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A new Norwegian Viking-Age coin type and other Norwegian coins found in Sweden

In his 1976 dissertation, Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway, Kolbjørn Skaare published a list of the known finds with Norwegian coins struck before c. 1100, a list which included nineteen Swedish finds with a known find spot. A new Norwegian type has recently been found in Sweden and this coin, together with some additional finds which have appeared since 1976, has prompted the present writer to present a survey of the Swedish material. It covers the Viking Age as defined by Skaare in his dissertation, i.e. up to c. 1100. A listing of the finds is given at the end.

A new Norwegian type

It may be convenient to begin with an examination of the new type. In 1991, during excavations of the ground of the Domkapitelshuset near the cathedral in Skara, a number of coins were found, but only the late 11th-century Norwegian penny will be discussed here. It can be described as follows (Fig. 1):

Obv. Crowned head facing. Legend: + S(?)N O O REX.

Rev. Cross voided with a pellet in each angle. Legend: :NE(ligated)R:MU/hS.

Weight: 0.72 g. (corroded and slightly chipped).



Fig. 1. Norwegian penny, struck c. 1090-5, found in 1991 during archaeological excavations of the grounds of the Domkapitelshuset, Skara.

There are three elements which are important for the dating and attribution of this new type: legends, type, and weight.

When this paper was written the coin itself was not available for inspection and the interpretation of the legends had to be made from photos. The last part of the obverse legend clearly reads REX, while the first part only consists of two or thee letters of which the last is N and the first posssibly a lying S or the letters IO. The two circles in the central part of the legend may well be part of the drapery instead. It does not allow any associations with known kings from the period in question. The reverse legend does not appear to be legible. The lettering resembles that found on Norwegian coins struck in the period c. 1080-95.

This combination of obverse and reverse type is not known before. The reverse type is basically the same as the standard type for Norwegian coins in the period c. 1047-c. 1095 and ultimately derives from the *Short Cross* type struck in England by Cnut c. 1029-35. The obverse type suggests influence from Denmark, for example Knud den Hellige (1080-6), Hbg 4 and especially Olof Hunger (1086-95), Hbg 1. However, the obverse type could also have been inspired from Germany where numerous prototypes could be mentioned. Besides the reverse type and the rendering of the legends, a Norwegian origin is also suggested by the fabric.

The weight of a full coin can be estimated at slightly above 0.8 g. This weight would place it before the reform undertaken at the beginning of the reign of Magnus Berrføtt (1093-1103), when the weight dropped to c. 0.5 g (Skaare 1969). Since no analysis of the silver content has been made it is not possible, based on the weight, to further limit the time of striking.

A combination of the various criteria suggests that the new type was struck during the period c. 1080-95. The style and type suggest that it belongs to the end of this period or c. 1090-5, i.e. the last years of Olav Kyrre (1067-93), just before the reform of Magnus Berrføtt.

Survey of the Swedish finds

No less than 31 finds with a total of at least 165 Norwegian coins are recorded from Sweden. The brief survey presented below will focus on the geographical distribution of the finds in a chronological perspective (Fig. 2). For the coinage up to c. 1065 the number of coins found in

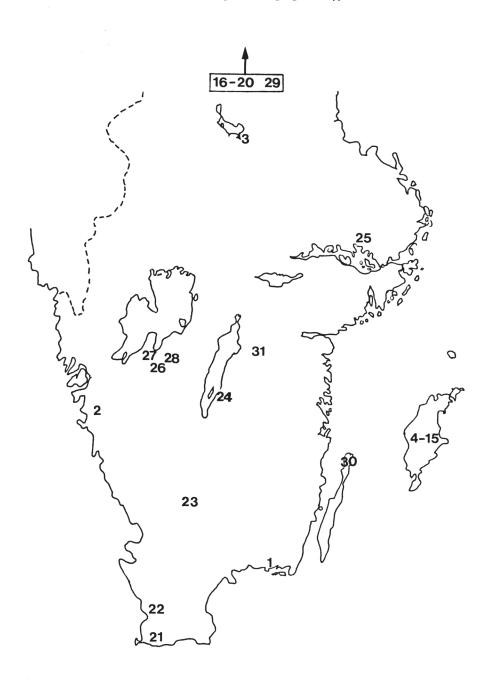


Fig. 2. Norwegian coins found in Sweden. Numbers refer to the list of finds.

