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**BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND
AND THE BORUP HOARD**

In 1820 Bror Emil Hildebrand began his studies at the University of Lund. It was here that he became acquainted for the first time with numismatics, when one of his teachers at the end of each term showed the students the small collection of antiquities and medals in the Historical Museum. In January 1829 during an extended journey north, Hildebrand was shown the coin cabinet at Uppsala, probably by Johan Henrik Schröder himself. Around the same time, the antiquarian and historical remarks in Hildebrand's letters during these travels record his interest in the subject.

When, in July 1829, he got word that his love since his teens was going to marry someone else, Hildebrand became desolated, and in such a state of mind, turned his attention to the coins in the Historical Museum. In letters to one of his friends he jests about this and remarks that he has now devoted his mind 'to a less teasing object, Miss Numismatica'. In response to the description by his friend of 'Miss Numismatica' as his 'chosen bride', Hildebrand gives an ironical characterization of his new love which tells much about his mood at the time. However, all this no doubt had a positive effect on his studies. The result of his labours in the coin cabinet during September to November was his doctoral thesis *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica Musei Academiae Lundensis ordinata et descripta*, which he defended at the age of 23 on 16-17 Dec. 1829.

In his classification of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the coin cabinet, Hildebrand had made use of a list drawn up by Sven Hylander and which had been annotated by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, a Dane who was one of the leading authorities on (especially medieval) coins in Europe at the time. Shortly after he had defended his thesis, Hildebrand sent a copy of it to Thomsen. This marked the beginning of a life-long friendship, and had a decisive effect on Hildebrand's later career. On 26 Feb. 1830 Hildebrand was appointed university lecturer in numismatics, and that summer met with Thomsen in Copenhagen for the first time. The stay lasted for nearly two months (22 June - 17 Aug.) during which time Thomsen helped Hildebrand in the numismatic field in every way.

When he returned to Lund, Hildebrand was appointed to an assistantship at the Historical Museum there with its coin cabinet, and commenced a catalogue of the acquisitions made by the coin cabinet.

In his doctoral thesis Hildebrand had complained about deficiencies in the regulations concerning retrieval of coin finds. Fate now gave him a

chance to set an example, which, however, nearly spoiled his future possibilities for a career in Stockholm.

On 31 May 1830 a farmer was ploughing a field at Borup, Hyby par., 15 km south-east of Lund, when the plough crushed a pot and unearthed a hoard of at least c. 260 coins, which had been concealed in it. Contrary to the law, the coins were dispersed among people in the neighbourhood, but c. 40 coins were given to Baron Axel Gustav Gyllenkrok of Björnstorp. Gyllenkrok in his turn donated two of these coins (Denmark, Hardeknud) as a gift to the coin cabinet at Lund through Professor Anders Otto Lindfors, who informed Hildebrand of what had happened after his return from Copenhagen. Hildebrand immediately went to Björnstorp and listed the remaining coins there. Then he went on to Borup, where he managed to obtain 55 (53?) coins from the farmers in the hamlet. On a renewed visit in September another 144 coins were bought from Ola Jönsson at Borup, and a final parcel of the hoard containing 30 coins was bought in November.

Following a long debate, the first two parcels of the hoard were acquired by the coin cabinet for the total sum of '83 riksdaler 40 skilling riksgälds'. The summary list in the cabinet's inventory records 38 German, 66 Anglo-Saxon (including 1 Scandinavian and 2 Danish), 2 Scandinavian, and 83 Danish (including 1 German), which make a total of 189 coins. The final parcel with 30 coins had to be acquired and paid for by Hildebrand personally. In the 1846 ed. of *Anglosachsiska Mynt* he states that 'A few coins, which I obtained later, were given by me to Kungl. Myntkabinettet in Stockholm'. It has not been possible to find any inventory record of these coins, and in view of the delicate nature of the circumstances (see below), they may well never have received an inventory number.

There is also a contradiction between the 30 coins acquired by Hildebrand and 'a few' which were given to Kungl. Myntkabinettet. The problem is not easy to solve, but at first glance the solution may be found in a list at Lund (a duplicate of which is in Copenhagen) of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish elements, where in addition to the coins acquired by the coin cabinet, there are also 22 further entries (19 Anglo-Saxon and 3 Danish), nearly all marked 'x' in the Copenhagen list. Presumably these additional entries (nos. 1, 6, 11, 17, 27-8, 36, 45, 53-4, 58-9, 62, 71-2, 76, and 83-4 below) represent the final parcel of 30 coins (the remainder being German). Alternatively they could constitute the coins remaining in Gyllenkrok's possession, but it is hard to see why these should have been entered at such a late stage. In any event the list that Hildebrand made of the remaining 38 coins in the possession of Gyllenkrok has not been found. The first alternative does not, however, solve the problem. Not all of the 19 coins correspond with coins listed in Hildebrand 1846, and it must thus be assumed that some ('a few') ended up in Stockholm and the remainder at Lund. With the help of the pre-1879 listing of the collection at Lund it can be

