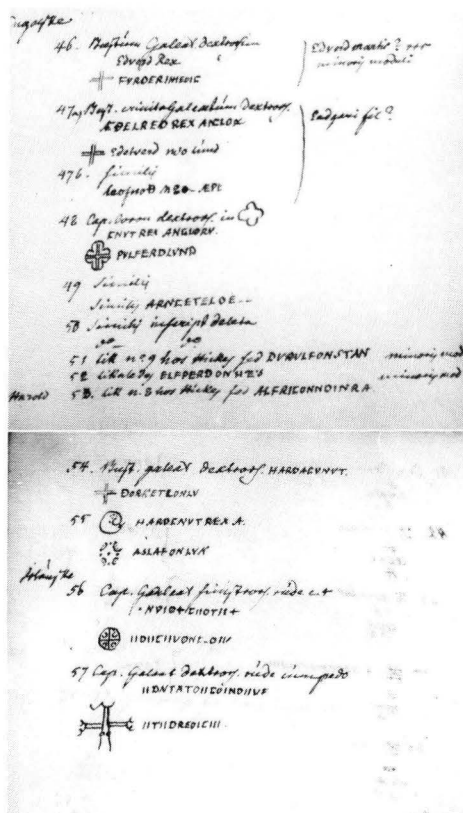


Fig. 1. Jacob von Engeström's list of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish coins in the hoard of Raisio (1752). Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm.

coins.⁴ Since Dijkman's information on the find was mainly based on the material acquired by Brenner, it seems possible that the details given by him in fact apply to an Estonian hoard (Järise 1685), also partly acquired by Brenner and described in *Thesaurus Nummorum Sveo-Gothicorum* (1691).⁵ Dijkman's account must thus be considered uncertain, and we must be content with the information given by Brenner.

Nothing is known of the fate of the coins, but at least some of them may well have found their way to the royal cabinet. Brenner's collection was acquired after his death in 1717 by the Englishman Walter Grainger, and after him by a Prince Demidov in Moscow.⁶ The non-Swedish coins may, however, have been disposed of separately. According to an eighteenth-century source, eleven Kufic coins from the hoard were presented to Turku (Åbo)⁷ University in 1749, but we now know that these were almost certainly duplicates from the Stockholm collection and their association with the 1686 find was pure conjecture.⁸

Raisio (Reso) 1752

Our knowledge of the Raisio hoard is more substantial, owing to the lawsuit caused by illicit dealing with the coins.⁹ There is also a listing of them by Jacob von

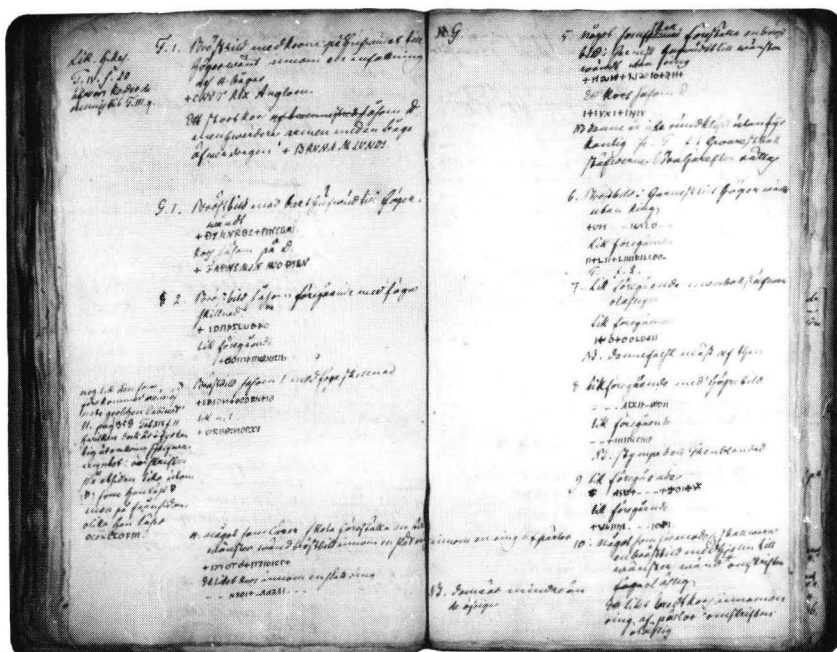


Fig. 2. Anglo-Saxon (F.1), Hiberno-Norse (G.1) and imitative coins (G.2–10) from the hoard of Pälkäne (1786). From Jacob von Engeström's list. Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm.