Norway has also been noted.

Olav Tryggvason c. 995-1000

C. 995 (Skaare 1976, no. 1)

Number of coins: 2 (3?).

Number of finds: 2 (3?).

Find spots: Karls (Gotland) and Igelösa (Skåne).

Only three coins are preserved of the earliest Norwegian coin struck by Olav Tryggvason and all are die-duplicates. Of these two have been found in Sweden; and besides the ever-dominant Gotland, the second find spot is located in Skåne, which is the richest area when finds from about 1000 are concerned. The Karls hoard on Gotland is late, *t.p.q.* 1039, but the majority of the coins date from the 990s and 1000s. A fourth specimen has been lost since the 1760s, when it was part of a Swedish collection, and Kolbjørn Skaare has made the well founded suggestion (Skaare 1976, 181) that it derived from the Näs hoard in Uppland (Hatz et al. 1968). This famous hoard, *t.p.q.* 1006, was found as early as 1704 and is one of the largest from this period. Besides some 50 Swedish coins struck by Olof Skötkonung (994-1022) at Sigtuna, a specimen of the Danish coinage of Svend Tveskæg (984-1014) was also included. It would thus have been more than appropriate if it had also contained a specimen from Olav Tryggvason.

No coins have been found in Norway.

Olav Haraldson 1015-28, 1035

C. 1018. (Skaare 1976, no. 2 and p. 61-2)

Number of coins: 8 (10). Number of finds: 8 (10?).

Find spots: Myrände (Gotland), Änges (Gotland), Rangvalds (Gotland), Stale (Gotland), Bjärby (Gotland), Östra Byrummet (Gotland), Stige (Medelpad), and Grönby (Skåne).

A group not included by Skaare in his listing of the coins of Olav concerns pennies based on Æthelred II's Long Cross type with the obverse legend CNVT REX and the reverse legend ASTHRITH MO NOR (Hd 2911, 2912). The reverse legend is thus identical with that of the corresponding type of Olav Haraldson (Skaare 1976, no. 2) and the style is compatible but the dies are different. The reason for Skaare's hesitation at including it in the Norwegian coinage was the fact that the coin with Cnut's name also die-links into a series of

imitative coins (Lyon et al. 1961, 241-3). Brita Malmer has later shown how they die-link into the Danish series of Cnut (Malmer 1989B, 358, where the die-links were unfortunately left out by the printer). However, the present author believes the reasons for including these coins with Cnut's name are strong enough (same style, moneyer, and mint [NOR=Norway?]), while other coins in the series. where a few more die-combinations with the Astrith-die could be Norwegian, might need to be investigated further in spite of their apparent Danish origin. Thus two die-combinations, two obverse dies sharing a common reverse die, are included here. None of these coins were included in Hd in the first ed. in 1846 and the four coins now in the Hildebrand collection (two each of Hd 2911 and 2912) are thus from post-1846 finds. Two specimens must be identical to two coins known only from archival lists (Bjärby and Östra Byrummet) while the remaining two no doubt also come from unprovenanced Swedish finds. It has been noted that the two specimens in the Hildebrand collection of the die-combination represented by Hd 2911 weigh considerably more, 1.60 g and 1.70 g, compared to the two specimens in the same collection by the die-combination Hd 2912, 1.16 g and 1.02 g (Lyon et al. 1961 242), which would suggest that the latter was also struck later. However, the two specimens of each die-combination in the Copenhagen collection (SCBI 15, nos. 3150-3) weigh 1.32/1.19 g and 1.29/1.06 g, respectively, indicate that they were basically contemporaneous.

The other coins in the die-chain mainly fall in two groups of c. 1.50 g and 1.10 g, respectively. This is not the place to discuss the series in detail, but a thorough study would no doubt reveal the order in which all the dies in the large die-chain were used. The dies with Cnut's name would then probably have commenced the Norwegian part of the series. However, the inclusion of the Cnut/Astrith coins here should not be taken as a final attribution, since the series of recorded die-chains in this period of the Scandinavian coinages is remarkable and very complex and it is apparent that a number of dies were used in more than one country (cf. Malmer 1989A, 47, where chain 5 of Olof Skötkonung's (994-1022) Sigtuna coinage die-link into a Danish series). The earliest t.p.q. of the hoards where the two diecombinations included here are represented are 1023, 1026, and 1027 and the date of striking was probably very close to that of the coins struck in the name of Olov (below).

