Thorsten Lemm

A Landscape of Royal Power on the Schlei

The Danevirke, Hedeby and Slesvig in a Diachronic Perspective

ABSTRACT

The trading hub of Hedeby/Slesvig played a vital role for the contacts between Scandinavia and the Frankish territories. It was situated within the southern border region of the Danish Kingdom, confined by the political border along the river Eider in the south and the river Treene, the Schlei inlet and the military line of the Danevirke in the north. In the 13th century, this area appears in King Valdemar's survey as a special district characterised by a high amount of royal possessions. It was administered by jarls from the early 12th century at the latest. Analogies to the tasks of these royal governors can be found in 9th century sources. This raises the question of how far back in time the special status of this region and royal presence in the hinterland of Hedeby/Slesvig can be traced? The interdisciplinary evaluation will show that the Schlei region since the early Viking Age was of paramount importance to the Danish Kingdom, rightfully addressed as a landscape of royal power.

KEYWORDS

Sliesthorp / royal property / boat chamber grave / Jelling dynasty / border area

In view of the topic of the conference held in Aachen and published in this volume, »Frankish Seats of Power and the North – Centres between Diplomacy and Confrontation, Transfer of Knowledge and Economy«, the focus within Scandinavia inevitably falls on Hedeby/Slesvig, probably the most important trading centre of the Viking Age in the whole of Scandinavia. Situated at the inner end of the Schlei, an approximately 40 km long Baltic Sea inlet, not far from the former southern border of the Kingdom of Denmark and thus at the southern edge of the Scandinavian cultural area, the city was unparalleled in its contact and exchange with continental Europe. This concerned not only trade goods that arrived here and were traded on to the hinterland or more distant regions, but also technologies, ideas and cultural values. Furthermore, no other place in Viking Age Scandinavia is mentioned so frequently in Frankish and Saxon sources, which further emphasises the importance of the site in the eyes of its southern neighbours.

The driving force behind the contacts between the North and the places of power in the Frankish regions was trans-regional trade (e. g. Sawyer/Sawyer 2002, 103–117; Hilberg 2014). Nevertheless, it will not be the subject of this article. Rather, the focus will be on the particular geographical region as a whole, in which the trading town was established and through which the trade routes ran. Various aspects will be discussed that reveal the great interest of the Danish and, at times, East-Frankish royal power in the trading centre and its hinterland. Taking into account archaeological and historical sources, runic inscriptions and place names, this is the first time that extensive evidence of the presence of kings, their power-political and economic activities, their mili-

In: M. Gierszewska-Noszczyńska · L. Grunwald · O. Grimm (eds), Frankish Seats of Power and the North – Centres between Diplomacy and Confrontation, Transfer of Knowledge and Economy.
LEIZA Publications 7 (Mainz 2025). DOI: https://www.doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.1681.c24448

tary retinues and royal estates in this region will be compiled. In this way, the regions north and south of the Schlei can be depicted as a landscape of royal power that was important for centuries, with the trading town of Hedeby/Slesvig at its centre, controlled by a royal governor from the early 9th century.

The Geographical Situation

Four ethnic groups settled in the area that is now Schleswig-Holstein in the early Middle Ages: The Danes in the north, the Frisians along the North Frisian west coast and on the islands, the Saxons and later the Franks in the southwest and the Slavic Obodrites in eastern Holstein. In the middle of this large contact zone, the trading centre of Hedeby/Slesvig emerged in the early 9th century, which was integrated into a European network of trade routes and represented the most important hub between the North and Baltic Seas as well as Scandinavia and the Continent (e. g. Jankuhn 1986; Kalmring 2010, 27–40; Maixner 2010, 12–22. 132–188; Hilberg 2022, 92–96). The trading centre could be reached by ship from the Baltic Sea via the Schlei inlet; coming from the North Sea, the rivers Eider and Treene were navigable up to the village of Hollingstedt. From there, the goods were transported to Hedeby/Slesvig with the help of wagons and carts across the 16 km wide Schleswig Isthmus. Here, the so-called Ox Road or Army Road ran north-south through the narrowest part of the Jutland Peninsula, which connected Aalborg in the North with the River Elbe in the south and thus the world of Scandinavia with continental Europe. From a strategic point of view, the narrowest point of Jutland also offered the best conditions for the military defence of the peninsula. It is therefore not surprising that the Danevirke – a defensive complex of various ramparts – was built exactly in the area of the Schleswig Isthmus in order to seal off the Jutish Peninsula against enemies from the south.

In the second half of the 11th century, the Viking Age trading centre at Haddeby Bay (Germ. Haddebyer Noor) was relocated to the northern shore of the Schlei in the area of today's city of Schleswig. However, »Viking Age Hedeby« and »high-medieval Schleswig« must be regarded as one and the same trading place, which in the 1060s was merely relocated from its position south of the Schlei inlet to the northern shore. This is underlined by the double name of the trading town, which is a rather common trait for a settlement within a border region (Schlesinger 1972, 75):

During the Viking Age, the place was denoted as *Haiðabýr*, *Heðabýr* in Old-Westnorse on rune stones (DR 1, U 1048, DR 3, DR 63)[1] and *Sliesthorp*, *Sliaswich*, *Sliaswig*, *Heidiba*, *Sleswich* in contemporary Frankish and East-Frankish written sources (ARF 804, 808; Rimbert, ch. 31; Adam von Bremen II, 79; III, 76). In the late 10th century, the Anglo-Saxon Æthelweard in his *Chronicon de rebus Anglicis* (p. 122) informs us about the fact that the town was called *Sleswic* in the Saxon tongue, but was known as *Haithaby* among the Danes (Laur 2001, 64). The names used for the relocated town on the northern shore were *Hethæby*, *Slésvík*, *Heiðabýr*, *Haiðabýr*, *Heiðabæjar*, *Sleswic* in late medieval Danish and Icelandic written sources (King Valdemar's survey, Aakjær 1926–1943a, 27; Magnússona saga, ch. 13; Knýtlinga saga, ch. 79, 91; Saxo Grammaticus 11,13,1, pp. 322,26. 365,36). The town remained integrated into a Europe-wide trading network, and the Danish king's interest in and presence at the town continued as well, as written sources and archaeological finds indicate. It was not until the 13th century, with the flourishing of the Hanseatic city of Lübeck and the relocation of the trade route between the North and Baltic Seas to the southeast via the rivers Elbe, Delvenau and Stecknitz, that the trading town of Schleswig lost its importance and from then on was only of significance as a ducal residence town (Unverhau 1990, 44; Jahnke 2006, 258–264).

kununglef and *patrimonium*

In order to emphasise the special character and importance of Scandinavia's southernmost region it makes sense, however, not to start in the Viking Age or even earlier, but in the High Middle Ages, in the time of King Valdemar II (* May/June 1170, † 28th March 1241, r. 1202–1241), who initiated a cadastre of all the royal property in his country. This is preserved in the *Liber census Daniae*, which is usually referred to

1 The abbreviations and numbering of the runestones used in this paper are taken from the standard works on runic inscriptions for different regions, which can be accessed in the Samnordisk runtextdatabas, Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet: https://app.raa.se/open/runor.

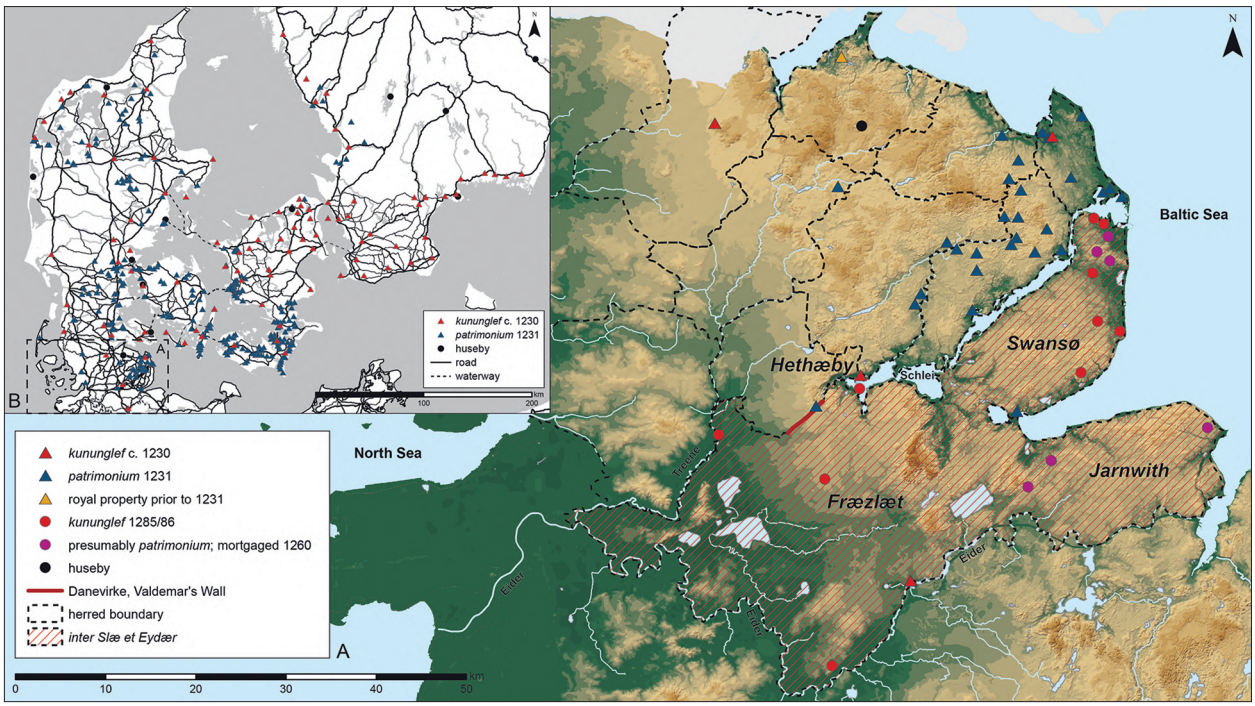

Fig. 1 The area of South-Schleswig formerly belonging to the Kingdom of Denmark. **A** 13th century royal property and the Danevirke's Main Rampart, which was reinforced with a brick wall by King Valdemar I in the second half of the 12th century. While the rest of medieval Denmark was administratively divided into herreder (hundreds), the area between the Schlei and the Eider, comprising *Frælæt*, *Jarnwith* and *Swansø*, represented a district of its own with a special status. – **B** Although the distribution of *kununglef* and *patrimonium* differs considerably across Old-Denmark, both kinds of royal property display a strong connection with the medieval roads and waterways. – (Graphics T. Lemm; A basedata by LVermGeoSH, roads reconstructed by T. Lemm; B basedata by ESRI 2010, roads provided by Holtermann et al. 2022).

as »King Valdemar's survey« (Dan. Kong Valdemars Jordebog; Aakjær 1926–1943a). Among other things, it contains a conglomerate of lists and overviews of royal rights and income, crown estates and administrative units during the first half of the 13th century. The central fiscal parts in the survey (the so-called main part, the *kununglef* list and the Halland list) can be dated to 1231 and around 1230. In these parts, the book distinguishes consistently between the king's paternal lands (*patrimonium*), which he, as one landlord among many, could acquire and dispose of, and the crown lands (*kununglef*), which he could not manage freely (Aakjær 1926–1943a; Andrén 1983, 33; Leegaard Knudsen 1988; Unverhau 1990, 11; Bjørkvik 1992, 9; Hybel/Poulsen 2007, 168; Rasmussen 2011, 239–241).