Engeström.¹⁰ The coins, or at least some 148 of them, were acquired by Colonel (later Field Marshal) Baron Berndt Otto Stackelberg the younger and sent by him to the collection of Queen Louisa Ulrica at Drottningholm Castle. The original number of the coins was said to have been 150–200.¹¹ Engeström's list does not mention the find-place and includes only 93 coins (divided into 57 types and varieties), but there can be no doubt about the identity of the find.

Only nine of the 93 coins are Anglo-Saxon (nos. 46–53 below). There are also four Danish coins (nos. 54–57); the rest are German.¹² Such a composition is normal for a Finnish hoard concealed after the middle of the eleventh century. The dating can be based on an Erfurt penny of Archbishop Lubold (1051–59). A 'Short Cross' penny of Edward the Confessor (no. 46) probably also belongs to the years around 1050.

Eight Anglo-Saxon coins are described in detail (see Fig. 1), and we can see that all of Engeström's readings correspond to coins in the 1846 edition of Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska mynt*. Here, however, the references are to the more accessible 1881 edition (abbr. Hd). The numbering follows that of Engeström.^{12a}

- 46. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), 'Short Cross' type. Canterbury, moneyer Gyldwine. Cf. Hd 39 (GVLDEWINNE ON C). No other 'Short Cross' coins of this moneyer are recorded in Hildebrand, and no other coins of the type are known from Finland.
- 47a Aethelred II (978–1016), 'Long Cross' type. London, Aethelweard. Cf. Hd 2172 (ÆTHELWERD M' O LVND).
- 47b Same type. Lewes, Leofnoth. Cf. Hd 1439 (LEOFNOTH M O LÆWE).

48. Cnut (1016–35), 'Quatrefoil' type. London, Wulfweard. Cf. Hd 2755 (WVLFERD LVND).
49. Same type. York, Arnketill. Cf. Hd 451 (ARNCETEL O EO).
50. Same type, illegible.
51. Cnut, 'Short Cross' type ('As No. 9 in Hickea'¹³). Stamford, Thorulfr. Cf. Hd 3363 (THVRVLF ON STAN).
52. Same type. Hastings, Aelfweard. Cf. Hd 1101–3 (ÆLFWERD ON HÆS).
53. Harold I (1035–40), 'Jewel Cross' type ('As No. 8 in Hickea'). Worcester, Leofric. Cf. Hd 989 (LVFRIC ONN WIHRA). No Alfric (Aelfric) is known from the mint.
54. Harthacnut (1035–42), a Danish type from Lund. Cf. Hauberg¹⁴ 28, Bruun¹⁵ 1454.
55. Harthacnut, a Danish type from Lund. Cf. Hauberg 1, Bruun 1362.
56. Harthacnut (?), a Danish type attributed to Ørbaek. Cf. Bruun 1516.
57. Magnus the Good (1042–47) of Denmark. Cf. Bruun 1582 (a Lund coin with somewhat similar obv. legend).

It is in the nature of a systematic collection that specimens can be changed and replaced with better ones. Thus we cannot be certain that all the coins found in 1752 at Raisio still lie on the trays of the Stockholm cabinet. The fact that all and not only most of the coins described by Engeström can be equated with pieces published in *Anglosachsiska mynt* clearly indicates that they were available for Hildebrand when he began his work.¹⁶

Nousiainen (Nousis) 1762?

This find is again problematic, despite being the only Finnish Viking-Age hoard to be published as a separately printed study. The publication, *De nummis quibusdam antiquis, in Finlandia haut ita pridem repertis* (1769) by Professor Johan Bilmark, describes no more than seven coins in detail, four of them Anglo-Saxon. One 'Long Cross' penny of Aethelred II may have been imitative, if Bilmark's reading of its reverse, MON NUN . . . ON CENT, is to be trusted. The three others were quite common:

- (1) Aethelred II, 'Crux' type. London, Godwine ('GODWINE MO LUND'). Cf. Hd 2622–4.
- (2) Cnut, 'Pointed Helmet' type. London, Godhere ('GODER MON LUND'). Cf. Hd 2388–93 (GODERE ON LVND).
- (3) Cnut, 'Short Cross' type. Lincoln, Lifing ('LIFIHL ON LINCOL'). Cf. Hd 1640–2 (LIFINC ON LINCOL).

Of the remaining three coins two were also believed to be English by Bilmark, who attributed one to a King Harold and the other to Henry I (1100–35). Both were, however, German, struck in Salzburg and Bolsward respectively.¹⁷ The latter had the name of Henry III, which gives the hoard the *terminus post quem* 1039. The third coin was struck for Peter I (1038–46) of Hungary. (Bilmark believed it to be a Spanish coin struck for a King Peter of Aragon.)