The number of extant specimens with Cnut's name is poorly documented and the list presented here may well increase in the future. For example, one specimen was exchanged with UMK as early as 1856 (SHM 2292). This shows that during the 1846-56 period two specimens had been found in Sweden although there are no archival records. The 1850 Stenstugu hoard, Alskog par., Gotland, may well account for one or both of them since it is the only hoard found in this period where details of the composition was not recorded in the archives. Of the five known provenances, four are attached to Gotland and this is logical, as this is the period when the Gotlandic hoards are the most dominant.

The corresponding die-pair with the name of Olav Haraldsson (Skaare 1976, no. 2) is of course far less controversial. Of the three coins found in Sweden two come from Gotland and one from Skåne. The strong position of Gotland is thus also well documented for this coinage. The *t.p.q.* of the earliest hoards are 1024 and 1029 (the Norwegian Nesbøen hoard, Skaare 1976, no. 135, has *t.p.q.* 1023), which well match hoards with coins in the name of Cnut. In light of the hoards both issues could have been struck c. 1020 but the small number of specimens reduces chances of a very early *t.p.q.* and thus the date for this apparently brief coinage is here given as c. 1018. In addition there was evidently a pause before the later issues of Olav were struck and some time should be allowed for this break. However, provided the coinage in England was taken as a guide, the weight could suggest a date of c. 1020 or possibly even later.

For the issue with Cnut's name no coins are known to have been found in Norway, while one specimen is known for the issue in Olav's name from the Nesbøen hoard (see above).

C. 1020-5. (Skaare 1976, nos. 3-5; Skaare 1989)

Number of coins: 1 (2). Number of finds: 1 (2).

Find spot: Stale (Gotland).

The four recorded types are struck from three obverse and four reverse dies, but although this would indicate an increase in the coinage, the number of preserved specimens (8), and the fact that only one die-link is known, suggest a sporadic coinage where the dies were not used to their full capacity.

Besides the coin with a known Gotlandic find spot, there is one

additional coin which no doubt was found on Gotland, although the exact find spot is not known (Dolley 1978).

The Stein hoard (Skaare 1976, no. 39), with three specimens, represents the only Norwegian find.

Harald Hårdråde (1047-1066)

C. 1047-50 (Skaare 1976, no. 6)

Number of coins: 1. Number of finds: 1.

Find spot: Torlarp (Småland).

This is the only known coin from this period and suggests that the early coinage of Harald was as sporadic as the coinage of Olav Haraldson. The location of the find spot in the southern part of the Swedish mainland (the more so if the Viking-Age borders are considered) appears random.

As indicated above no coins have been found in Norway.

C. 1050-65 (Skaare 1976, nos. 7-92)

Number of coins: 42. Number of finds: 9.

Find spots: Hallfose (Gotland), Findarve (Gotland), Stale (Gotland), Nore (Gotland), Rautasjaure - 15 (Lappland), Gråträsk - 18 (Norrbotten), Stommen (Västergötland), Torp - 3 (Öland), Maspelösa (Östergötland).

This is the first substantial Norwegian coinage and it is also reflected in the increase in the number of finds. As early as 1856 one specimen (no doubt from the Stale hoard) was exchanged with UMK. The finds from northern Sweden account for the overwhelming majority of the coins with more than eight times as many coins as from Gotland. They are also a sign of the close contacts which northern Sweden enjoyed with Norway in the second half of the 11th century. During its issue the coinage was severely debased and dropped from about 90% fine in the beginning to about 20% at the end. Skaare dated coins with above c. 75% silver to c. 1047-55 and the remainder to c. 1055-65 (Skaare 1976, 192). A revision can be made of the t.p.q. of some of the non-Norwegian hoards (Nore 1056 - Skaare 1976, no. 215; Hallfose 1059 - Skaare 1976, no. 209) and the inclusion of Danish coins of Sven Estridsen with a runic inscription (Hbg 30) which will give a date of deposit c. 1065, viz.: Pyhyjärvi = Kuusamo (Skaare 1976, no. 218);

Bonderup (Skaare 1976, no. 205); Kirke Værløse (Skaare 1976, no. 204). Thus, no non-Norwegian hoards can be dated to before 1056 with the exception of the Ølsted hoard (Skaare 1976, no. 203), which can safely be omitted from the discussion because of its small size (31 coins in all).