The *kununglef* comprised two opposite kinds of property (H. N. A. Jensen 1834, 570; Steenstrup 1873–1874, 366–379): marginal property and places of centrality. The former included naturally confined areas – mainly forests, islands, peninsulas and promontories – whereas the latter comprised villages and places of centrality in the well-established areas of the realm, of which about a dozen lent their names to administrative units, such as the hundreds (Dan. herreder) or the *sysler* in Jutland. The survey lists a number of royal manors and castles, some twenty large-scale properties that were towns, or which developed into towns, including many of the most important ones, and more than 50 villages, most of which represented parish centres (Andrén 1983, 34; Rasmussen 2011, 242–243). The *kununglef* was to remain the property of the crown, i. e. an institution, regardless of the change of rulers. On his accession to the throne, the new king had to take an oath not to diminish the royal rights and above all not to reduce the crown estate (Steenstrup 1873–1874, 368).

The geographical distribution of King Valdemar's *kununglef* and *patrimonium* across medieval Denmark varied greatly around 1230 (**fig. 1B**). Judging from the survey, the *kununglef* was distributed relatively evenly over almost the entire realm, but with a numerical preponderance in the east. The numerically predominant *patrimonium*, consisting mostly of smaller estates and less of large manors, on the other hand, was completely absent in Scania and in the northern and eastern parts of Zealand. Denser distributions of *patrimonium* were recorded in northern Jutland, eastern South Jutland, eastern South Schleswig and on the islands of Funen, Lolland and Falster as well as in the southwest and south of Zealand (Andrén 1983, 34–35; Iversen 2011, 232; Rasmussen 2011, 248. 250; Lemm in prep. b). In spite

of gaps in the survey's main section on certain regions and the omitting of minor property, Rasmussen (2011, 255) estimates the overall picture provided by the lists to be reasonably reliable. Unfortunately, it is not known how far back in time this picture goes.

As the great-great-grandson of King Sven Estridsen (r. 1047–1076), Valdemar II was a descendant of the so-called Jelling dynasty, which can be traced back to the time of King Gorm († 963 at the latest) (Sawyer/Sawyer 2002, 417 tab. 1; Lund 2020, fig. on the inside of the binding), so it seems at least theoretically possible that some of the later manors and estates owned by the royal family could be traced back to the first half of the 10th century. However, there may of course also have been major changes, for land-ownership was not permanent, as a lot of land was passed from one owner to the next. These changes in property situations during the previous two centuries are not accounted for in King Valdemar's survey (Rasmussen 2011, 256; Roesdahl 2016, 178). It is difficult to determine how far back in time a definite distinction was made in Denmark between the property of the crown and the royal family's private property. However, different sources suggest, and the logical conclusion is, that at least from the 1020s onwards a certain number of royal seats and strongholds were linked to the office of king, because otherwise there would have been very little continuity in the exercise of royal power, and a Danish kingship without them would have been very weak indeed (Andrén 1983, 35–37. 38 fig. 3; 43. 45–50; Rasmussen 2011, 257–258; Lemm in prep. b).

A look at the old road network shows that most *kununglef* sites had good connections in terms of transport and geography. Thanks to their primarily agricultural revenues, the numerous royal estates provided accommodation and sustenance for the king and his retinue as they travelled through the kingdom. They were also home to officials, who collected taxes from the neighbouring inhabitants and were probably also entrusted with other administrative tasks (Unverhau 1990, 43; Lemm in prep. b). One of the places most frequently visited by the travelling king was the city of Schleswig (Riis 1981; Lemm in prep. b), which is referred to as *Hethæby* in King Valdemar's survey, three-quarters of which belonged to the *kununglef* and one-quarter to the duchy in around 1230 (Aakjær 1926–1943a, 27. 117).

Frælæt – inter Slæ et Eydær

With Schleswig or Hedeby/Slesvig respectively at its centre, a special situation existed in the southernmost part of Old-Denmark with regard to *kununglef* and *patrimonium* (**fig. 1A**). Particularly noteworthy in this context is the region between the Schlei and the Eider, the river that bordered the Frankish, later East-Frankish realm, which has been documented since 811 (ARF 811). This area is referred to in Valdemar's survey as *Frælæt* (Aakjær 1926–1943a, 10, 100) and constituted a self-contained district which, unlike the rest of Old-Denmark, was not divided into administrative hundreds (Unverhau 1990, 11). The easternmost part, *Jarnwith* (»the Iron Forest«), was explicitly designated as a crown estate (*kununglef*) (Aakjær 1926–1943a, 26. 116). It is also mentioned that the king owned 420 hides (*houæ*) of land between the Schlei and the Eider (*inter Slæ et Eydær*) and a further 26 1/2 ploughs (*aratra*) of land on the Schwansen Peninsula (*Swansø*) (Aakjær 1926–1943a, 10. 100)[2].

It is not possible to determine on the basis of the survey alone which lands were involved and whether they were *kununglef* or *patrimonium*. With the help of somewhat younger documents, however, Unverhau (1990, 44–51 and map 4) was able to identify the farms in Schwansen and some of the farms in the rest of *Frælæt*[3]. The 420 hides mentioned can be localised within the Schlei-Eider district in the area where the villages largely bear German names. There, the German *Hufe* was used as the measure of land instead of the Danish *bol* (Unverhau 1990, 49). Assuming that one hide belonged to each farmstead and that 10 families lived in each village, the king could have owned up to 40 villages (Sach 1896–1907, 20). Another estimate assumes 50 to 70 villages (Hvidtfeldt 1950, 167). However, as the land register only mentions *Hufen*, this is probably mainly property in scattered locations, which was spread over a correspondingly large number of settlements. The villages were certainly also located in the crown es-

2 The *Hufe* (*houæ*, Engl. hide) is a German measure of land, whereas the survey otherwise only uses Danish *bol* or ploughs (*aratra*) (Unverhau 1990, 11). The hide as a measure of land is also known from the English Domesday book (cf. Darby 1977; Roffe 2007).

3 Farms in *Frælæt*: Haddeby, Casute, Hollingstedt, Kropp, Hamdorf, Holtsee, Warleberg, Selmersdorf, Bülk. Possessions in Schwansen: Olpenitz, Nonis, Klintberg (Klinteby) with forests and meadows, the forest Booknis (Bokniss) with the meadows beyond the Schwastrumer Au (or beyond Schwastrum), and four marks of gold land in Dörp belonged to the crown estate in 1285/1286 (DD 2:3, no. 139, 170).

tate districts, for example in *Kamp*[4] or *Jarnwith*, so the various legal and inheritance relationships overlapped here (Unverhau 1990, 50).

According to Unverhau (1990, 51–52), an examination of the ownership structure indicates the existence of a legal, administrative and ecclesiastical district south of the Schlei-Danevirke line with the name »between Schlei and Eider«, whose roots go back to well before the 13th century (see below). Nevertheless, within this area a distinction was made between individual geographic landscapes, such as Stapelholm, Schwansen, and the Iron Forest/Danish Forest, from which the crown districts of the same name such as *Swansø* and *Jarnwith*, as well as *Kamp*, and perhaps Hollingstedt, Kropp and Haddeby, are to be separated. At least some of them consisted of several villages belonging to the *kununglef*. In addition, there were also royal *patrimonium*, ecclesiastical property and probably also freehold peasant property. Individual royal estates, from which taxes were collected or the military contingent was assembled, probably formed the centres of these districts. The surrounding population was assigned to these districts or estates (Unverhau 1990, 52).

The fact that the *inter Slæ et Eydær* district was not part of the herred division is widely believed to be due to an alleged late colonisation of the area during the medieval period. However, in this matter Unverhau (1990, 38, 51) is correct in that the administration over the crown estate – and with it the exemption from the herred division – could just as well be an expression of ancient conditions that go back to the (early) Viking Age. Otherwise it would be strange and difficult to explain why the administrative organisation of the herreder, which had long been customary elsewhere in Denmark[5] was not established between the Schlei and the Eider in the course of an alleged late colonisation of this area. The special status of the district, probably due to its border location, came to an end with the establishment of the Duchy of Schleswig (Unverhau 1990, 51). The crown estate in the duchy was finally ceded by the king to the duke in 1313 in the Treaty of Horsens (DD 2:7, no. 82), whose power of disposal over it was now unlimited (Unverhau 1990, 44). It was not until the Late Middle Ages that the area between the Schlei and the Eider was also divided into herreder, as they had long existed north of the Danevirke (Unverhau 1990, 51).

On the basis of King Valdemar's survey and the other documents mentioned, the special character of the border region in the 13th century becomes quite clear. But how far back in time can the special status of this region and at the same time the crown estate and royal possessions there generally be traced? To answer this question, it is possible to gather some evidence that a strong royal presence in Hedeby/Slesvig and its hinterland on both sides of the Schlei and in the border district between the Schlei and the Eider can be supposed well before the 13th century.

Sleswicensis praefectura

The importance of the Schleswig Isthmus from an economic point of view is most impressively demonstrated by the establishment and boom of the trading town of Hedeby/Slesvig in the early 9th century and its integration into the Europe-wide flows of goods until its final decline in the course of the 13th century. The extraordinary importance of the region from a military point of view can be seen even earlier. Due to the geographical conditions, the Schleswig Isthmus, which is only 16 km wide, offered the possibility of blocking and controlling access to the Jutland Peninsula and thus to an area of dominion that is likely to have been part of the Danish kingdom from the 8th century at the latest. This was precisely the function of the Danevirke defence system (**fig. 2**). With all its segments measuring a total length of around 30 km, the Danevirke is the largest prehistoric architectural monument in northern Europe. Its various ramparts were built, enlarged, supplemented, abandoned and reactivated in different phases between the Germanic Iron Age and the medieval period. Some ramparts were even redesigned in the context of 19th and 20th century military conflicts (Andersen 1998).

The Oldest Danevirke

Only recently, excavations at the Main Rampart (**fig. 2, 1**) yielded new insights into the oldest phases of the Danevirke[6]. Five sediment samples from

4 *Kamp* or *Kampen* was a parish and church village on the northern shore of the River Eider in an area later known as the Kronwerk district of modern-day Rendsborg (Aakjær 1926-1943b, 93; Hoop 1989; Laur 1992, 374).
5 The existence of the herreder is documented for the first time in King Cnut IV's deed of donation to the chapter of Lund in 1085 (DD 1:2, no. 21). Judging from settlement historical analyses based on archaeological data and place names, Hansen (2019, 75 with further references) even considers an origin of the herred division in the time around AD 600 possible.
6 The designation of the phases in this paper follows the classification according to Tummuscheit/Witte (2018).