shown that this is not possible, as only one could perhaps have been in the collection at Lund. In consequence the coins added to the list and their whereabouts remain a mystery. The descriptions of many of the additional coins are incomplete, omitting either type and/or part of the reverse legend. Of the seven coins where the type is not rendered (nos. 6, 17, 28, 36, 62, and 76) the moneyers are either only known from one type, or the legends given by Hildebrand seem only to fit one type. This applies to six of the coins, and the type assigned below to each coin is based on these assumptions, but it must be understood that this procedure involves an element of uncertainty. One of the coins (no. 64) could fit any of three types.

The 1846 ed. of *Anglosachsiska Mynt* also refers to 10 coins in the possession of J. M. Lundberg, which were sold at auction in Lund on 28 April 1844. Three of the coins were Anglo-Saxon (nos. 16, 55, and 61 below, of which the latter two are now in Copenhagen), and the remainder were Danish.

The reconstruction which is given below of the Anglo-Saxon part of the hoard, is based on the above-mentioned lists with the assumptions made there, as well as on a list of the collection at Lund made prior to 1879.

From these lists it is evident that for the coins of Æthelred II, Hildebrand rendered the copulative as 'ON' regardless of what it actually was, and the same may be true for other coins as well, although they have all been assumed to read as Hildebrand has recorded them. One exception is no. 2, listed as Crewkerne (CRO), which is a clear misreading for Shrewsbury (SCRO) as is also evident from the pre-1879 list of the collection.

Coins marked '*' were acquired by the Historical Museum in Lund in 1830, which includes those that were exchanged with Kungl. Myntkabinettet in 1879 (nos. 2, 5, 10, 14, 21, 34-5, 37-9, 41-2, 46-8, 62, 65-8, 70-2, 76-7, 79-80, 83-4, and 87), and which are now the actual coins in the Hildebrand collection. These latter coins are illustrated on Plate 1-2. An additional six coins (nos. 24, 40, 50-2, and 54) must have been exchanged or sold at some date prior to 1879. The names of the moneyers have been normalized according to Smart 1981. The spelling on the coins has been put in brackets.

No. 45 is obviously not included in the Lund list and it is not marked 'x', but it is incompletely listed (the spelling of the mint on the coin is not given).

The Danish coins are also given in the lists at Lund and Copenhagen, but they have not been included here. The German coins are only listed (at Lund) by mint: Metz — 1, Köln — 5, Deventer — 2, Huy — 1, Magdeburg — 1, Würzburg — 1, Mainz — 5, Speyer — 5, Worms — 4, Strassburg — 1, and unattributed (Otto) — 12. To these can be added one German, Niederelbe, Duke Dietmar -1048, Dbg 1291, which is listed among the Danish coins.

ÆTHELRED II 978-1016*Long Cross*

- 1 Lincoln, Kolgrimr (Colgrim). Cf. Hd 1707-8

Helmet

- 2* Shrewsbury, Wynsige. Hd 3387 120° 1.50 g

Last Small Cross

- 3* Canterbury, Godman. Hd 160 180° 1.73 g
4* Lewes, Ælfweard (Ælfwerd). Hd 1405 270° 1.18 g

CNUT 1016-35*Quatrefoil*

- 5* Chester, Ælfsige (Alcsi). Hd 1314 90° 1.10 g
6 Chester, Leofwine (Leowine). Cf. Hd 1405-7 - -
7* Exeter, Sæwine. Hd 408 270° 1.05 g
8* Ipswich, Æthelbeorht (Æthelberht). Hd 927 180° 1.06 g
9* London, Sweting (Swetic). Hd 2717 90° 1.04 g
10* Oxford, Ælfwine. Hd 3003 0° 1.14 g
11 Thetford, Eadwine (Edwine). Cf. Hd 3491 (DEO) - -