On the strength of the alleged coin of Henry I, Bilmark dated the hoard to the twelfth century and associated it with the ministry of St Henry, the English-born first

bishop of Finland, who was buried at Nousiainen. The latter part of the monograph is dedicated to speculation about the monetary resources of the martyred bishop.

As regards the circumstances of the discovery, no details are given by Bilmark (perhaps because the coins should have been surrendered to the authorities), but it seems probable that the find was the same, from which four 'Anglo-Saxon' coins were sent to Stockholm in 1762.¹⁸

Pälkäne 1786

The Pälkäne hoard is the best known of the Finnish finds from the eighteenth century. The find-place belonged to the rectory of the parish, and when Gustavus III visited Finland in the following year, the rector, G. N. Idman, took the opportunity of giving the coins personally to the King. In Stockholm the silver was found to be badly preserved, and a part of the find was returned to the finder through the university in Turku.¹⁹

In the 1804 inventory of the Royal Coin Cabinet the number of the coins which remained in Stockholm is given as 120.²⁰ Engeström's list apparently describes the original contents of the find, although he does not mention the exact number of the German coins, which included many duplicates. (There may have been some 130 of them.²¹) An interpretation of the 27 Anglo-Saxon and 1 Hiberno-Norse coin is given below, again in the same order as in Engeström's lists (Fig. 2) and with references to Hildebrand 1881. It should be noted that Engeström in most cases gives the name of Aethelred II as 'Edelred' although on coins it usually has the form ÆÐELRÆD. This discrepancy has been overlooked when comparing his list with the Hildebrand catalogue.

Aethelred II, 'Crux' type ('A')

1. Canterbury, Leofstan. Cf. Hd 220 (LEOFSTAN M^o CÆNT).
2. Southwark, Eadwine. Cf. Hd 3603 (EADWI M^o SVTHBY).
3. Winchester, Beorhtsige. Cf. Hd 4145 (BYRH SIGE M^o WINT).
4. Cambridge, Hunstan. Cf. Hd 1185 (HVNSTAN M^o GRAT).

'Second Hand' type ('B')

1. London, God. Cf. Hd 2517 (GOD M^o LVNDONI). Engeström reads 'Lundonii'.
2. London, Eadwine. Cf. Hd 2397 (EADWINE M^o LVLND). Engeström reads 'LVUND'.
3. Exeter, Luda. Cf. Hd 568–70. Fragment.

'Last Small Cross' type ('C')

1. Lincoln, Sumarlithr. Cf. Hd 1903 (SVMERLETH M^o LIN).
2. London, Aelfgeat. Cf. Hd 2045 (ÆLFGET ON LVNDEN).
3. Lincoln, Aethelnoth. Cf. Hd 1647 (ÆTHELNOTH M^o LIN).
4. Winchester, Aelfsige. Cf. Hd 4040 (ÆLFSIGE ON WINCST).
5. Norwich, Coenric. Cf. Hd 3110 (CENRIC ON NORDW).
6. Oxford, Beorhtwine. Cf. Hd 3243 (BRIHTWINE ON OXNA).
7. Reverse legend blundered, imitation (?).
8. Reverse legend blundered, imitation (?).

9. Winchester, Beorhtric. Cf. Hd 4175 (BYRHTRIC ON WINCST). Fragment.
10. Reverse legend blundered, imitation (?).

'Long Cross' type ('D')

1. Shrewsbury, Wynsig. Cf. Hd 3386 (WYNSIGE M^oO SCRO).
2. Thetford, Grimr. Cf. Hd 3750 (GRIM M^oO THEOD).
3. Canterbury, Aelfred. Cf. Hd 124 (ÆELFRYD M^oO CÆNT).
4. Hereford, Beorhstan. Cf. Hd 1336 (BYRHSTAN M^oO HERE).
5. London, Asulfr. Cf. Hd 2886 (OSVLF M^oO LVND).
6. Stamford, Goddaeg. Cf. Hd 3483 (GODÆG M^oO STA).
7. London, Leofwine. Cf. Hd 2751 (LEOFWINE M^oO LVND). Engeström reads 'Leovine'.
8. Uncertain mint, Aelfsig. Fragment ('-- LFSIGE M^oO ---').

'Helmet' type ('E')

1. Reverse legend blundered, imitation (?).
2. Exeter, Carla. Cf. Hd 500 (CARLA M^oO EAXE).
3. London, uncertain moneyer. Fragment ('-- WINE M^oO LVND').
4. Exeter, Wulfsig. Cf. Hd 600-1 (WVLFSTAN M^oO EAXE).
5. York, Oban. Cf. Hd 782-4 (OBAN M-O EOFR). Engeström reads 'Eoban'.