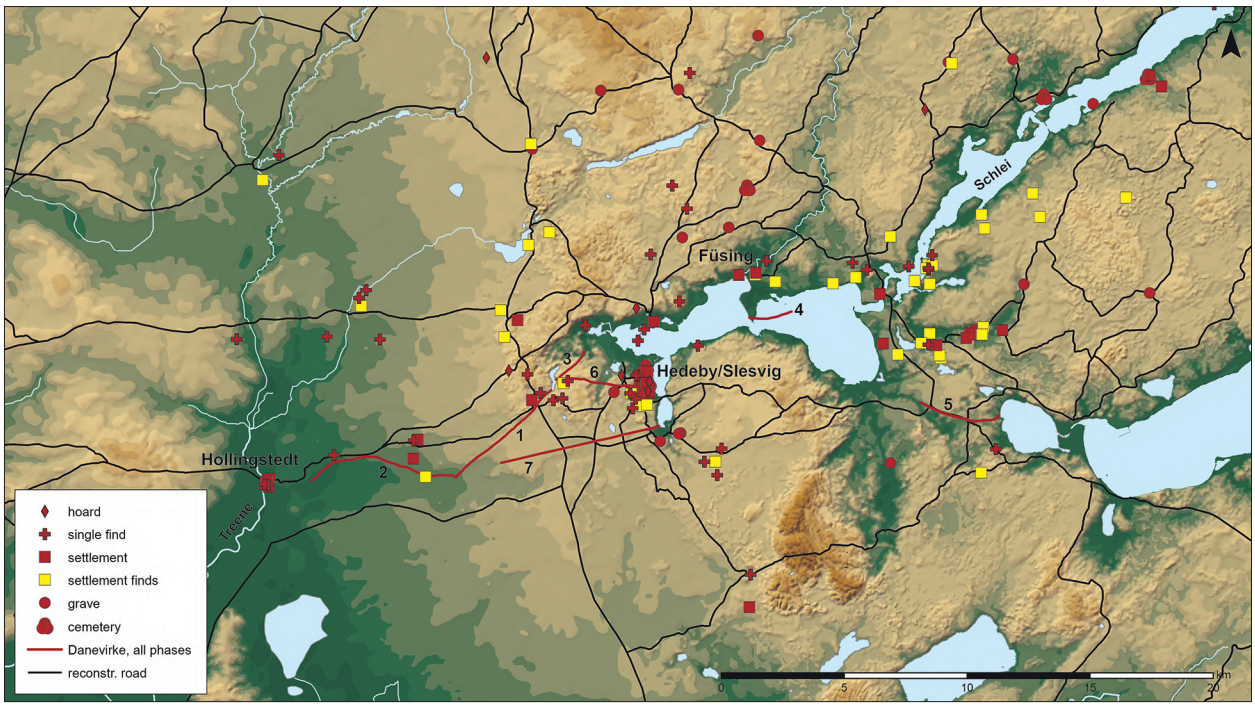

Fig. 2 The Schleswig Isthmus and the immediate hinterland of Hedeby/Slesvig. Viking Age finds and sites as well as the defensive complex of the Danevirke. **1** Main Rampart. – **2** Crooked Rampart. – **3** North Rampart. – **4** Sea barrage at Reesholm. – **5** East Rampart. – **6** Connection Rampart. – **7** Kovirke. – (Graphics T. Lemm, basedata by LVermGeoSH, roads reconstructed by T. Lemm).

heath sods and one sample of charred remains of heather plants all belonging to the second phase – the so-called Turf Rampart – were radiocarbon dated to the periods AD 130 and 333 (2σ; two samples) and AD 382 and 570 (2σ; four samples). Even if a precise or unambiguous dating of the second rampart phase of the Danevirke is not yet possible on this basis, it becomes clear that it dates back to at least the 5th or 6th century AD – respectively the time around AD 500. Nevertheless, it could even have been built much earlier (Tummuscheit/Witte 2014, 156–157; 2018, 70; 2019, 121–122). The first rampart phase still eludes a precise chronological classification due to a lack of datable material; based on stratigraphic observations, however, it is assumed to have been built not long before the second phase – thus, in the (late) 5th century (Tummuscheit/Witte 2018, 70; 2019, 122–124). Nevertheless, judging from the two older dating samples, theoretically the first phase might even have already been erected in the Roman Iron Age (cf. Axboe 1995, 222; Harck 1998, 131–134). The early dating raises questions regarding an early central power and the society behind the Danevirke (cf. Axboe 1995). Unfortunately, the latter remains a mystery up to the present day, as a relatively low number of archaeological sites[7] and the few pollen analyses and ancient place names suggest only a sparse population (Lemm 2024 with further references). This picture, however, is contradicted by the concentration of gold bracteates around the inner Schlei inlet from the decades around AD 500, which as symbols of an elite stratum of society also presuppose broader lower strata of society (cf. Axboe 1995, 231; Fabech/Ringtved 1995; Hines 2001, 41).

An early central power that controlled the territory and initiated the construction of the Danevirke is difficult to deduce from the sources. Based on archaeological observations, it has been suggested that from the 3rd century a group from central and northern Jutland, potentially the Jutes or the Danes, expanded their territory in a southward direction and built the first phase of the Danevirke in the 5th century (Ethelberg 2017, 26–27; Witte 2017, 5) – and as a consequence presumably also the second phase around AD 500. According to Axboe (1995, 218), it is debatable whether the Danes ruled all of later Denmark or only parts of it in the 6th century. The same is true for the central power that initiated the first two phases of the Danevirke[8].

7 Presumably, this number will change with an intensified use of metal detectors in the region (cf. Lemm 2024).

8 For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the so-called Crooked Rampart (**fig. 2, 2**) between the southern end of the Main Rampart and the village of Hollingstedt on the Treene in the west, which to all appearances has only one phase, was built roughly around AD 700 (Andersen 1998, 94–95; Bordemann 2008, 81–82).

The 8th Century Danevirke

Huge enlargements of the existing Main Rampart (the »Palisade«; phase 3) and the building of new sections of the Danevirke – the North and East Ramparts and the offshore work at Reesholm (**fig. 2, 3-5**) – took place in the 730s (Kramer 1992; 1995; Andersen 1998, 49; Tummuscheit/Witte 2018, 71; 2019, 124–127; Auer et al. 2016, 78). Extrapolations for the construction of the 9 km long Palisade Rampart in 737 and the 1.6 km long sea barrage in the winters of 730/731, 733/734 and 737/738 underline the huge material expenditure and the total magnitude of labour that must have been available to the initiator (Lemm in prep. a). Moreover, a major construction site such as this would have required extensive logistics concerning food supplies, accommodation, firewood, clothing, tools and presumably several other aspects. It is therefore rather astonishing that archaeological finds have not revealed a population that could have provided all these things (Lemm 2024). However, such a population must be assumed not only for the construction but also for the time after, since the defensive structures had to be maintained, guarded and occasionally defended (Axboe 1995, 222; Eisenschmidt 2004, 319; Dobat 2008, 27–28; Auer et al. 2016).

Based on its dimensions and its significance as a military fortification, this early 8th century Danevirke is considered by researchers to be a clear indication of a pre-Viking Age »Danish« Kingdom (e. g. Unverhau 1990, 15–16; Näsman 1991, 165. 173; Axboe 1995, 221–222. 232; J. Jensen 2004, 244; opposite view: Dobat 2008, 56–57), even if the actual extent of this realm in the 8th century is still unclear and open to debate (cf. Axboe 1995; Hines 2001, 47; Sindbæk 2008, 170–171 with further references; Søvsø 2018, 83–85 fig. 9). Written references to this area are almost non-existent but, according to the *Vita Willibrordi* (Alcuin, ch. 9), the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord (*657/658, † 739) made a brief attempt to carry out missionary work in Denmark, which was ruled at that time by a savage man named Ongendus. Whether this ruler or a successor of his had the Danevirke reactivated and enlarged, we will never know, but it must have been someone with access to military knowledge, who could mobilise a large enough workforce and make the population in the region support them in different ways.

Since the corridor between the Schlei and the Treene was the gateway to Jutland, control over this area was imperative for any attempt at state-formation of any significance in Old-Denmark (Axboe 1995, 222). Such a control had been established with the construction of the Main and the Crooked Ramparts prior to the 8th century. However, a look at the rampart sections of the third phase in relation to the reconstructed roads in the area clearly shows that the builders of the Danevirke in the 730s were even more capable of reading the landscape strategically and identifying the weak spots (cf. **fig. 2**). For not only was the Army Road once again blocked by an enlargement of the Main Rampart and the construction of the North Rampart, but also the East Rampart controlled the access to the Schwansen Peninsula, from where an enemy army could have advanced northwards across the narrows of the Schlei. The only accessible narrows between the rampart sections in the east and the west were fortified by a rampart on the Reesholm Peninsula, which continued into the Schlei as an offshore work in the form of a huge wooden wall (Kramer 1992, 89; Auer et al. 2016, 76–78).

The motive(s) behind the construction of these major fortifications securing the entrance to the Old-Danish territory may be deduced from socio-political changes occuring further to the south and southeast. On the one hand, in the early 700s the Slavic Obodrites immigrated into the area of today's eastern Holstein[9], which may have been a cause of concern for the central power and population in Jutland. On the other hand, Frankish campaigns into the Frisian and Saxon areas in the 720s and 730s (Hardt 2019, 276) may have posed a severe threat even to the Danes much further north. Their fears could have concerned the possibility that Frankish armies themselves could march north, that Saxons could be forced to migrate or that, due to Frankish military superiority, Saxon groups would have to redirect their military operations in search of booty to the North (Unverhau 1990, 16; Andersen 1998, 206; Bachrach 2001, 34–35; Dobat 2008, 49–50).

The Eider as a Political Border in the Written Sources

Concrete statements on the region under discussion here can only be found in the written sources from the 9th century onwards (cf. Unverhau 1990, 15–22; Lemm 2013, 263–267):

After Charlemagne had subjugated the Nordalbingian Saxons in 804 and placed their territory under the control of the Obodrites, the King of the

9 The earliest dendrochronological datings indicate an immigration of Slavs into the area in the 720/730s (Dulinicz 2006, 46 tab. 5).

Danes, Godfred, came with his fleet and the entire cavalry of his kingdom to the place called *Sliesthorp*, in the border area between his kingdom and Saxonia (ARF 804)[10]. He had come to hold a parley with the emperor, whose display of power must have seemed to him a threat or at least an intrusion into his sphere of interest. His men, however, advised him against riding further towards Charlemagne, who was encamped in Hollenstedt not far south of the Elbe. Due to the fact that in those days a meeting such as the one intended took place at the border of two domains and that Godfred did not visit this place, Unverhau (1990, 15) concludes convincingly that the border of his kingdom could not have been located at *Sliesthorp*, but only further south. In his opinion, the use of the term *confinium*, which can mean both »territory« and »border area«, also speaks against a political border at the Danevirke. The latter meaning is generally supported by the mention of two countries/territories, as in this case *in confinio regni sui et Saxoniae* (Unverhau 1990, 17).