Pointed Helmet

- 12* Canterbury, Leofnoth. Hd 147 0° 0.94 g
13* Colchester, Godric. Hd 223 180° 1.13 g
14* Cricklade, Wulfwine. Hd 261 90° 1.20 g
15* Hastings, Ælfweard (Ælfwerd). Hd 1096 180° 0.80 g
16 Ilchester, Æthelwig (Æglewig). Cf. Hd 874 (GIFE) - -
17 Leicester, Æthelwine (Ægelwine). Cf. Hd 1441 - -
18* London, Ælfric. Hd 1896 90° 1.07 g
19* London, Ælfweard (Ælfwerd). Hd 1917 270° 1.03 g
20* London, Ælfweard (Ælwerd). Hd 1991-3 0° 1.03 g
21* London, Ælfwine. Hd 1971 0° 1.03 g
22* London, Eadweard, (Edwerd). Hd 2282 270° 1.08 g
23* London, Leofweald (Leofwold). Hd 2593-4 270° 1.12 g
24* London, Leofweald (Leofwold). Hd 2593-4 - -
25* London, Wulfwine. Hd 2796 180° 1.04 g
26* London, Wynsige. Hd 2830 var. LVNDC 0° 1.04 g
27 Oxford, Wulfwine. Cf. Hd 3051 - -
28 Stamford, Cawelin. Cf. Hd 3242 - -
29* Winchester, Ælfheah (Ælfeh). Hd 3660-1 0° 1.05 g
30* Winchester, Ælfsige (Ælfsiie). Hd 3675 180° 1.09 g
31* Winchester, Leodmær (Ladmær). Hd 3767 var. a2 0° 1.03 g
32* Winchester, Leodmær (Ladmær). Hd 3768 90° 1.18 g
33* York, Fargrimr (Fargr). Hd 575 90° 0.94 g
34* York, Frithkollr (Frithcol). Hd 592 315° 1.00 g
35* York, Ketill (Cetel). Hd 514 45° 1.08 g

Short Cross

- 36 Barnstaple, Ælfgar. Cf. Hd 9 - -
37* Canterbury, Beorhtræd (Brihtred). Hd 133 180° 1.18 g
38* Chester, Leofsig. Hd 1378 180° 1.08 g
39* Chester, Snell (Snel). Hd 1419 90° 1.16 g
40* Chester, Snell (Snel). Hd 1419-20 - -
41* Colchester, Leofwine. Hd 229 0° 0.82 g
42* Cricklade, Ælfwine. Hd 242 90° 1.15 g
43* Guildford, Blacman (Blacaman). Hd 1082 180° 1.03 g

44*	Lincoln, Asleikr (Osloc). Hd 1705	90°	1.15 g
45	Lincoln, Svartbrandr (Swertebra). Cf. Hd 1764-5	-	-
46*	Lincoln, Wælrafn (Wælraefan). Hd 1789	180°	0.84 g
47*	Lincoln, Wulfric (Wuleiric). Hd 1817	270°	0.84 g
48*	London, Ælfweard (Alfward). Hd 2009-10	180°	1.22 g
49*	London, Ælfweard (Alfward). Cf. Hd 2009-10	-	-
50*	London, Ælfweard (Alfward). Cf. Hd 2009-10	-	-
51*	London, Brunman. Hd 2115	270°	0.91 g
52*	London, Brunman. Cf. Hd 2115	-	-
53	London, Eadmund. Cf. Hd 2138-40	-	-
54	London, Leofing (Lifinc). Hd 2619-20	-	-
55	London, Wulfric. Copenhagen SCBI 3023	180°	0.91 g
56*	Oxford, Godwine. Hd 3034	180°	1.11 g
57*	Stamford, Fargrimr (Færgrim). Hd 3254-5	0°	0.88 g
58	Stamford, Fargrimr (Fargrim). Cf. Hd 3256	-	-
59	Stamford, Leofdæg (Leofedei). Cf. Hd 3298	-	-
60*	Stamford, Oswearð (Osward). Hd 3335	270°	0.98 g
61	Wallingford, Godwine. Copenhagen SCBI 3939	90°	1.17 g

Quatrefoil/Pointed Helmet/Short Cross

62	London, Godhere (Godere). Cf. Hd 2382-4/2388-93/2401-5	-	-
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HAROLD I 1035-42

Jewel Cross

63*	Dover, Eadwine (Edwine). Hd 110	180°	1.12 g
64*	Lincoln, Kolgrimr (Cogrim). Hd 383	90°	1.02 g
65*	Lincoln, Leofing (Lifinc). Hd 417	180°	1.14 g
66*	Lincoln, Svafi (Swafa). Hd 463	315°	0.82 g
67	London, Eadræð (Edred). Cf. Hd 577	-	-
68*	London, Eadwine (Eowine). Hd 609	270°	1.14 g
69*	Oxford, Leofwine. Hd 808	270°	1.12 g
70*	Warminster, Wulfstan (Wulstn). Hd 1048	180°	1.10 g

