

Kenneth Jonsson, The Liffride hoard, *Viking-Age hoards and late Anglo-Saxon coins*, Stockholm 1987.

THE LIFFRIDE HOARD

In 1974, during excavations conducted in a grave-field on Liffride 5:1, Lärbro par., Gotland (G 118), a Viking-age hoard was found as a later deposit in the peripheral area of a grave dating from the Bronze age or early Iron age (Gerdin 1974). The concealment of the treasure so near to the actual grave was probably accidental. No trace of a container was found but the 131 coins and hacksilver which made up the hoard were found very close together, the size of a fist. It is very unusual indeed to find a hoard during archaeological excavations and it permits one to be sure that every single coin in the original treasure has been recovered. If the coins are divided by countries the following summary can be made.

Arabic dynasties	28
Byzantine Empire	3
Germany	50
Bohemia	1
England	40
Scandinavia	8
Sweden	1
Total	131

The latest German coin is struck for Heinrich III 1026-39, and the latest Anglo-Saxon is a penny of Cnut's Pointed Helmet type struck c. 1023-29. The dates agree very well and the hoard was probably deposited in the second half of the 1020s.

A summary of the Anglo-Saxon part is given below.

	Æthelred II					Cnut			
	FH	SH	C	LC	H	LSC	Q	PH	
Bedford	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Canterbury	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	4
Chester	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dorchester	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Exeter	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ipswich	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lincoln	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4
London	1	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	8
Lydford	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Maldon	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Nottingham	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Oxford	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Shrewsbury	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Southwark	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thetford	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Totnes	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Wareham	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Warminster	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Warwick	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Wilton	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Winchester	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
York	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	2	1	20	16	-	-	-	1	40

The chronological distribution is very strange to say the least, as there are no coins struck between c. 1003 and c. 1023 i.e. two full decades. With the ex-

ception of the single penny of Cnut the Anglo-Saxon element would give every indication of a concealment in the early 1000s.

The German coins are not as easy to date and here one can only use the regnal dates for the individuals who issued the coins. The ten latest rulers (including Bohemia) are the following.

Bernhard I	973-1011
Dietrich	984-1026
Liutolf	987-996
Adelheid	991-1040
Adalbero	999-1025
Vladivoj	1002-1003
Dietrich II	1005-1046
(Heinrich II)	1014-1024)
Konrad II	1024-1027
Heinrich III	1026-1039

Even if it is not normally possible to tell whether a given type was struck early or late during a reign, the pattern here resembles that of the Anglo-Saxon part and is hardly coincidental with many dates commencing in the 990s and 1000s but only one in the 1010s and two in the 1020s respectively. The composition of the German part with its high proportion of Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige (56%) is also more consistent with a deposition about 1000 or shortly later. There is also no 'normal' reason why the hoard should not include many coins from the period c. 1005-25 as they are very common in other hoards.

It is evident that the coins in the hoard were mainly accumulated in the 990s and the early part of the 1000s, and that only a limited number were added during the next two decades. There may even have been just the one addition in the late 1020s consisting of probably fewer than 10 coins.

During the excavations carried out on old sites on Gotland in the last decade it has become increasingly apparent that the great majority of the hoards were concealed within former buildings and that there are also often stray-finds at these settlements (Östergren 1983). The problem is that the stray-finds are only recognized when there is a wide chronological difference between them and the coins in the hoard found in the same area; e.g. German coins from c. 1050 found in the same area as a hoard with Arabic coins deposited c. 960. It is bound to happen sometimes that stray coins chronologically come very close to the coins in the hoard and sometimes will be taken to be part of the hoard. This will mean that the t.p.q. is placed later than it should be and it is of course a problem that is often impossible to solve. The Liffride hoard is very important in this respect in view of its well documented discovery, because it shows that small parcels of a late character can form part of a hoard that otherwise has a very homogeneous composition.

One additional factor that should be considered is of course the size of the hoard. The Liffride hoard with 131 coins is small, the more so in view of the fact

that coins from seven countries are involved. It is reasonable to assume that the larger the hoard the more accurate the t.p.q. will be. In order to investigate this all the hoards found in Sweden and Denmark where the German (or sometimes Danish etc.) and the Anglo-Saxon t.p.q. differ more than 10 years are listed below. All hoards containing fewer than 10 Anglo-Saxon coins are excluded as are all hoards with a t.p.q. later than 1055 as there was only a very limited import of Anglo-Saxon coins in the following period.