In 808, Godfred invaded the territory of the Obodrites, who were allied with the Franks, conquered some of their fortresses, destroyed *Reric*[11] and made a large part of them tributary to himself (ARF 808; Einhard, ch. 14). A year later, Godfred asked for a parley with the emperor because of what had happened and »requested that a meeting between his counts and the emperor's should take place beyond the Elbe near the borders of his kingdom [*terminos regni sui*]« (ARF 809). This inconclusive meeting was held at a place called *Badenfliot*, today's Beidenfleth on the Stör. At this time, the Frankish kingdom extended as far as the Elbe and, judging from the location of the negotiations, Godfred had also briefly extended his sphere of power as far as the Elbe with the campaign of 808. Enraged by the Danish king's insolence and arrogance, and realising that the allied Obodrites were not able to defend Nordalbingia against the Danes, Charlemagne now decided to take control of the territory himself and to have the fortress of Esesfelth built north of the Elbe in 810 (ARF 809; Lemm 2021b, 64–65 with further references). Not long afterwards, the Danish king fell victim to an assassination attempt. A year later, a peace treaty between Charlemagne and King Hemming, Godfred's successor on the Danish throne, followed, which was confirmed by twelve noble men from both sides meeting at the Eider and taking oaths from each other (Einhard, ch. 14; ARF 811; Adam I, 14). From now on, the Eider was considered the political border of both kingdoms.

After another change of power in the Danish kingdom, in 813 »several Frankish and Saxon nobles were sent beyond the Elbe to the borders [better: to the border area] of the Norsemen [*ad confinia Nordmannorum*]. They came to make peace, at the request of the Danish kings« (ARF 813). Whether this meeting once again took place on the Eider cannot be inferred from the source. In 825, new Danish rulers appear again in the *Annales regni Francorum*, two sons of Godfred, who asked for peace, which was concluded with them »in their march [*in marca eorum*]« (ARF 825). Three years later, this peace was negotiated again within the Danish border area (*in confinibus Nordmannorum*), but Harald Klak – a pretender to the throne, supported by Emperor Louis the Pious (cf. Helten 2011, 91–124) – broke the truce and plundered Danish settlements. Thereupon the sons of Godfred »immediately gathered troops«, »advanced toward the march [*ad marcam*], crossed the river, and attacked the Franks« (ARF 828). After this, they submitted a peace offer to Emperor Louis (Anonymi Vita Hludowici imperatoris, p. 631). In 873, according to the *Annales Fuldenses*, the East-Frankish-Danish peace was reaffirmed, once again at the Eider, to allow an exchange of goods between the two kingdoms (AF 873).

Jarls of Hedeby/Slesvig

At the end of the 11th century, the Danish kings appointed governors for the South Jutish region, who held the title of *jarl*. The office was preferably given to members of the royal family (Windmann 1954, 23). According to Saxo Grammaticus (Saxo 11,13,1), King Cnut IV the Holy (r. 1080–1086) appointed his brother Olaf jarl over the Schleswig region around 1080. Around 1100, his brother Bjørn is said to have succeeded him in office (Windmann 1954, 23; Unverhau 1990, 36). The jarl's duties, however, only become clearer in the written sources under King Níkulás/Niels (r. 1104–1134) (Unverhau 1990, 36):

When the Obodrite prince, Henry, devastated all of Nordalbingia up to the district of Schleswig, King Niels landed with his fleet at Lütjenburg (1113). Beforehand, he had ordered Jarl Eilífr to meet him with the cavalry. However, the jarl, who had been bribed by Henry, stayed at home and the battle was lost for the Danes and, because of this betrayal, Eilífr forfeited the office of jarl and his family property (Saxo 13,2,1–7). The episode of the battle of Lütjen-

10 *Eodem tempore Godofridus rex Danorum venit cum classe sua necnon et omni equitatu regni sui ad locum, qui dicitur Sliesthorp, in confinio regni sui et Saxoniae* (ARF 804).

11 The historic *Reric* is nowadays identified with the archaeologically excavated trading site of Groß-Strömkendorf near Wismar in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany (cf. Jöns 2000; Müller-Wille 2002, 327–328).

burg highlights three points for Unverhau (1990, 36): Eilífr was removed by the king and must therefore have been appointed by him (or his predecessor) and had to obey his orders. He commanded the cavalry, so he presumably had the right to muster, and he was a landlord. The territorial extent of his area of authority, the *Sleswicensis praefectura*, is not precisely defined, but its centre was certainly Hedeby/Slesvig; possibly, he already resided in the now deserted *Jurisborgh* castle on an island in the Schlei off Hedeby/Slesvig (Rösch et al. 2014, 120).

Around 1115, by royal delegation, Cnut Lavard received the jarldom in southern Jutland, in the *Knýtlinga saga* (ch. 79, p. 232) retrospectively already designated as a duchy (*hertogadóm*), as well as *Heiðabý ok þat ríki, er þar fylgir* (»Hedeby and the dominion associated with it«, Marold 2001a, 96). For this he presumably acquired the German ducal title (*Dux Daciae* = Duke of Denmark) (Windmann 1954, 49). Still, the extent of the jarl's domain is only rudimentarily discernible (Unverhau 1990, 36; Riis 2001, 56–57): The centre of his power was clearly Hedeby/Slesvig (Windmann 1954, 25–35), but the area between the Schlei and the Eider must also have played a special role (cf. Windmann 1954, 35–40). Here, Cnut resolutely worked for the security of the land and the traffic routes running through it by fighting off enemies and apprehending bandits. In all likelihood, Cnut possessed the customs regal, the right to build fortifications and presumably also the power of disposal over the Danevirke as well as at least the *dominium utile* over the royal estates. In addition, like Jarl Eilífr before him, he will have relied on his paternal inheritance (Unverhau 1990, 36–37). Based on what has been said, the office and jurisdiction of the jarls in southern Jutland can be summarised as follows:

- They were appointed by the king and could likewise be dismissed in the case of failure or misconduct.
- The personal seat and centre of their jurisdiction, the *Sleswicensis praefectura*, was the city of Hedeby/Slesvig; the area between the Schlei and the Eider played a special role in their activities.
- The jarls were responsible for the defence of the country, the coast, and the borders, for which they had the right to fortify and raise troops. This could include the construction of fortifications on the Schlei and the defence against enemy attacks on Danish territory, but also military operations in the enemy's hinterland. To ensure internal security in their own territory, they also performed police duties.

Analogies to the tasks and responsibilities of the jarls in the 12th century are already present in the sporadic sources of the early 9th century: In AD 808, Godfred »decided to fortify the border of his kingdom against Saxony with a rampart« and returned home »[a]fter dividing the work among the leaders of his troops [*inter duces copiarum*]« (ARF 808)[12]. Hence, according to Unverhau (1990, 20), to guard the Danevirke – and apparently also to build, extend or maintain it – there was a fighting group that had a contingent of foot soldiers at its disposal. A leader of this troop is mentioned a little later, in the context of the Danish-Obodritic siege of Esesfelth in 817, when Gluomi – commander on the Norse frontier (*custos Nordmannici limitis*) – led his foot soldiers (*pedestres copias*) overland to the Frankish fortress (ARF 817).

An important reference to royal governorship in Hedeby/Slesvig is found in the *Vita Anskarii* for the year 854 (Rimbert, ch. 31, 32). Because he had the church closed and forbade the observance of the Christian faith there, King Horik II expelled Hovi, the count of the town of *Sliaswich* (*comes praefati vici, Sliaswich videlicet, nomine Hovi*); he virtually removed him from office. According to Schlesinger (1972, 79), there can be no doubt that Hovi was a king-appointed steward of the place (cf. Kalmring 2024, 100–101 with further references).

Three years later, the Northman, Roric (*Roric Nordmannus*), who ruled in Dorestad, led a fleet into the border region of the Danes (*in fines Danorum*) and, with the consent of King Horik II (*Horico Danorum rege*), took possession of that part of the kingdom (*partem regni*) between the sea and the Eider (*inter mare et Egidoram*) (AF 857). It is very likely that the

12 Despite numerous excavations at the Danevirke, the rampart of King Godfred has not yet been definitely identified (Andersen 1998, 169); perhaps it never even existed. Since Godfred was king of Denmark at the time when the Danevirke was first noticed by the Franks as a major fortification, its construction could have been wrongly attributed to him by the annalists. On the other hand, he may very well have undertaken minimal restorations or improvements of older structures that have hardly been recorded archaeologically so far (cf. Dobat 2008, 41). According to Andersen (1998, 169), phase 6 - documented at sconce 18 - could be such a case. Moreover, in line with Andersen's (1998, 49-51. 77. 183) relative chronological interpretation, Tummuscheit and Witte (2018, 71-72; 2019, 125-127) conclude that the so-called Fieldstone Wall was built a few decades after the Palisade Rampart (phase 3, AD 737). They even consider it possible that this phase may be Godfred's Danevirke, even though the enormous amount of material and labour instead speaks against a speedily executed construction in a time of crisis (Andersen 1998, 169). However, the debate whether the Fieldstone Wall was built in connection with the Palisade Rampart (Kramer 1984, 346-348) or as a later subsequent rampart phase still does not seem to be finally resolved.

part of the kingdom in question was again the district between the Schlei and the Eider, where Hedeby/Slesvig certainly comprised the centre of Roric's dominion[13].

The Border District

At least until the High Middle Ages, territories were not separated from each other by linear borders, but as a rule by border areas or frontiers that were frequently forested and less densely populated. The only exceptions were wide rivers, which are occasionally documented as boundaries in the sources (Hardt 2000). On the basis of the Danevirke as an obvious military fortification and the repeated mention of the Eider as a border river from 811 onwards, the character of a sparsely populated frontier enclosed by two linear structures – a border region between the Schlei in the northeast, the Treene in the northwest and the Eider in the south – can also be clearly observed in the case of the Danish southern border (Lemm 2013, 356–362). This areal character is also clearly expressed by the terms *confinium* (ARF 804), *limes Nordmannicus* (ARF 817), *limes Danicus* (AF 852), and *marca* (ARF 828) used in various written sources, as well as the plural forms *termini* (ARF 809; AF 873), *confinia Nordmannorum* (ARF 813, 825) and *hiis finibus* (Thietmar of Merseburg III, 6 for the year 974; see below).

For Unverhau, the border district *inter Slæ et Eydær* discussed above has already taken shape in the first relevant written sources at the beginning of the 9th century. »It lies between two borders: a political one on the Eider and a military one on the Danevirke« (Unverhau 1990, 16). However, the term »border« – even in the sense of Unverhau's interpretation of the contexts, which is undoubtedly to be agreed with – should not be used for the Danevirke, not even in the functional limitation to »military«, since the term »border« alone could again lead to misunderstandings or misinterpretations. A better formulation seems to be the one used by Maluck (2017, 614) when he speaks of »the Eider as a negotiated actual border and the Danevirke [as] a military line«. He also refers to Anglo-Saxon examples that show that the constellation between actual political border and defence line(s) in the hinterland of the frontier was not a unique feature of the Danish southern border (Maluck 2017, 614 with further references).