Cnut, 'Quatrefoil' type ('F')

1. London, Brunman. Cf. Hd 2071 (BRVMAN LVNDI). Engeström reads 'BRVNA M LVNDI'.

Hiberno-Norse imitation of 'Long Cross' type ('G')

1. 'Thymn'. Cf. Hd 10 (THYMNROE+MNEGMI/FÆNEMIN M^oO THYEN). Engeström reads 'THYMNROE+PINEGMI'.

The nine following coins ('G' 2-10) are imitations, some of them perhaps Danish.

There are differences between Engeström's readings and those given by Hildebrand, but they are slight, and Engeström was, of course, less familiar than Hildebrand with Anglo-Saxon coins and their epigraphy. However, fragments and blundered pieces apart, there are no coins in Engeström's list which cannot reasonably be connected with an entry in the 1846/1881 catalogue.

In the case of the German coins, Engeström refers several times to his own earlier list of the 1783 Värpinge find, which was until recently believed to have been lost.²² A comparison with the list of the Värpinge coins shows clearly that the Pälkäne hoard did not belong to the latter half of the eleventh century, as has been claimed.²³ The latest German coins described by Engeström are from the early years of the century.²⁴ The *terminus post quem* is given by the first ('Quatrefoil') type of Cnut the Great (1016-35).

Raisio (Reso) 1835

The second hoard known from Raisio was much larger than the 1752 find discussed above. Some 600 coins were sent to the Helsinki University collection, but the remainder of the hoard appears to have been dispersed.²⁵ Although there are

contradictory statements about the find, it seems likely that a number of coins which belonged to Dr Nils Pinello (1802–79) of Turku also came from this and not some other hoard. Pinello, who is now mainly remembered for his literary pursuits, was a minor industrialist and secretary of the Finnish Economic Society. There is a story which says that he himself, when travelling in the countryside some time in the 1840s, happened to meet the finders just as they were recovering the hoard, but this does not sound convincing. What is known for certain is that he bought at least 45 coins from a hoard found at Raisio and sent them to Hildebrand. Hildebrand chose thirteen Anglo-Saxon and ten German coins for the Royal Cabinet. The rest was returned to Pinello and presented by him to the collection of Åbo Gymnasium.²⁶

In 1972, an old packet containing two envelopes was found in the Royal Coin Cabinet. One of them had the following inscription: '1845–46. Gåva af Brukspatron Dr Nils Pinello i Åbo – de anglosachsiska sorterade' (Given by Foundry Proprietor Dr N. P. of Turku – the Anglo-Saxon ones sorted). Left in the envelope were a few German coins; the Anglo-Saxon coins had apparently been added by Hildebrand to the systematic collection. In the other envelope there were thirteen Anglo-Saxon pennies, but they seemed to derive from two different sources. Michael Dolley and Elsa Lindberger, who published the material, thought that most of them (ten coins of Harold I) were not from Pinello but three fragments of Aethelred II might come from Raisio.²⁷ This, however, seems unlikely, considering that Hildebrand quite certainly had selected the coins with the intention of completing the systematic collection. One of the three coins is not recorded in his catalogue at all, and the other two are broken fragments (one of them of uncertain mint and moneyer) and as such uninteresting to a nineteenth-century numismatist.

Vaasa (Vasa) 1896

A 'Long Cross' penny of Aethelred II, struck by the London moneyer Eadwold and corresponding to No. 2424 in Hildebrand 1881, was in 1896 bought for the Royal Coin Cabinet by the State Antiquarian Hans Hildebrand. The coin was said to have been found in the old town of Vaasa (Vasa gamla stad).²⁸ Viking-Age finds are otherwise almost unknown from East Bothnia, and it would thus be most interesting to know more of the find. Unfortunately there is no further information in the inventory catalogue or other papers.²⁹ It is possible that the coin was acquired in Vaasa but not actually found there.³⁰

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Although the gold neck-ring with animal heads, found at Nousiainen in 1770,³¹ remains to be the most conspicuous museum piece with Finnish provenance in Stockholm, the coin hoards from Raisio and Pälkäne also witness of Finland's contribution to the growth of the Swedish national collection. As we have seen, coin finds were sometimes sent from Finland to Stockholm even after 1809. To these belong also five oriental dirhams bought in 1869 from a Finnish peasant or sailor.³² The coins were found in Åland, and it seems very probable that they came from the same find made at Åsgårda in Saltvik parish, from which 81 coins were acquired in the same year by the university collection in Helsinki.³³

¹ Bengt Hildebrand, *C. J. Thomsen och hans lärda förbindelser i Sverige 1816–1837* (KVHAAH 44, Stockholm, 1937), 107–8. – Engeström's numismatic papers ('Anteckningar i numismatiken') are now in the Royal Library in Stockholm.