The Norwegian hoards all have t.p.q. 1050 or later, again with the exception of a small hoard (St. Olavs Voll with 45 coins, Skaare 1976, no. 6). In view of the revised datings of the hoards and the small volume of import in the 1050s, the issue, based on the hoard evidence, probably did not commence until c. 1050 or shortly later. The depreciation of the coinage was evidently progressive and a substantial volume no doubt coincided, based on Skaare's figures, with a drop in the silver content to below c. 65% which probably occurred in the period c. 1055-60. The debasement is known as 'Haraldslåtta'.

Olav Kyrre (1067-1093)

C. 1065-80

Number of coins: 91. Number of finds: 8.

Find spots: Kungälv (Bohuslän), Unna Saiva (Lappland), Rautasjaure - 66 (Lappland), Gråträsk - 18 (Norrbotten), Gränna (Småland), Venngarn (Uppland), Klockaretomten (Västergötland), Långön - 2 (Ångermanland).

The debased coinage, which commenced during the latter part of Harald Hårdråde, continued with new types during Olav Kyrre when the bulk of the poor coinage was struck (Malmer 1961). It is not surprising that no coins at all from this issue have been found on Gotland, since it is a coinage which, although still of a much larger size than that of Harald, was too debased to be accepted in international trade.

C. 1080-95

Number of coins: 10. Number of finds: 3.

Find spots: Johannishus (Blekinge), Vivallen - 8 (Härjedalen), Skara (Västergötland).

The absence of Gotland is again a reflection of the debased coinage. The very large Johannishus hoard represents the only find spot which is not located in a province bordering on Norway. The volume of the coinage probably also dropped, perhaps as a result of the prolonged economic problems which the coinage also bears witness to.

Magnus Berrføtt (1093-1103)

C. 1095-1105

Number of coins: 8 (9?).

Number of finds: 4.

Find spots: Johannishus - 3 (4?) (Blekinge), Hallsarve (Gotland),

Rautasjaure - 2 (Lappland), Gråträsk - 2 (Norrbotten).

The return to a coinage of better silver is only marginally reflected in a wide distribution of the finds. This is probably due to the comparatively small size of the coinage and the general lack of hoards from the late 11th century except on Gotland. It is interesting to note that the finds continue in the extreme north, showing that the import was not only tied to coins of poor silver.

Summary

The general development of the Norwegian element in the Swedish finds can basically be divided into a period of a coinage of good silver (c. 995-1055 and c. 1095 onwards) when it follows the general pattern of coin import to Sweden and is thus mainly concentrated to Gotland, and the period of a coinage with low silver content (c. 1055-95), where the coins are almost exclusively confined to regions bordering on Norway and thus often strongly influenced by Norway. In these regions the Norwegian coins could evidently penetrate the market more easily. It is interesting to note that in the last few decades the number of single-finds from this period, which earlier had been limited to one only (find circumstances unknown), has increased by no less than three. For the entire period covered here it is only in the extreme north of Sweden that Norwegian coins constitute a major element; elsewhere they reach a maximum of 4-5 coins even in the very largest hoards.

List of finds

Blekinge

1. Johannishus, Hjortsberga par. 1866. SHM 3491. 4,157 coins. Arabic,

Byzantine, German, Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 4 or 5 Norwegian (c. 1080-95: 1; c. 1095-1110: 3 or 4), and Swedish coins. T.p.q. 1120. Skaare 1976, no. 196.

Bohuslän

 Kungälv area after 1890. Olav Kyrre 1066-1093. GHM. Single-find? 1 Norwegian (c. 1065-80). The accompaning ticket provides no additional information.