To reiterate: Although the early Danevirke (phases 1–3) will also have served the purposes of demarcation and representation, it is likely to have been primarily a military structure that served military purposes and was consequently placed in the landscape from military strategic and tactical points of view. It was intended to secure the southern border of a dominion in Jutland, and the narrowest point of Jutland between the Treene river and the Schlei inlet provided the optimal position for this – regardless of the actual political border further south (cf. **fig. 1**). Here, despite a large distance of 16 km, there was the opportunity to build and defend the shortest possible course of the rampart, from both an economic and a military-logistical point of view. All later Danevirke phases also followed this strategic concept (see below). An alternative to this line of Danevirke fortifications c. 25 km north of the political border would have been the military control of all the crossings over the Eider and the routes around it. Such a defence would have extended over a significantly greater distance overall[14] and would have been much more difficult to accomplish. Thus, the geographical discrepancy between the military defence line in the area of the Schleswig Isthmus and the political border on the River Eider can be explained from a military-strategic point of view.

Consequently, this also means that the border region was part of a sphere of power from, at the latest, the 9th century of the Danish kingdom, whose border extended not only to the Danevirke but, since the first peace negotiation documented in writing in 811, probably decades, if not centuries earlier to the Eider.

The information provided by the written sources in connection with Godfred, Gluomi, Hovi and Roric in relation to military defence and expeditionary forces, governorship and border region matters also strongly suggests that the border district of the 12th and 13th centuries may have already existed in the early 9th century. Even then, it was probably perceived by the Danish as a territorial area in its own right, closely connected to the royal governorship (Unverhau 1990, 38; Wamers 1994, 40). The parallelism between Gluomi, the *custos Nordmannici limitis*

13 The specification of the area *inter mare et Egidoram* is too imprecise to determine the extent of Roric's domain. North Frisia between the Treene and the North Sea, the land between the Eider, the North Sea and the extended Schlei, the entire later Duchy of Schleswig, and today's Eiderstedt Peninsula have been discussed in the research (Unverhau 1990, 21 with further references).

14 It would have been a distance of about 35 km from the ford Grönsfurt near Fockbek and the crossing at Rendsburg over the Eider Island in the west to the village of Landwehr between the Eider and the Levensau stream and the ford through the Levensau between Altwittenbek and Suchsdorf in the east. Of course, it would not have been necessary to protect the whole distance with a continuous rampart, as it would have been sufficient to block the passages and crossings. However, the entire area would have had to be monitored and defended militarily, and this would have made communication and the exchange of troops between the individual sections to be controlled much more difficult.

of 817, and Eilífr, the *praefectus Sleswicensis* in 1113 is remarkable. They were stationed in Hedeby/Slesvig, were responsible for the protection of the border, commanded the infantry or cavalry, and carried out operations outside their own country (Unverhau 1990, 38).

Due to the distance between the military defence line and the political border, Unverhau (1990, 39) assumes that the border region represented a closed deployment district for the defence and maintenance of the Danevirke, dating back to the early days of the defence system (at least phase 3, 730s) and later closely linked to Hedeby/Slesvig. The designation »between Schlei and Eider« used in 1231, i. e. the naming according to natural boundaries, also indicates a high age (Unverhau 1990, 39). However, according to Unverhau, it is difficult to decide whether this is exclusively a territorial or landscape designation or perhaps also, since the construction of the Danevirke (phase 3), an administrative district that has taken over the older name. Despite a lower settlement density than, for example, north of the Schlei (Lemm 2024), the border district did not represent a wasteland (Lemm 2013, 360–361). Here, too, there were villages and lands over which the kings or their governors – such as the *comes vici* Hovi (Rimbert, ch. 31) – ruled from Hedeby/Slesvig (Unverhau 1990, 21).

Kings in Hedeby/Slesvig in the 9th Century

The expansion of the Danevirke (phase 3 and probably also phase 4) clearly shows the importance of the region for the Danish kingdom as early as the 8th century. The increased royal interest in the region will certainly also have led to a temporary presence of the king in the area – at least in the course of the construction work on the Danevirke. At the inner end of the Schlei, more precisely at Haddeby Bay, however, there is no evidence of a settlement with a corresponding special status at that time. Meanwhile, older finds from the 6th–8th centuries have been discovered there (Hilberg 2018, 135–139 figs 8–9) and, in the excavated so-called Südsiedlung of Haithabu, a settlement area from as early as the 8th century is known (Steuer 1974), but nothing implies a royal presence at the site or royal influence on the development of the settlement. This was to change only in the early 9th century.

… ad portum, qui Sliesthorp dicitur …

Since the area north of the Elbe also came into the focus of the Franks in the course of Charlemagne's Saxon wars (772–804), the first information about the Old-Danish area can also be found in the sources. There are reports of a King Sigifred who, in the absence of more precise information, cannot be geographically located (ARF 777. 782. 798). It is only about King Godfred, who is portrayed in the *Annales regni Francorum* as a kind of local opponent of Charlemagne in the North, that we learn more. As mentioned above, in 804 the king of the Danes, Godfred, came with his fleet and the entire cavalry of his kingdom to the place called *Sliesthorp*, in the border area between his kingdom and Saxonia (*in confinio regni sui et Saxoniae*, ARF 804). Etymologically, this place name may be interpreted as »village on the Schlei« (Laur 1992, 575). More precisely »*-þorp* is an Old-Saxon term for a small group of houses, probably surrounded by a fence« (Laur 2001, 63; Marold 2001b, 15).

Four years after this event, Godfred undertook a campaign against the Obodrites, destroyed the trading place of *Reric* and transferred the merchants from there to the harbour of *Sliesthorp* (*ad portum, qui Sliesthorp dicitur*; ARF 808). This is generally regarded as the beginning of the trading town of Hedeby/Slesvig (e. g. Schlesinger 1972, 77; Jankuhn 1986, 64. 125–126; Marold 2001b, 14–15; von Carnap-Bornheim/Hilberg 2007, 201; Schietzel 2014, 34). Recently, Dobat (2022) has proposed an alternative localisation of *Sliesthorp* at the site he discovered north of the Reesholm Peninsula in Füsing (cf. **fig. 2**). Against the background of the royal presence in the Schlei region discussed here, two things need to be distinguished when assessing the settlement site at Füsing: First, could the site have represented a royal manor in the immediate vicinity of Hedeby/Slesvig? Secondly, can the site be identified as the historically documented *Sliesthorp*?

The settlement site at Füsing is characterised by a large number of pit houses, 52 of which were documented during archaeological excavations, while more than 100 further pit houses are assumed on the basis of growth- and geomagnetic anomalies (Dobat 2022, 5–6): They are interpreted as seasonal dwellings (Dobat 2022, 7). In addition, 24 post-built houses of different shapes and sizes were recorded, including the largest longhouse of 28–31.25 m in length and 8 m maximum width (Dobat 2022, 6). Besides various copper-alloy dress accessories of mainly common (South-)Scandinavian types, there are a few exclusive artefacts of better quality, some of which

have a Frankish origin (Dobat 2022, 8). Among the many iron objects discovered during the excavations, there is a comparably large number of arrowheads, axes or axe fragments and a single sword pommel which, according to Dobat (2022, 9–10), highlight the military character of the place. Complete or fragmented dirhams, hacksilver, weights and glass beads indicate commerce at the site. The high social status of the settlement is further accentuated by c. 30 glass shards from at least 15 individual drinking vessels (Dobat 2022, 10). Judging from the find material and radiocarbon dating, the site existed from the second half of the 7th century until the years around AD 1000 (Dobat 2022, 11). Due to its position, the site may be seen in connection with the central element of the 8th century Danevirke complex at Reesholm (Dobat 2022, 14).

Dobat (2022, 15–16) mentions a few points to justify why he challenges the traditional identification of *Sliesthorp* with Hedeby/Slesvig at Haddeby Bay and instead proposes the Füsing site as an alternative. However, all the aspects mentioned by Dobat that in his opinion support the equating of *Sliesthorp* with Füsing can be refuted or are equally applicable to Hedeby/Slesvig[15]. Two points that clearly speak in favour of an identification with Hedeby/Slesvig are as follows: Firstly, *Sliesthorp* was not situated »at the border«, as it is usually incorrectly translated from the Latin source and referred to by Dobat (2022, 15), but »in the border area« between Godfred's kingdom and Saxonia (*in confinio regni sui et Saxoniae*, ARF 804). As mentioned above, this area – later known as the *inter Slæ et Eydær* district – was confined by the political border at the Eider and the Danevirke military line (Unverhau 1990, 15–17; Maluck 2017, 614). Whereas Füsing is situated north of the Schlei, Hedeby/Slesvig is located south of both the Danevirke and the inlet within the defined border area. Secondly, Dobat himself points out that »[o]nly with the reference to the site as ›portus‹ in 808 would the name have been understood as denoting a coastal trading site«, which is an important observation. Prior to his arrival at *Sliesthorp*, Godfred had destroyed *Reric*, which the *Annales regni Francorum* (ARF 808) describe as a trading place on the Baltic seashore that »because of the taxes paid, was of great advantage to his [Godfred's] kingdom«. So, logically, Godfred's transferring of the merchants from there to *Sliesthorp* (Hedeby/Slesvig) should most definitely mean that he planned to establish a new trading place – potentially with *Reric* as a role model – which likewise would be of great economic advantage to his kingdom (cf. Schlesinger 1972, 76–77; McCormick 2005). Admittedly, the *Annales regni Francorum* do not explicitly state that the merchants were set ashore precisely at *Sliesthorp*. Thus, this allows us, at least in theory, to speculate on whether the trading place was established at a different location. However, it is at Hedeby/Slesvig that a »merchant settlement« was established in the first quarter of the 9th century (see below).

Moreover, Dobat (2022, 16) himself emphasises »that the available ^{14}C data for building structures (longhouses and pit houses) clearly point at the 7th and 8th as well as the 10th century as the main period of activity at Füsing«, whereas »[t]he 9th century remains somewhat elusive, at least in the ^{14}C data«. Hence, the traditional identification of *Sliesthorp* with Hedeby/Slesvig at the inner end of the Schlei inlet should be maintained (cf. Kalmring 2024, 56). After 808, the name used for Hedeby/Slesvig in the (East-)Frankish sources is *Sliaswich* (Rimbert, ch. 24, 31; Adam III, 76: *Sleswich*). It is uncertain whether the ending *-wich* or *-wik* represents a loanword deriving from the Latin *vicus* or an indigenous word of the Germanic language but, anyhow, *wik*-names are connected with trading places. Hence, it may be assumed that the change of the place name from *Sliesthorp* to *Sliaswich* may be rooted in the development from an ordinary settlement to a trading place (Laur 2001, 63; Marold 2001b, 15; Hilberg 2014, 159).