Fleur-de-Lis

71	Cambridge, Wulfwine. Cf. Hd 264-5 (ON)	-	-
72	Ilchester, Godric (Goddric). Cf. Hd 234	-	-
73*	Leicester, Wulfstan (Wulstan). Hd 371	270°	1.00 g
74*	Lincoln, Leofwine (Lecwine). Hd 399	0°	1.07 g
75*	London, Beorhtmær (Brhtmær). Hd 515	330°	1.16 g
76	London, Goldsige (Golsiige). Cf. Hd 644-5	-	-
77*	London, Leofræð (Leofred). Hd 667	0°	1.08 g
78*	London, Leofwine (Leofwne). Hd 688	270°	0.87 g
79*	Norwich, Leofwine (Leowine). Hd 781-2	0°	1.05 g
80*	Norwich, Manna. Hd 788	180°	0.90 g
81*	Stamford, Brunwine. Hd 873	0°	0.95 g

HARTHACNUT 1040-2

Arm-and-Sceptre

82*	Lincoln, Wulfnoth (Rulnoth). Hd 97	0°	1.18 g
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EDWARD THE CONFESSOR 1042-66

Pacx

83	London, Æthelwine (Ælwine). Cf. Hd 423 (LVN)	-	-
84	York, Sveinn (Sween). Cf. Hd 157 (SWEEN)	-	-



2



5



10



14



21



34



35



37



38



39



41



42



46



47

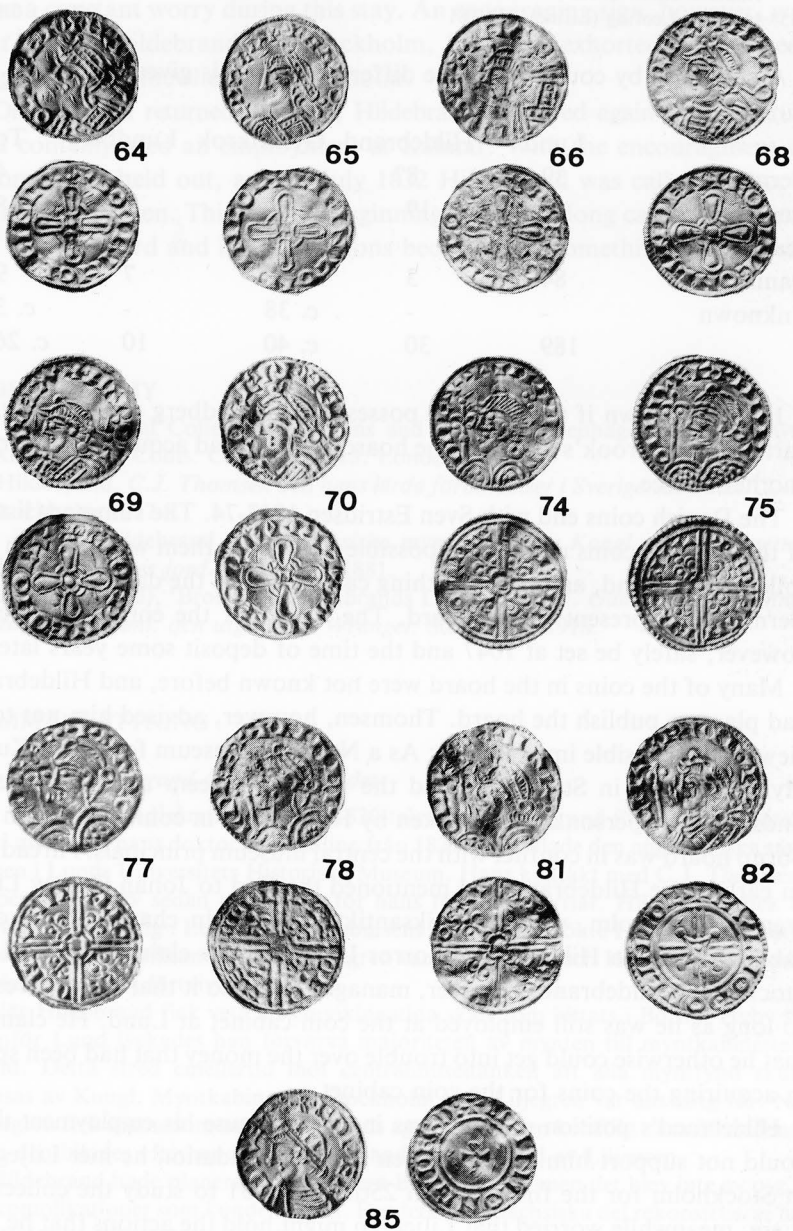


60



63





Plates 1-2. The Anglo-Saxon coins from the Borup hoard in Kungl. Myntkabinettet, Stockholm.