Dalarna

3. A penny found in a grave at Dalarna, Leksand, Leksand church, could be Norwegian but the condition of the coin is such that it cannot be attributed with certainty. KMK 100149. CNS 16.1.5.

Gotland

- 4. Myrände, Atlingbo par. 1893. SHM 9392, 9393. More than 1,792 coins. Arabic, German, Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1026. CNS 1.1.19.
- Änges, Burs par. 1864. SHM 3237. 380 coins. Arabic, Byzantine, German, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018), Swedish. T.p.q. 1029. CNS 1.2.27. Skaare 1976, no. 208.
- 6. Hallfose, Dalhem par. 1884 and later. SHM 7551, 7669. More than 492 coins. Arabic, Byzantine, Georgian, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, and 1 Norwegian (c. 1050-65). *T.p.q.* 1059. CNS 1.3.2. Skaare 1976, no. 209.
- 7. Rangvalds, Havdhem par. 1977 and later. KMK 101273, 101380, 101739. 306 coins. Arabic, German, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018). T.p.q. 1048.
- 8. Hallsarve, När par. 1942. SHM 23040. 838 coins. Roman, Arabic, Byzantine, German, Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1095-1110), and Swedish. *T.p.q.* 1110. Skaare 1976, no. 210.
- 9. Findarve, Rone par. 1843. SHM 1076. 3,560 coins. Arabic, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1050-65), and Swedish. T.p.q 1089. Skaare 1976, no. 212.
- 10 Stale, Rone par. 1838. SHM 803. 5,922 coins. Arabic, Carolingian, German, Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 4 Norwegian (c. 1018; c. 1020-5; c. 1050-65: 2), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1070. Skaare 1976, no. 213.
- 11. Änggårde, Rone par. 1935 and later. SHM 21026, KMK 100750. 1,042 coins. Arabic, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1050-65), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1085. Skaare 1976, no. 211.
- 12. Bjärby, Sjonhem par. 1869. SHM 4236. 825 coins. Arabic, Byzantine,

- German, Italian, Bohemian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1027.
- Karls, Tingstäde par. 1966 and later. GF C 10351, 10396, 10773, 10774, 10832, 11733, KMK D 100712. Arabic, Volgabulgarian, Byzantine, German, Bohemian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 995), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1039. Skaare 1976, no. 214.
- Nore, Vamlingbo par. 1874. SHM 5279. 703 coins. Arabic, German, Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1050-65), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1056. Skaare 1976, no. 215.
- 15. Östra Byrummet, Visby. 1869. SHM 4126. 1,640 coins. Arabic, Volgabulgarian, Byzantine, Byzantine imitation, German, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1042.

Härjedalen

Vivallen, grave 7, Funäsdalen, Tännäs par. 1913. SHM 15052. 9 coins.
German and 8 Norwegian (c. 1080-95). T.p.q. 1080. Skaare 1976, no. 189.

Lappland

- 17. Unna Saiva, Gällivare. 1915. SHM 15721. 34 coins. German, English, Polish, and 1 Norwegian (c. 1065-80). Only the Viking-Age coins have been included here. Skaare 1976, no. 191.
- 18. Rautasjaure, Jukkasjärvi par. 1909. SHM 13886. 237 coins. Arabic, German, English, Scandinavian, Danish, and 83 Norwegian (c. 1050-65: 15; c. 1065-80: 66; c. 1095-1110: 2). Only the Viking-Age coins have been included here. Skaare 1976, no. 190.

Medelpad

19. Stige, Indal par. 1903. SHM 12079. 1,991 coins. Arabic, Volgabulgarian, Carolingian, German, Italian, Bohemian, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1023.

Norrbotten

20. Gråträsk, Piteå. 1907. SHM 13019, 13154, 13226, 13884, 13972. 84 coins. Arabic, German, English, Nordic, Danish, 38 Norwegian (c. 1050-65: 18; c. 1065-80: 18; c. 1095-1110: 2). Only the Viking-Age coins have been included here. Skaare 1976, no. 192.