Nevertheless, the significance of the settlement in Füsing does not stand or fall with the name that was used for the place. Indeed, judging from the find material, the character of the post-buildings and especially the number of pit-houses as well as the early dating, the site stands out from all other contemporary settlements in the region (except for Hedeby/Slesvig from the 9th century onwards)[16]. So, Dobat's (2022, 2. 12) interpretation of the site as a »residential ›farm-like‹ complex with various auxiliary buildings« associated with »the upper strata of the social hierarchy of Viking Age society« holds (cf. Dobat 2010, 203). It is therefore possible that, especially in the 8th and 10th centuries, the site – known by a different name than *Sliesthorp* – represented an elite settlement, where a royal representative or even the Danish king himself and his retinue temporarily resided, and which thereby »signalled royal presence and responsibility in the area« (Dobat 2022, 14). This

15 The relevant aspects and the pro and con arguments will be discussed in detail and published elsewhere.

16 Naturally, the state of research also plays a role in this assessment, because almost all of the settlements discovered in the meantime with the help of metal detectors have not yet been excavated. In the future, one settlement site or another might potentially yield similar results when being excavated. Husby in the north of Angeln is certainly a candidate for this (cf. Lemm 2018).

should most likely be true for the 730s, when the huge sea barrage at the Reesholm Peninsula was under construction and in active usage. It is also conceivable that Füsing – comparable with other aristocratic residences in the direct vicinity of Scandinavian *emporia*, such as Adelsö/Hovgården close to Birka and Huseby/Skíringssalr near Kaupang – served the purpose of a residence from where the market peace in Hedeby/Slesvig could be secured and a share in the economic transactions at the latter could be demanded (Dobat 2022, 13–14 with further references). Hence, in conclusion, the Füsing site may potentially serve as another example of a royal presence and its associated activities in the southernmost region of the Danish kingdom.

The latter applies even more to the accounts in the *Annales regni Francorum* for the years 804 and 808, which undoubtedly locate the then reigning King Godfred in the region and even precisely at *Sliesthorp* which, according to the discussion above, should continue to be identified with Hedeby/Slesvig. By all appearances, the latter developed from a farm located at the »Südsiedlung«, which had already existed since the younger Germanic Iron Age, into a trading town from 808 (Hilberg 2018, 142). While the indigenous name of the site used by Scandinavians was *Haiðabýr* (see above), both *Sliesthorp* and later *Sliaswich* (or similar forms of it) were names used by Franks and Saxons to address the site – apparently with different terms to fit the changing character of the settlement.

Power Struggles in Denmark

Throughout the 9th century, the struggles for the throne in Old-Denmark continued between different royal dynasties or even just members of a single *stirps regia*. Usually, several kings ruled: Whether they ruled together over the whole country or only over individual parts is unknown (Unverhau 1990, 21; Lund 2020, 52). From 814 until 828, Emperor Louis supported a man known as Harald Klak in his struggle for the Danish throne (ARF 814. 815. 817. 819. 823. 825–828; Anonymi Vita Hludowici imperatoris, p. 631), which was held by the sons of King Godfred, of whom Horik I features most prominantly in the written sources (ARF 827, 847; Annales Bertiniani [AB] 836. 838. 839; Rimbert, ch. 24, 31; Ex Miraculis S. Germani, ch. 14). Only in a few cases, however, can the kings mentioned by name or events linked to them be directly connected with the region discussed here or even with Hedeby/Slesvig itself.

Around 849, the missionary Ansgar came to Horik bringing wealthy gifts, whereupon the latter allowed him to build a church in *Sliaswich* and moreover provided him with a dwelling place (Rimbert, ch. 24). It is not clear whether Ansgar met the king in Hedeby/Slesvig or in its immediate vicinity or elsewhere. Whatever the case, this source shows that King Horik had the authority to decide on such matters in the trading town and must have owned property there (cf. Schlesinger 1972, 79; Jankuhn 1986, 139). In 854, the *Nordmanni* (Danes) returned to their homeland in large numbers because a fight had arisen there between Horik and his nephew Gudurm, who had returned from viking raids. The number of those killed in the decisive battle was so great that only one boy remained from the royal family, Horik the Child or Horik the Younger (AF 854; AB 854; cf. Helten 2011, 222–223).

As already mentioned above, Horik II's removal of his steward, Count Hovi, from office and his expulsion after he had the church there closed is also a concrete reference to Hedeby/Slesvig (Rimbert, ch. 31, 32). Although not clearly documented, it is obvious that the king was personally in the trading town for this official act. In any case, this is again evidence of the town's close ties to royal power (Axboe 1995, 222). Also mentioned above was that in 857 the Northman Roric, as the king's kinsman, claimed a part of the realm. With the consent of Horik II, he »took possession of the part of the land between the sea and the Eider« (AF 857) and henceforth presumably resided as royal steward in Hedeby/Slesvig (Unverhau 1990, 27).

Although the territory between the Schlei and the Eider was no longer a no-man's land from 811 at the latest, its forests continued to serve as a shelter for bandits (Unverhau 1990, 21). At the royal court assembly in Bürstadt, opposite to Worms, Germany, in the spring of 873, envoys of the Danish King Sigfred therefore spoke with King Louis II about securing peace in the Danish-Saxon border area so that merchants from both sides could safely pass through (AF 873). To reaffirm this, messengers from Sigfred's brother, King Halfdan, also appeared at the assembly in Metz in Lorraine, France, in August of the same year with an identical request (AF 873). This could indirectly speak for a close relationship between the two brothers and the trading town at the inner end of the Schlei (Schlesinger 1972, 78–79; Jankuhn 1986, 138; Unverhau 1990, 27; Kalmring 2024, 107).

Kings and Commerce

As mentioned above, Godfred's transfer of the merchants from *Reric* to *Sliesthorp* (Hedeby/Slesvig) in 808 should most definitely mean that he planned to

establish a new trading place that would be of great economic advantage to his kingdom. For him, royal control of the trading place meant prosperity for his realm and consequently a personal income for himself. The same may have been true of his successors, some of whom may have been responsible for the planned establishment of a »merchant settlement« in Hedeby/Slesvig in the first quarter of the 9th century, by which the land along the shore was parcelled out into long narrow plots. Five construction phases can already be assigned to the period before the first dendrochronological dating to the year 826 (Schultze 2017). Such parcelling is considered a fundamental feature of an early urban maritime trading place (Hilberg 2018, 143 with further references). Subsequently, a significant increase in finds can be observed at Hedeby/Slesvig, especially in the second half of the 9th century, the heyday of the *emporium* (Hilberg 2018, 143. 150).

When, in around 849, King Horik I allowed the missionary, Ansgar, to build a church at the place »where merchants from all parts congregated« (Rimbert, ch. 24), he probably did not do so without expecting a personal advantage (cf. Moesgaard 2018, 169). And so it is not surprising that Rimbert (ch. 24) reports in detail in the *Vita Anskarii* about the benefit that the building of the church brought to trade: »There was, moreover, great joy in that place, as the men of this place could now do what was before forbidden, and traders both from here [Hammaburg] and from Dorestad freely sought to visit this place, [so that an abundance of goods converged there]«[17]. Consequently, the king had an economic benefit from the building of the church.

The efforts of kings Sigfred and Halfdan, who each sent envoys to King Louis II in 873 to negotiate measures to secure safe passage for traders of both sides through the Danish-Saxon border area (AF 873), may also indicate a personal interest on the part of the kings in the exchange of goods via Hedeby/Slesvig. Whether or not this was causally connected with these negotiations remains undecided, but in any case Hedeby/Slesvig experienced an enormous economic boom shortly afterwards with the strong expansion of its harbour in the 880s and 890s. Large wooden jetties were built, which served as a docking place for ships and at the same time as a market place (Kalmring 2010, 448–450. 452–453 fig. 324; Hilberg 2014, 181. 188). Although it is not clear whether these building measures were initiated at a royal level, the silver coins minted locally are a solid indication of royal control of, and influence on, the trade. Coinage, tolls and markets were closely related to and promoted the handling of goods and the conduct of trade; on the other hand, they meant benefits and profit for the kingdom. Since the operation of a mint required a high degree of organisation and infrastructure, it is doubtful that any group of people other than the king and his officials would have been able to do this (Hilberg 2014, 138. 172. 182–183 with further references; Moesgaard 2018, 169). In the early 9th century, probably around 820/825, the reigning kings, Godfred's sons and Harald Klak, established a coinage system and a new weight system in Hedeby/Slesvig. The coin motif was an imitation of Charlemagne's particularly common and accepted coins from the important *emporium* of Dorestad in the Rhine delta, or their imitations. These so-called Hedeby-coins were minted nearly continuously until the late 10th century (Hilberg 2011, 204–215; 2014, 183–185 with further references; Moesgaard 2018, 130–131). In Hedeby/Slesvig and its further hinterland, coins of Malmer's (1966) Dorestad imitation types KG 3, KG 7, KG 8 and KG 9a–d dominate the find material (Hilberg 2011, 205 fig. 10, 1). This area may, according to Hilberg (2014, 184), hence be described as a »local currency region« (Germ. lokale Währungsregion), where the coins had the status of »official currency« (Dan. officiel valuta) in Hedeby/Slesvig (Moesgaard 2018, 143).

One of the few archaeological finds from Hedeby/Slesvig that presumably may point to very high-level diplomatic contacts is a Byzantine seal by a man named Theodosios dating to the middle of the 9th century, possibly to the period between c. 820 and 860. According to Wassiliou-Seibt and Hilberg (2022), Theodosios was an official in charge of an important financial department of the state – the imperial *Bestiarion* – where valuable items such as metals and coins and also materials for the fleet were kept. Two further bulls of the same bulloterion have been found at two other important Danish centres of power – in Ribe and Tissø. Potentially, the seals were originally attached to letters that described the value of objects or coins sent by Theodosios' financial department in more detail and confirmed their origin from the imperial treasury (Wassiliou-Seibt/Hilberg 2022 with further references).

17 The English translation of the original passage *et hac occasione facultas totius boni inibi exuberant* by Robinson from 1921 as »and opportunity was afforded for doing much good there« is misleading and differs greatly from the German translation by Trillmich from 1961 as »so daß dadurch eine Fülle von Gütern aller Art dort zusammenströmte«.

The Boat Chamber Grave – a Burial for a King

More concrete archaeological evidence for the presence of a king or a royal family exists in the so-called boat chamber grave of Hedeby/Slesvig. This is an extraordinary burial consisting of a 4.5 m × 2.5 m wooden burial chamber, which was divided by a low plank into two minor chambers (A & B) of unequal size, a pit for three horses and a c. 20 m long ship positioned above it, which was finally covered by a burial mound c. 40 m in diameter (**fig. 3A-B**; Müller-Wille 1976, 17–30 figs 8. 13).

Both the grave construction and the grave furnishings are special because almost all of them are precious Frankish objects (**fig. 3C**). Among other things, grave chamber B contained a very precious ornamented sword, silver belt mounts, two shield bosses, a bundle of arrows, a pair of spurs, and a funnel beaker made of light-green glass, as well as a strikingly splendid horse harness. The eastern chamber A contained, besides other objects, two swords, two shield bosses, a pair of stirrups and two horse harnesses (Müller-Wille 1976, 30–111 figs 14–22. 24–47; Maixner 2010, 91–93 figs 104–109). Wamers (1994, 23–24. 26–30. 32) dates the grave goods to the period from the end of the 8th to the first third or the middle of the 9th century, i. e. the period c. 800–830/850.