	T.p.q.			
	Others	A/S	Findspot	Region
DS 46	1002	985	Assartorp	Sk
G 68	1002	991	Hallsarve	G
S 38	1002	991	Kvarngärdet	Sö
DS 47	1002	991	Sturkö	Bl
G 87	991	1009	Riddare	G
S 45	1011	997	Tekn. Högskolan	Up
S 51	1018	1003	Karlberg	Up
G 104	1018	1003	L. Mickelgårds	G
DS 77	1028	1009	Villie	Sk
G 132	1031	1009	Valdarve	G
G 137	1036	1009	Frigsarve	G
G 138	1036	1023	Myrände	G
G 144	1039	1017	L. Klintegårda	G
S 88	1047	1023	Undrom	Än
G 158	1047	1029	Enge	G
G 163	1035	1048	L. Valla	G
DS 114	1051	1029	Böringe	Sk

In all but two hoards (Riddare and L. Valla) the German t.p.q. is the later one. The hoards can be divided basically into two groups. The first consists of finds where the composition shows that there was a period when the coins were more or less evenly accumulated followed by a period of sporadic (minor) additions. The second includes hoards with the same pattern except that the second stage shows a continued even accumulation but consisting only of German coins while Anglo-Saxon are absent.

The division between the two groups is sometimes open to debate but in principle the following hoards belong to the first group. The Sturkö find has 111 described German coins of which 57 are Otto-Adelheid which leaves only 54 coins on which to base the t.p.q. and the possibility of a late parcel cannot be excluded. The L. Mickelgårds find has a homogeneous composition ending in the early 1000s (Anglo-Saxon t.p.q. 1003, German t.p.q. 1002), with the exception of a Danish coin of Knud, which certainly indicates a late addition. In the hoard from Villie the composition of the described German coins (187 out of 689) shows an accumulation in the 990s and 1000s for the majority of the coins. The Valdarve hoard has an exceptional concentration of Last Small Cross among the Anglo-Saxon and the geographical distribution furthermore shows that they were accumulated locally in England to a very high degree. The consequently comparatively few German coins certainly

indicate that they were mainly accumulated in the 990s and 1000s with only an odd late coin which however could be a stray find from a settlement. It is a classic example of the case that a nominally high figure for the number of coins can be very misleading when it comes to judging the t.p.q. In the large hoard from Myrände the composition of the 1,216 German coins shows an even accumulation up to the mid 1020s while the coins covering the last decade up to t.p.q. 1036 are very few. Undrom is very large where however only 149 of originally 1,086 German coins are described, and there is therefore much uncertainty about the composition of the German element; but what is described indicates late parcels.

For a few hoards it is difficult to establish whether they belong to the first or second group because so few coins have been described. In Assartorp the German element indicates that among the Anglo-Saxon coins the two substantial issues Crux and Long Cross should have been present which is hard to explain. Unfortunately only 68 of 315 German coins are described so that the possibility of late parcels must remain uncertain. The hoard from Riddare is partly dispersed and only 9 German coins are among the ones which are known. With so few coins the difference in t.p.q. is easy to explain. The treasure discovered at Tekn. Högskolan is also very small with only 59 coins in all and it leaves much to chance when no country accounts for more than 26 coins. In Böringe the t.p.q. is determined by one of the German coins. The circumstances of discovery are unknown and it is uncertain whether the known coins represent the entire hoard or just a part of it.

The last group includes some hoards (especially Frigsarve and L. Klintegårda) where the composition is hard to explain. Hallsarve is an early hoard belonging to this group and the German coins show an even accumulation. The solution may lie in the fact that the Anglo-Saxon coins are only listed partially. It is not impossible that Long Cross was present among the coins that were not listed. In Kvarngärdet some Long Cross pennies would have been expected judging from the German coins and their absence may be due to chance. The Karlberg hoard ends with a Danish coin of Knud 1018-35 and there are many German coins with t.p.q. in the late 1000s and early 1010s. The lack of Æthelred II's Last Small Cross issue c. 1009-17 is at first glance strange but the coins of this issue in Scandinavian finds are normally found in numbers only in relatively late hoards which would indicate that they were also imported at a late date. It could explain their absence in the Karlberg hoard. In Frigsarve 10% of the German coins have a t.p.q. that is later than the Anglo-Saxon t.p.q. with five in the 1010s, five in the 1020s and one in the 1030s. This would certainly rule out the possibility of the inclusion of stray finds. The next find (L. Klintegårda) is very peculiar as the German coins have a very homogeneous composition up to t.p.q. 1039 with numerous coins in the 1030s. In contrast to this the 478 Anglo-

Saxon coins end as early as 1017.