² T. Talvio, *The National Museum, Helsinki, and Other Public Collections in Finland. Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Hiberno-Norse Coins. SCBI 25* (London, 1978), xi–xvii. Hereafter cited as *Sylloge*.

³ P. Dijkman, *Observationer, Som kunna gifwa någon anledning til dhe forna Swenskars och Göthers Penninge Räkningz bescaffenheet* (Stockholm, 1686/7; repr. Göteborg, 1980), I.4–5, III.1.

⁴ E. Brenner, *Thesaurus Nummorum Sveo-Gothicorum* (Stockholm, 169); repr. 1972), 10.

⁵ T. Talvio, 'Uskela-fyndet av år 1686 i samtida skildringar', *Finskt Museum* 1980, 7–8.

⁶ Hildebrand, *C. J. Thomsen*, 96.

⁷ The Swedish forms of place-names are in brackets.

⁸ Talvio, 'Uskela-fyndet', 9.

⁹ See W. Lagus, *Om mynt funna i finsk jord* (Helsingfors, 1900), 40–6.

¹⁰ Published in Helmer Salmo, *Deutsche Münzen in vorgeschichtlichen Funden Finnlands* (SMYA–FFT 47, Helsinki, 1948), 7–14.

¹¹ Lagus, *Om mynt*, 41–3.

¹² See Salmo, *Deutsche Münzen*, 13–14.

^{12a} For practical reasons, the letters *then* (Ð) and *wynn* (ƿ) are given as 'TH' and 'W'.

¹³ George Hickes, *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus* (Oxford, 1705).

¹⁴ P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146* (København, 1900).

¹⁵ L. E. Bruuns *Mønt- og medaille samling* (København, 1928).

¹⁶ Some 86 Anglo-Saxon coins from the cabinet of Louisa Ulrica are still kept together, but they are mainly fragments and other pieces which Hildebrand did not include in the systematic collection. No coins from Raisio can be identified among them.

¹⁷ *Sylloge*, xiii, attributes the Frisian coin to Staveren, but Bolswaard now seems more likely.

¹⁸ Lagus, *Om mynt*, 49–50.

¹⁹ *Sylloge*, xiv.

²⁰ J. Hallenberg, *Berättelse om Svenska Kongliga Mynt-Cabinettet* (Stockholm, 1804), 12.

²¹ See Salmo, *Deutsche Münzen*, 18–26.

²² The Värpinge find will be described in a forthcoming paper by Kenneth Jonsson, Stockholm.

²³ Salmo, *Deutsche Münzen*, 26–7; cf. *Sylloge*, xvi.

²⁴ Salmo, *Deutsche Münzen*, 26, nos. 12 and 32.

²⁵ T. Talvio, 'Skattfynden från Janakkala (1832), Reso (1835) och Kuolajärvi (1839)', *Finskt Museum* 1979, 35–6.

²⁶ B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska mynt*, 1st edn (Stockholm, 1846), lxxii; *Sylloge*, xxiii.

²⁷ M. Dolley and E. Lindberger, 'A parcel of later Anglo Saxon pennies with a putative Finnish hoard-provenance', *Numismatic Chronicle* 1973, 126–30.

²⁸ SHM Inv. 10078. The coin cannot now be located.

²⁹ Information kindly given by Elsa Lindberger.

³⁰ Another questionable find from Vaasa is the Roman sestertius mentioned in T. Talvio, 'Romerska myntfynd i Finland', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1979–80, 50.

³¹ Lagus, *Om mynt*, 50–1; E. Kivikoski, *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands* (Neuausgabe, Helsinki, 1973), 32, no. 108.

³² SHM Inv. 4100. The coins are mentioned in C. J. Tornberg's manuscript catalogue, p. 233. They were four Samanid coins from Andrabah (A. H. 294 and 301) and Samarqand (A. H. 300 and 301). There was also an unidentified coin of Ahmad ibn Ismail and two unidentified fragments. I am grateful to Bengt E. Hovén for this information.

³³ Lagus, *Om mynt*, 139–41; B. Granberg, *Förteckning över kufiska myntfynd i Finland* (Helsinki, 1966), 127–37.