Judging by the elaborate grave construction, the size of the ship and the precious grave goods, the buried must have belonged to the highest social circles (Müller-Wille 1976, 143; Ellmers 1980, 125; Vierck 1984; Wamers 1994, 33; Staecker 2009, 318; Maixner 2010, 90). With regard to the quality and decoration of the sword and belt from chamber B, Wamers (1994, 19) states that both are of very high artistic and material value and should be placed qualitatively directly below the imperial/royal sets decorated in gold. Due to the fact that the boat chamber grave is the only known Viking Age male burial in Scandinavia so far that has both a Frankish sword and a Frankish sword belt, it can be assumed that these two together may have reached the North and the hands of the buried person as one set. This, in turn, is most conceivable in the form of a gift, as a precious present from a Carolingian ruler.

For the identification of the deceased from chamber B, Wamers (1994, 34–42) suggests the above-mentioned Harald Klak, who first sent envoys in 822 and one year later even appeared in person at the court assembly in Compiègne. His interpretation is based on parallels which, according to him, can be established between the grave goods from the boat chamber grave and the gifts included in the ceremonial on the occasion of Harald Klak's baptism in 826 in Mainz and Ingelheim by Emperor Louis, as described in detail by Ermoldus Nigellus (Wamers 1994, 35–39; 2005, 165). For the date of the burial, Wamers would like to assume at the most the period from the end of the first third to the middle of the 9th century, i. e. about 830–850 (Wamers 1994, 32) or

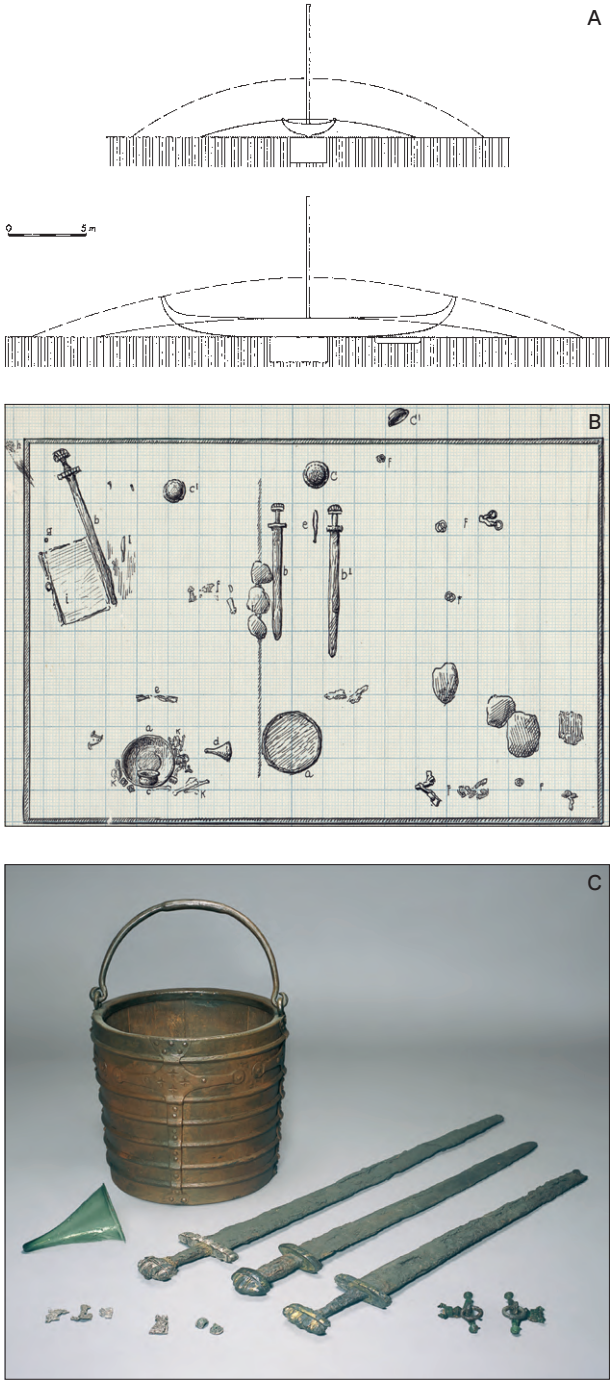

Fig. 3 Hedeby boat chamber grave. **A** Reconstruction sketch of the grave construction. – **B** Original 1908 excavation drawing by F. Knorr of the burial chamber with parts B (left) and A (right). – **C** Selected grave goods of Frankish origin. – (A after Müller-Wille 1976, 28 fig. 13; B provided by Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf; C photo Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf).

about 840–850 (Wamers 2005, 165), which is apparently related to his assumption that Harald Klak died after 842 and before 850 (Wamers 1994, 40). Staecker (2009, 318) points out that the last mention in the written sources places Harald Klak in his territories in Frisia (Dorestad and Walcheren), which were given to him by King Lothair in 840/841. So why would he have been buried in the south of Old-Denmark? Lund (2020, 68) also notes that these historical references cannot be related unambiguously to the person of Harald Klak. Moreover, it seems very unlikely that a man who had hardly been present in Denmark since 827 due to enmity with the ruling kings would have received a »state funeral« in the kingdom (Lund 2020, 68).

A more likely candidate for one of the dead in the boat chamber grave, as also briefly mentioned by Staecker (2009, 318), would be Horik I, who gave Ansgar permission to build a church in the town. This clearly makes him a king with a strong connection to Hedeby/Slesvig. There are a number of accounts that show King Horik's intensive indirect contact by means of envoys with Emperor Louis and later with his sons (AB 831. 836. 838. 839. 845. 847; Ex Miraculis S. Germani, ch. 14). For the year 839, it is even explicitly mentioned that Horik's envoys were given gifts (AB 839). According to Rimbert (ch. 24), around the year 849 Horik also received generous gifts from Ansgar. However, in none of these cases is the nature of the gifts specified (Jankuhn 1986, 136). In the battle in 854 between Horik and his nephew Gudurm, not only the king fell, as mentioned above but also all his relatives with the exception of the child Horik (*Horico iuniore*, Rimbert, ch. 31; AF 854; AB 854). As successor to the throne, young Horik II may thus have faced a huge domestic challenge, without relatives at his side and surrounded by magnates of the kingdom who had not previously been part of the royal retinue. According to Rimbert (ch. 31. 32), the latter believed that their gods had been angered and that all their misfortune had come from adopting the worship of the new god. Thereupon the *comes vici* Hovi – apparently on his own authority – closed the church (see above). In order to master this crisis at the beginning of his reign and to underpin his claim to power under hereditary law, Horik II had to assert his position in terms of power politics, and this was best done at the place where the conflict seemed to manifest most clearly. This could have been the socio-political background, threatening to the young king, which prompted Horik II to bury his ancestor and predecessor in office in such an elaborate and ostentatious manner at this exact place. Accordingly, King Horik I seems to be the most likely candidate for the identification of the deceased in chamber B of the boat chamber grave at Hedeby/Slesvig (discussed in detail in Lemm in print)[18].

Regardless of who actually was buried there, due to the elaborate grave construction, the ship, and the precious grave goods, the monument may certainly be regarded as a royal burial. At the same time, however, the magnificent burial was not only a domestic political statement: The positioning of the grave outside Hedeby/Slesvig directly on the access road leading into the town from the south was also »a clear marking of territorial ownership« (Staecker 2009, 318). The first thing that people coming overland from the Frankish, Saxon and Slavic territories noticed visually was the massive burial mound, c. 40 m in diameter, and to them it must have symbolised a strong royal power ruling over Hedeby/Slesvig (cf. **fig. 8, 7**).

Kings in Hedeby/Slesvig in the 10th Century

In the Battle of Louvain on the Dyle in November 891, the East-Frankish King Arnulf defeated a Danish viking army (AF 891). The two leaders, Sigifridus and Gotafridus, who are referred to as kings in the source (*duo reges eorum*), perished in the process. Although they were certainly »viking kings« rather than actual kings of Denmark, Adam of Bremen (I, 48) links their defeat to the subsequent kingship of a man named Helgi (*Heiligo*) in Denmark (Unverhau 1990, 24; Lund 2020, 86. 90).

Olaf, Gnúpa and Sigtryggr

Furthermore, Adam (I, 48), citing his informant, the Danish king, Sven Estridsen (r. 1047–1074), relates that, eventually, a certain Olaf came from Sweden (*veniens a Sueonia*) and conquered Denmark by force. Adam places these events under the episcopate of Archbishop Adalgar (889–909) in his Church History (Unverhau 1990, 24). The fact that Adam refers to Olaf as »prince of the Swedes [*sueonum princeps*]«

18 The one or two persons indicated by the grave goods in chamber A may be interpreted as high ranking retainers or even relatives of the king, who had fallen together with him in the battle of 854 (Lemm in print).

Fig. 4 Rune stones from the vicinity of Hedeby/Slesvig directly referring to kings. **a** DR 4/Sl 4 was raised for King Sigtryggr by his mother, Ásfríðr. – **b** DR 3/Sl 3 was raised by King Sveinn for his retainer, Skarði. – (Photos Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf).

has led to the much-discussed assumption of a so-called Swedish dominion over Hedeby/Slesvig and the surrounding area which, however, cannot be sustained (Lund 1980; 2020, 95–101; Hoffmann 1984, 107–108; Unverhau 1990, 22–28; all with further references). Rather, it must be assumed that Olaf was a Danish chieftain, perhaps even a member of a branch of the Danish royal lineage (Steenstrup 1900, 80–81), who had gone into exile in Sweden and now returned to Denmark (Lund 2020, 95), as did the sons of Godfred in 813 (ARF 813; Unverhau 1990, 23).

Moreover, Adam (I, 48) states that this Olaf had numerous sons, of whom Gurd and Chnob assumed the kingship after their father's death (Unverhau 1990, 22; Lund 2020, 86). By the time of Archbishop Hoger (909–916), a man named Sigerich is then said to have ruled (Adam I, 52; Unverhau 1990, 24; Lund 2020, 91. 93). Chnob (Gnúpa) and Sigerich (Sigtryggr) are also mentioned on two runestones from the vicinity of Hedeby/Slesvig. The first rune stone (DR 2/Sl 2) was found in 1797 near the ford between Haddeby and Selk Bay, southeast of Hedeby/Slesvig (cf. **fig. 8, 11**; Jacobsen/Moltke 1942, 10–14). The inscription reads[19]:

»§A Ásfríðr made these monuments in memory of Sigtryggr, §B her son and Gnúpa's.«

The inscription on the second rune stone (DR 4/Sl 4), which was discovered walled up in a bastion of Gottorf Castle in 1887 (Jacobsen/Moltke 1942, 14–16), conveys a similar content (**fig. 4a**):

»§A Ásfríðr, Óðinkárr's daughter, made these monuments in memory of King Sigtryggr, §B her son and Gnúpa's. §C Gormr carved the runes.«

According to the inscriptions, it was Gnúpa's wife Asfriðr who had both stones erected for her son, King Sigtryggr. Sigerich/Sigtryggr was therefore the son of Chnob/Gnúpa (Unverhau 1990, 24). The name Óðinkárr was common in leading families of West Jutland in the early Middle Ages, so Ásfríðr was probably a prince's daughter from that area (Steinnes 1955, 126–128; Laur 2006, 33; Imer 2016, 158). King Gnúpa is also known from Saxon and

19 All runic inscriptions in this paper are cited from the Samnordisk runtextdatabas, Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala universitet: https://app.raa.se/open/runor.