A summary by countries of the different parcels is given below.

	Lund	Hildebrand	Gyllenkrok	Lundberg	Total
German	39	8?	-	-	47?
Anglo-Saxon	63	19	-	3	85
Scandinavian	3	-	-	-	3
Danish	84	3	2	7	96
Unknown	-	-	c. 38	-	c. 38
	189	30	c. 40	10	c. 269

It is not known if the 10 coins possessed by Lundberg were previously part of Gyllenkrook's parcel of the hoard, or if he had acquired them from another source.

The Danish coins end with Sven Estridsen 1047-74. The summary listing of the German coins makes it impossible to identify them with coins in the collection at Lund, and hence nothing can be said of the date for the latest German coin present in the hoard. The *t.p.q.* for the entire hoard can, however, safely be set at 1047 and the time of deposit some years later.

Many of the coins in the hoard were not known before, and Hildebrand had plans to publish the hoard. Thomsen, however, advised him not to in view of the possible implications: As a National Museum for coins, Kungl Myntkabinetet in Stockholm had the right to redeem all Swedish coin finds, and the personal action taken by Hildebrand in connection with the Borup hoard was in conflict with the central museum principals. Already at an early stage Hildebrand had mentioned the find to Johan Gustav Liljegren in Stockholm, who was 'riksantikvarie' and in charge of the coin cabinet there. To Hildebrand's horror Liljegren now claimed the find for Stockholm. Hildebrand, however, managed to see to it that the case rested so long as he was still employed at the coin cabinet at Lund. He claimed that he otherwise could get into trouble over the money that had been spent in acquiring the coins for the coin cabinet.

Hildebrand's position at Lund was insecure because his employment there could not support him. On Thomsen's recommendation he met Liljegren in Stockholm for the first time on 25th July 1831 to study the collection there, meanwhile worried that Liljegren might hold the actions that he had taken regarding Borup against him. As to Hildebrand's future, Liljegren informed him that he had no plans to employ an assistant who could one day take over when he retired. Hildebrand now saw his hopes of an employment in Stockholm vanish. To a sensitive nature like Hildebrand, who could exult one day over receiving a favourable remark from Liljegren, and

on the next despair as their relations grew tense, the Borup affair must have been a constant worry during this stay. An encouraging sign, however, was that before Hildebrand left Stockholm, Liljegren exhorted him to seek employment somewhere in Stockholm.

Once he had returned to Lund, Hildebrand despaired again for his future and contemplated an employment at Kalmar. With the encouragement of Thomsen he held out, and in July 1832 Hildebrand was called to Stockholm by Liljegren. This was the beginning of his life-long career there, and the Borup hoard and its implications became now something of the past.

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SAMMANFATTNING

Bror Emil Hildebrand och Borupfyndet

Det var under studieåren i Lund på 1820-talet som Hildebrand först kom i kontakt med mynt och hans doktorsavhandling från 1829 behandlade den anglosaxiska samlingen i Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum. Hans kontakt med C.J. Thomsen i Köpenhamn blev sedan avgörande för hans fortsatta karriär. Hildebrand fick en tillfällig anställning i Lund och på Thomsens uppmaning sökte Hildebrand arbete i Stockholm, men riksantikvarien Liljegren var avvaktande och Hildebrand kastades mellan hopp och förtvivlan.

När Hildebrand fick veta att en vikingatida skatt som hittats i Borup, Hyby sn, utanför Lund lyckades han förvärva majoriteten av mynten till myntkabinettet i Lund. Detta stred emellertid mot centralmuseitanken att alla myntfynd skulle inlösas av Kungl. Myntkabinettet i Stockholm som Liljegren var ansvarig för. När Liljegren fick kännedom om Hildebrands agerande var en konflikt nära förestående men den bilades efterhand och Hildebrand blev anställd av Liljegren.

Hildebrand hade planerat att publicera Borupfyndet, men det blev inte av p.g.a. de komplikationer som kunde uppstå. Fyndets anglosachsiska del rekonstrueras här med hjälp av förteckningar i Lund och i Köpenhamn. Av ca 269 mynt var ca 47 tyska, 85 anglosachsiska, 3 skandinaviska efterpräglingar, 96 danska samt ca 38 ej beskrivna och t.p.q. är 1047.