The survey shows that even in large or very large hoards the size can be misleading as the build-up phase can be supplanted by one or more small parcels that can be much later. In judging t.p.q. it is in other words important to get an overall view of the composition of the hoard. One further example of how a hoard can be built up is offered by the Äspinge find, where the t.p.q. should not offer any problems in view of its extreme size with 8,445 coins. However a detailed analysis shows that the coins that actually determines the t.p.q. for the Anglo-Saxon part are very few.

There is also recorded (Steffen 1928) a story of how the composition of one hoard (L. Klintegårda - G

129) was tampered with before the coins were re-deemed. In this case the Anglo-Saxon coins in the original hoard were replaced by mainly German coins which belonged to parcels from the Stale (G 181) and Tomsarve (G 216) hoards, which had been returned to the finders. This made the t.p.q. dramatically different as especially the Tomsarve hoard is one of the latest on Gotland. The now formal t.p.q. of 1090 would be c. 1029 (based on the Anglo-Saxon coins) if this substitution had not taken place. One must hope that incidents like this one are unique exceptions to the rule.

The coins in the Liffride hoard are listed below, where the Arabic coins have been attributed by Gert Rispling.

ARABIC DYNASTIES

'Abbasid

- | | | |
|---|---|--------|
| 1 | Harun al-Rashid. al-Muhammadiyah
186. Tbg NC CI II 197 | 2,87 g |
| 2 | Mutawakkil. Madinat al-Salam 242. Tbg
Symb. II 49 | 2,84 g |
| 3 | al-Mu'tazz. Surra man ra'a 251. Tbg
NC CI II 371 | 2,83 g |
| 4 | Undeterminable c. 230-260 | 2,84 g |
| 5 | al-Radi. Madinat al-Salam 327. Tbg
Symb. II 69 | 3,38 g |
| 6 | al-Muttaqi. Basrah 330. Tbg NC CI II
519 | 3,02 g |
| 7 | al-Mustakfi. Madinat al-Salam 334. Tbg
NC CI II 525 | 2,89 g |

Samanid

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| 8 | [Isma'il] ibn Ahmad, al-Muktafi.
[Nays]abur 294. Tbg NC CI IX 96 | 1,08 g |
| 9 | Isma'il ibn Ahmad, al-Mu'tadid billah.
al-Shash 286. Tbg NC CI IX 24 | 2,64 g |
| 10 | [Nasr ibn Ahmad], [?]. al-Shash
288/289. | 0,83 g |
| 11 | Isma'il ibn Ahmad, al-Mu'tadid. al-
Shash 289. Tbg NC CI IX 38 | 2,87 g |
| 12 | Isma'il ibn Ahmad, al-Muktafi. al-Shash
290. Tbg NC CI IX 44 | 2,83 g |
| 13 | Ahmad ibn Ism[a'il], al-Muqtadir.
[Balkh] 297. Tbg NC CI IX 133 | 1,63 g |
| 14 | Ahmad ibn Isma'il, al-Muqtadir. Samar-
qand 298. Tbg NC CI IX 148 | 2,87 g |
| 15 | [Ahmad] ibn Isma'il, [al-Mukta]fi. al-
Shash [29]5. Tbg NC CI IX 111 | 1,71 g |
| 16 | [Nasr ibn Ahmad], caliph? An[darabah]
year? Cf. NC CI IX 411 | 1,47 g |
| 17 | Nasr ibn Ahmad, al-Muqtadir. Samar-
qand 305. Tbg NC CI IX 263 var. | 2,77 g |
| 18 | Nasr ibn Ahmad, (al-Muqtadir). Samar-
qand 317. Tbg NC CI IX 388 | 2,92 g |
| 19 | Nasr ibn Ahmad, al-Muqtadir. al-Shash
303. Tbg NC CI IX 245 var. | 2,86 g |
| 20 | Nasr ibn Ahmad, al-Muqtadir. al-Shash
308. Tbg NC CI IX 292 | 2,51 g |
| 21 | Nuh ibn Nasr, al-Mustakfi. Bukhara
338. Tbg NC CI IX 516 | 3,42 g |

Hamdanid

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 22 | 'Uddat al-dawlah Abu Taghlib,
al-Muti'. [al-Mawsil] 363/366 | 3,59 g |
|----|--|--------|

Uqalid

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| 23 | Husam ad-dawlah, al-Mawsil, 389. Cf.
BMCO III:45 | 2,76 g |
|----|---|--------|

Volga-Bulghar

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 24 | 'Isma'il ibn Ahmad, al-Muktafi. al-
Shash 283.' Struck c. 310 | 2,61 g |
| 25 | Talib ibn Ahmad, al-Mustakfi. Suwar
347. BMCO II 431 | 3,13 g |