Skåne

- 21. Grönby, Grönby par. 1855. SHM 2185. 1,461 coins. Arabic, Byzantine, German, English, Hiberno-Norse, Danish, 1 Norwegian (c. 1018), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1024. CNS 3.1.28. Skaare 1976, no. 197.
- 22. Igelösa, Igelösa par. 1924. SHM 17532, LUHM 28668. KM/L 39784. 2,058 coins. Arabic, German, English, Hiberno-Norse, Nordic, Scandinavian, 1 Norwegian (c. 995), and Swedish. T.p.q. 1003/4. Skaare 1976, no. 198.

Småland

- 23. Torlarp, Berga par. 1875. SM, KM/C BP 929. 191 coins. German, English, Danish, Scandinavian, and 1 Norwegian (c. 1047-50). *T.p.q.* 1051. Skaare 1976, no. 195.
- 24. Gränna church, Gränna. 1987. KMK dnr 200/87. 1 Norwegian (c. 1065-80).

Uppland

25. Venngarn, S:t Olof par. 1789. More than 1,546 coins. German, English, Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, Danish, and 1 Norwegian (c. 1065-80). *T.p.q.* 1079.

Västergötland

- Stommen, Fyrunga par. 1951 and later. GAM 48047-50, 48057, 49612, 49650, 49658, KMK dnr 313/91. 128 coins. German, English, Scandinavian, Danish, and 1 Norwegian (c. 1050-65). T.p.q. 1056. Klotz 1987.
- 27. Klockaretomten, Råda par. 1983. KMK dnr 172/84. 1 Norwegian (c. 1065-80).
- 28. Domkyrkan (block), Skara, 1991. KMK dnr 297/91. 1 Norwegian (c. 1080-95).

Ångermanland

29. Långön, grave 4, Tåsjö par. 1907. SHM 1316. 5 coins. German and 2 Norwegian (c. 1065-80). T.p.q. 1071. Skaare 1976, no. 193.

Öland

30. Torp, Böda par. 1852. SHM 1913. 697 coins. Arabic, Byzantine, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, English, Scandinavian, Danish, and 3 Norwegian (c. 1050-65). T.p.q. 1056. Skaare 1976, no. 207.

Östergötland

31. Maspelösa, Flistad par. 1869, SHM 4237. 550 coins. German, Italian, Hungarian, English, Scandinavian, Danish, and 1 Norwegian (c. 1050-65). T.p.q. 1066. CNS 8.1.3. Skaare 1976, no. 194.

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Abbreviations

BP - Bytteprotokoll.

dnr - diarienummer (registration number).

GAM - Göteborgs Arkeologiska Museum, Göteborg.

GF - Gotlands Fornsal, Visby.

GHM - Göteborgs Historiska Museum, Göteborg.

KM/C - Den kgl. Mønt- og Medaillesamling, Copenhagen.

KM/L - Kulturhistoriska Museet, Lund.

KMK - Kungl. Myntkabinettet, Stockholm.

SHM - Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.

SM - Smålands Museum, Växjö.

UMK - Universitetets Mynkabinett, Oslo.

Sammanfattning

En ny vikingatida norsk mynttyp och andra norska mynt funna i Sverige

En sammanställning över vikingatida norska mynt funna i Sverige publicerades av Kolbjørn Skaare 1976. Sedan dess har ett flertal nya fynd gjorts inkl. ett fynd i Skara 1991 med en ny typ varför det kan finnas skäl att på nytt göra en sammanställning av fynden.

Det nya myntet från Skara kan dateras till ca 1090-1095, dv.s. slutet av Olav Kyrres regering (1067-1093). Sammanlagt har minst 165 norska vikingatida mynt från 31 fynd hittats i Sverige. Här ingår 8 ex. med Knut den Stores namn och som har samma stil och myntmästare som mynt med Olav Haraldsons namn. I övrigt omfattar mynten perioden från Olav Tryggvason (995-1000) till Magnus Berføtt (1093-1103). Det största antalet fynd kommer från Gotland (12) medan det största antalet mynt kommer från norra Sverige: Lappland 84 och Norrbotten 38 och ingår i de lapska offerplatsfynden. De gotländska fynden omfattar endast tidiga mynt före myntförsämringen ca 1065-95 samt ett senare ex., medan de norrländska huvudsakligen består av mynt präglad efter ca 1065.