Imitations

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| 26 | Two abbasid reverses. Struck c. 260-280 | 2,72 g |
| 27 | 'Ahmad ibn Is[ma'il], al-Muqtadir. al-
Shash 299.' Struck c. 310 | 1,03 g |
| 28 | 'Nasr ibn Ahmad.' Blundered | 1,26 g |

BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Basil II 976-1025

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 29 | Constantinople. Grierson 1973, 18a.1 | 2,91 g |
| 30 | Grierson 1973, 18a.1 | 2,78 g |
| 31 | Grierson 1973, 20 | 1,35 g |

DEUTSCHES REICH

OBERLOTHRINGEN

Metz (Bischof)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------|
| 32 | Adalbero I 929-964. Dbg 11 | 1,14 g |
| 33 | Dietrich II 1005-1046. Dbg 24a | 1,39 g |

Adernach (Herzog von Oberlothringen)

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------|
| 34 | Dietrich 984-1026. Dbg 437 | 1,30 g |
|----|----------------------------|--------|

NIEDERLOTHRINGEN

Westniederlothringischer Raum

Müntstätte? (Flandern)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--------|
| 35 | Nachprägung zu Köln. Häv. 54 | 0,76 g |
|----|------------------------------|--------|

Brüssel?

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------|
| 36 | Nachprägung zu Köln. Vgl. Häv. 184. | 1,23 g |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------|

Maaslande

Maastricht (König/Kaiser)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 37 | Kg/K. Heinrich II 1002-1024. Dbg 244 | 1,14 g |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------|

Kölner Raum

Köln (König/Kaiser)

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| 38 | Kg Otto I 936-962. Häv. 29 | 1,26 g |
| 39 | Häv. 34 | 1,77 g |
| 40 | Häv. 34 | 1,45 g |
| 41 | Nachprägung (K. Heinrich II 1014-24).
Häv. 170 | 1,31 g |

Friesischer Raum

Münzstätte? (Ostfriesland)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------|
| 42 | Münzherr? (975-1000). Dbg 1309 | 0,76 g |
| 43 | Dbg 1309 | 0,62 g |
| 44 | Dbg 1309 | 0,61 g |

SACHSEN

Niedersachsen

Lüneburg (Herzog von Sachsen)

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| 45 | Bernhard I 973-1011. Dbg 587. Rs. ohne
Prägung | 1,29 g |
|----|---|--------|

(Goslar) (König/Kaiser)

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 46 | Otto-Adelheid-Pf. (991-1040). Hz III, 4b | 1,39 g |
| 47 | Hz III, 6a | 1,55 g |
| 48 | Hz III, 6h | 1,71 g |



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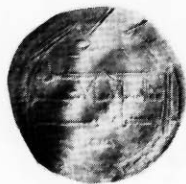
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49	Hz III, 6h	1,02 g		
50	Hz III, 7a	1,76 g		
51	Hz III, 7a	1,63 g		
52	Hz III, 7a	1,51 g		
53	Hz III, 7a	1,45 g		
54	Hz III, 7i	1,78 g		
55	Hz III/IV	1,70 g		
56	Hz III/IV	1,48 g		
57	Hz III/IV	1,32 g		
58	Hz III/IV	1,28 g		
59	Hz IV, 5ag	1,90 g		
60	Hz IV, 5g	1,51 g		
61	Hz IV, 5g	1,45 g		
62	Hz IV, 5g	1,40 g		
63	Hz IV, 5	1,61 g		
64	Hz IV, 5	1,53 g		
65	Hz IV, 5	1,41 g		
66	Hz IV, 5/6	1,31 g		
67	Hz IV, 6/7	1,40 g		
68	Hz IV, 8a	1,27 g		
69	Hz IV, 15c	1,34 g		
70	Hz IV, 17c	1,30 g		
71	Hz IV, 17k	1,13 g		
72	Hz IV, 17k?	1,53 g		
73	Hz IV, 19	1,30 g		
Ostfalen				
Magdeburg				
74	Münzherr? Dbg 643	1,31 g		
75	Dbg 643	1,22 g		
FRANKEN				
Mainz (König/Kaiser)				
76	Kg Konrad II 1024-1027. Dbg 789	0,99 g		
Worms (König/Kaiser)				
77	K. Otto II/III 973-1002. Dbg 842	1,06 g		
SCHWABEN				
Basel (Bischof)				
78	Adalbero II 999-1025. Dbg 972	0,75 g		
BAYERN				
Regensburg (König/Kaiser)				
79	Kg Heinrich III 1026-1039. Dbg 1083a var. Hahn 38A. Jonsson 1981B, S. 73	1,26 g		
Augsburg (Bischof)				
80	Liutolf 987-996. Dbg 1023a var. Hahn 138 a1	1,43 g		
UNBESTIMMT				
81	Unkenntlich	1,20 g		
BÖHMEN				
Prag				
82	Hg Vladivoj 1002-1003. Cach 219	1,09 g		
ENGLAND				
ÆTHELRED II 978-1016				
First Hand				
83	London, Wnsige. Hd 2955	1,53 g		
84	Lydford, Æthelred. Hd 3026 var. obv. a 10	1,34 g		
Second Hand				
85	London, Oscytel. Hd 2849	1,37 g		
Crux				
86	Canterbury, Eadwold. Hd 146	1,32 g		
87	Leofstan. Hd 219	1,26 g		
88	Lifinc. Hd 233	1,37 g		
89	Chester, Riculf. Hd 1561	1,74 g		
90	Dorchester, Wulfnoth. Hd 436	1,45 g		
91	Exeter, Edric. Hd 518	1,61 g		
92	Ipswich, Lytelman. Hd 1086	1,61 g		
93	London, Ælfgar. Hd 2038	1,46 g		
94	God. Hd 2519	1,41 g		
95	Osmund. Hd 2868	1,21 g		
96	Maldon, Leofwine. Hd 3078	1,11 g		
97	Nottingham, Oswold. Hd 3415	1,44 g		
98	Southwark, Byrhtlaf. Hd 3598 var. M-O	1,60 g		
99	Thetford, Eadgar. Hd 3699	1,65 g		
100	Edwerd. Hd 3722	1,35 g		
101	Wilton, Boga. Hd 3991 var. BOGA	1,68 g		
102	Winchester, Leofwold. Hd 4276	1,64 g		
103	Wynstan. Hd 4342	1,68 g		
104	York, Hundulf. Hd 738	1,63 g		
Transitional Crux				
105	Wareham, Ælfgar. Hd —. Obv a 10, ÆLFGARMQOPER. Without sceptre and diadem	1,45 g		
Long Cross				
106	Bedford, Leofnoth. Hd 89	1,82 g		
107	Canterbury, Eadwold	1,33 g		
108	Lincoln, Grim. Hd 1788	1,77 g		
109	Grim. Hd 1788	1,72 g		
110	Sumerleth. Hd 1909	1,35 g		
111	London, Æthelwerd. Hd 2169	1,42 g		
112	Edwine. Hd 2490	1,77 g		
113	Leofric. Hd 2694	1,63 g		
114	Oxford, Godinc. Hd 3254 var. obv a 5	1,69 g		
115	Shrewsbury, Brungar. Hd 3366 var. M-O	1,77 g		
116	Wynsige. Hd 3386 var. obv. a 9	1,80 g		
117	Totnes, Ælfstan. Hd 3835	1,74 g		
118	Warminster, Alfwold. Hd 4345	1,75 g		
119	Warwick, Æthestan. Hd 3869	1,61 g		
120	Wilton, Sæwine. Hd 4018 var. obv. a 9	1,76 g		
121	Winchester. Alfwold. Hd 4100	1,71 g		
CNUT 1016-1035				
Pointed Helmet				
122	Lincoln, Leofwine. Hd 1618 var. obv. a 2, rev. OLINCO	1,10 g		



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SCANDINAVIA?**Imitations of Anglo-Saxon Type***Æthelred II***Long Cross**

123 ' Sigtuna, Nhtinc.' LL 33. SCBI Cop	
II, 1484	1,88 g
124 Blundered	1,45 g
125 Blundered. Square flan	2,01 g
126 Blundered. Square flan	1,76 g
127 Blundered	1,83 g

128 Blundered. Square flan	2,96 g
129 Blundered	2,55 g
130 Blundered. Rightfacing bust	1,93 g

SWEDEN

OLOF SKÖTKONUNG 994-1022

Crux/Small Cross mule

131 Sigtuna. LL 26	2,31 g
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Other abbreviations

- c. circa
- dnr diarienummer (day-book number)
- GF Gotlands Fornsal, Visby
- K. Kaiser (Emperor)
- Kg König (King)
- KL Kulturen, Lund
- KMK Kungl. Myntkabinettet, Stockholm
- Obv. Obverse
- Rs. Rückseite (Reverse)
- SHM Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm
- T.p.q. Terminus post quem (earliest possible date of deposit/striking)
- Var. Variety