East-Frankish sources. While the Corvey Annals (Annales Corbeienses, p. 4) only briefly mention a victory of the East-Frankish King Henry over the Danes in 934 (*Henricus rex Danos subeit*), Widukind of Corvey (I, 40) reports about it in more detail in his »History of the Saxons« from 968/969 (Unverhau 1990, 24; Lund 2020, 133–134. 196): »Now that he [Henry] had subdued all the peoples around him, he went with an army against the Danes, who were plaguing the Frisians with piracy, and defeated them; he made them pay tribute and made their king, named Chnuba, receive baptism.« Based on the *Annales Augienses* (p. 69) and Liudprand of Cremona (III, 21), Riis (2001, 54 fn. 8) argues convincingly in favour of dating Henry's victory over Gnupa to as early as 931, contrary to the conventional approach.

According to Adam (I, 52), however, Sigerich/Sigtryggr only ruled for a short time and was then allegedly driven out by a man named Hardegon from *Nortmannia*[20], the son of a certain Sven (Hoffmann 1984, 109; Unverhau 1990, 24; Riis 2001, 54; Lund 2020, 91. 93). This is said to have happened during the episcopate of Archbishop Hoger (905–915). For the time of Archbishop Unni (918–936), Adam mentions a King Hardecnudth Vurm, whom he incorrectly connects with King Henry's attack on Denmark in 931/934 (I, 55. 57). This has led to debate among scholars as to whether Hardecnudth Vurm was Hardegon's son or whether both were one and the same person, who could even be identified with the later King Gorm. In any case, there are serious discrepancies between the royal successions in Adam's and in Widukind's texts (cf. Unverhau 1990, 24; Lund 2020, 134)[21].

From the partly contradictory information in the written sources and the runic inscriptions, Lund (2020, 93) reconstructs the following royal succession: Heiligo – Olaph – Gnúpa/Chnob & Gurd – Sigtryggr/Sigerich. If King Gnúpa was attacked by the East-Frankish king in 931/934, and Archbishop Unni was already visiting King Gorm and his son Harald on a missionary journey around 936 (Adam I, 59), the short reign of King Sigerich/Sigtryggr can only have lasted from c. 931/934 to 936 at best (cf. Unverhau 1990, 25; Lund 2020, 135)[22]. As confusing as the royal sequence may seem, the two rune stones, which very likely served as territorial markers along roads (Lerche Nielsen 2002, 63–64), are in any case concrete evidence of the presence of a royal dynasty at or near Hedeby/Slesvig in the early 10th century (cf. Schlesinger 1972, 80; cf. Unverhau 1990, 27).

The Jelling Dynasty and the South

With King Gorm at the top, a new dynasty was thus in power in Denmark from 936 onwards, which is known as the Jelling dynasty after their main seat in Middle Jutland. Although it is not explicitly stated in the source (Lund 2020, 136), it is quite possible that Gorm ruled over those Danes (*Danos*) whom Widukind (II, 20) lists among the enemies the Saxons had to suffer at the end of the 930s. Hoffmann (1984, 110) suspects that around 939 Gorm exploited the internal disputes of King Otto I (r. 936–973) with the tribal dukes to attack the East-Frankish kingdom. The comment by Dudo of St Quentin (p. 97) that Hermann Billung, the Saxon *princeps militiae*, who was apparently also charged with securing the East-Frankish-Danish border, was temporarily imprisoned by the Danes during the early years of Otto the Great, is probably to be seen in this context of border conflicts (Hoffmann 1984, 110. 115).

When the priest Poppo visited Denmark in the 960s (Widukind III, 65), Gorm had already been succeeded as king by his son Harald Bluetooth (* before 936, † 985/987; r. 958–985/987) (Lund 2020, 136. 147). In 968, the Saxon nobles did not comply with a written request from the emperor, who was in Italy, to resume the fight with the Slavic *Redarii*, which had just ended, because »a war with the Danes was imminent [*bellum adversum Danos urgeret*]« at the time and they wanted to avoid a simultaneous war on two sides (Widukind III, 70; Hoffmann 1984, 111). The only written source that places Harald in Hedeby/Slesvig is *Brennu-Njáls saga* (ch. 31, p. 82). Here, it is told that a man named Gunnar of Hlíðarendi returned from a viking raid in the Baltic with plenty of booty and steered his ten ships to *Heiðabœj í Danmǫrk*, where Harald Gormsson was staying. Invited by him, Gunnar stayed for half a month with the king, who offered him a wife and a large dominion. Gunnar refused, however, because he wanted to return to his relatives (Marold 2001a, 83).

In AD 973, Otto I held his last royal assembly at Easter in the Quedlinburg palace (Althoff 2006, 3–4). According to a combination of various sources (Thietmar of Merseburg II, 31; Annales Hildesheimenses, p. 23; Lamperti monarchi Hersfeldensis opera, p. 42), this assembly was attended by many delegations and representatives from all over Europe. Among them were Danish emissaries, who also presented gifts to the emperor. Beyond that, only the

20 In Adam's work *Nortmannia* can denote either Normandy or Norway (Lund 2020, 131).

21 Lund (2020, 131-136) discusses these discrepancies in detail and gives reasons why he considers Widukind's accounts more credible.

22 A pagan king Setricus/Setrich, who is presumed - though not beyond question - to be Sigtryggr (Storm 1895, 359-362), fell in battle with the West-Frankish King Louis IV in Normandy in 943 (Flodoardi annales, p. 390; Richeri historiarum libri 3, 2, 35; Unverhau 1990, 24).

Annales Altahenses maiores (p. 787), the source value of which is disputed in many regards (Hoffmann 1984, 121; Lund 2020, 207), recount that the Danes sent by King Harald submitted their whole country to Otto's dominion by paying the fixed tribute.

In 974, after Otto I had died in May 973 and his military commander Hermann Billung had died two months earlier, warlike conflicts flared up again in the Saxon-Danish border region. Apparently, Harald Bluetooth took advantage of the temporary weakness after the change of rule in the East-Frankish kingdom to invade Nordalbingia (Annales Altahenses maiores, p. 788). As a consequence, Emperor Otto II and Duke Bernhard I, son of Hermann Billung, moved north and overwhelmed the »rebellious Danes [*Danos sibi rebelles*]« at the Danevirke (Thietmar III, 6), who had received support from Norwegians led by Jarl Håkon of Lade (Lund 2020, 207). Thietmar (III, 6) further reports that, after the victory over the Danes, Emperor Otto II built a fortress *in hiis finibus* (»within these borders«), and secured it with a garrison. Unverhau (1990, 30) speculates that the emperor may have focused on the profitable possession of the town. In addition, the tasks of border protection could be carried out more effectively from an advanced fortress. For Hilberg (2014, 188), access to the Baltic Sea and, above all, participation in the Islamic silver flows coming from Samanid Central Asia may have influenced the East-Frankish interest in Hedeby/Slesvig and the southern Danish border area, which became evident after 931/934. Again, Thietmar (III, 24) describes for the year 983 that Duke Bernhard I could not appear at a meeting of the emperor in Verona, because »one of his [fortresses], which the Emperor had secured against the Danes with a [rampart] and garrison, had been recaptured by them through treachery and burned to the ground following the murder of all its defenders«[23]. Once again, the Danes took advantage of a weakening of the East-Frankish kingdom, this time Otto II's failed Italian campaign in 982 (Hoffmann 1984, 122). However, there was no East-Frankish military reaction to the Danish attack in view of the simultaneous uprising of Slavic tribes on the northeastern border of the kingdom (Hoffmann 1984, 112. 122).

A few years later, Harald Bluetooth lost his influence in Denmark. After a battle against the troops of his son, Sven Forkbeard, he had to flee and died of his injuries shortly afterwards (c. 985/987) (Adam II, 27–28; Hoffmann 1984, 122–123; Lund 2020, 219–220. 229). From 994 onwards, King Sven (r. c. 986–1014) undertook several viking raids on England, each of which brought him substantial *danegeld* payments (Lund 2020, 229–230). Sven's rule in Denmark must have been so stable and unchallenged that he was the first Danish king who could lead his army abroad and even let it overwinter there without needing to fear for his power at home (Lund 2020, 242–243). Nevertheless, there seems to have been unrest in the south of the Danish Kingdom during Sven's reign, as two rune stones found in the vicinity of Hedeby/Slesvig reveal (cf. **fig. 8, 9-10**).

The inscription on the runestone found west of Hedeby/Slesvig in Busdorf (DR 3/Sl 3) reads (**fig. 4b**):

> »§A King Sveinn [*Sveinn konungr*] placed the stone in memory of Skarði, his retainer [*sinn heimþega*], who travelled to the west, but who then §B died at Hedeby [*Heiðabý*].«

The inscription on the rune stone found southwest of Hedeby/Slesvig near Wedelspang (DR 1/Sl 1) states:

> »§A Þórulfr raised this stone, Sveinn's retainer [*heimþegi Sveins*], in memory of Eiríkr, his partner, who §B died when valiant men besieged Hedeby [*þá drengjar sátu um Heiðabý*]; and he was a captain [*stýrimaðr*], a very good valiant man [*drengr harða góðr*].«

The inscriptions indicate that both stones are associated with retainers of a certain Sveinn, who in one case refers to himself as king. Furthermore, the two commemorated men, Skarði and Eiríkr, fell in a battle for Hedeby/Slesvig. The former »had gone west [*var farinn vestr*]« before his death, suggesting that he was involved in viking raids on England (Jacobsen/Moltke 1942, 5–10; Laur 2006, 36). Meanwhile, there seems to be a consensus among researchers that *Sveinn konungr* does not refer to Sven Estridsen († 1074/1076), but to Sven Forkbeard († 1014). However, there is still uncertainty about the actual event referred to by the inscriptions (Jacobsen/Moltke 1942, 8–9; Lerche Nielsen 2002, 61–62; both with further references; Lund 2020, 243–244; Imer 2016, 206). We will probably have to accept the fact that the battle for Hedeby/Slesvig mentioned on the rune stones has, strangely enough, not been mentioned either in contemporary continental sources or in more recent Old Icelandic literature (Marold 2001a, 92; Lerche Nielsen 2002, 62–63). In any case, however, the in-

23 Both entries, concerning the construction and destruction of the fortress, can be found in Thietmar's original codex of the chronicle, formerly Msc. Dresd. R 147, which, due to its destruction in the Second World War, is now only available as a facsimile; http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id430061099. Holtzmann's edition (1935, 104. 128) and Trillmich's translation (1970, 90. 112. cf. p. XXXII) indicate that in both cases the passages were written by Thietmar himself and not by one of his scribes. Unfortunately, Thietmar omitted the name of the fortress in question, leaving a gap in the text of about eight letters: *Solus dux Bernhardus in media revertitur via; namque una ex urbibus suis [……..], quam imperator contra Danos opere ac presidio firmavit, dolo ab hiis denuo capta cesis defensoribus eiusdem incensa est* (Thietmar III, 24).

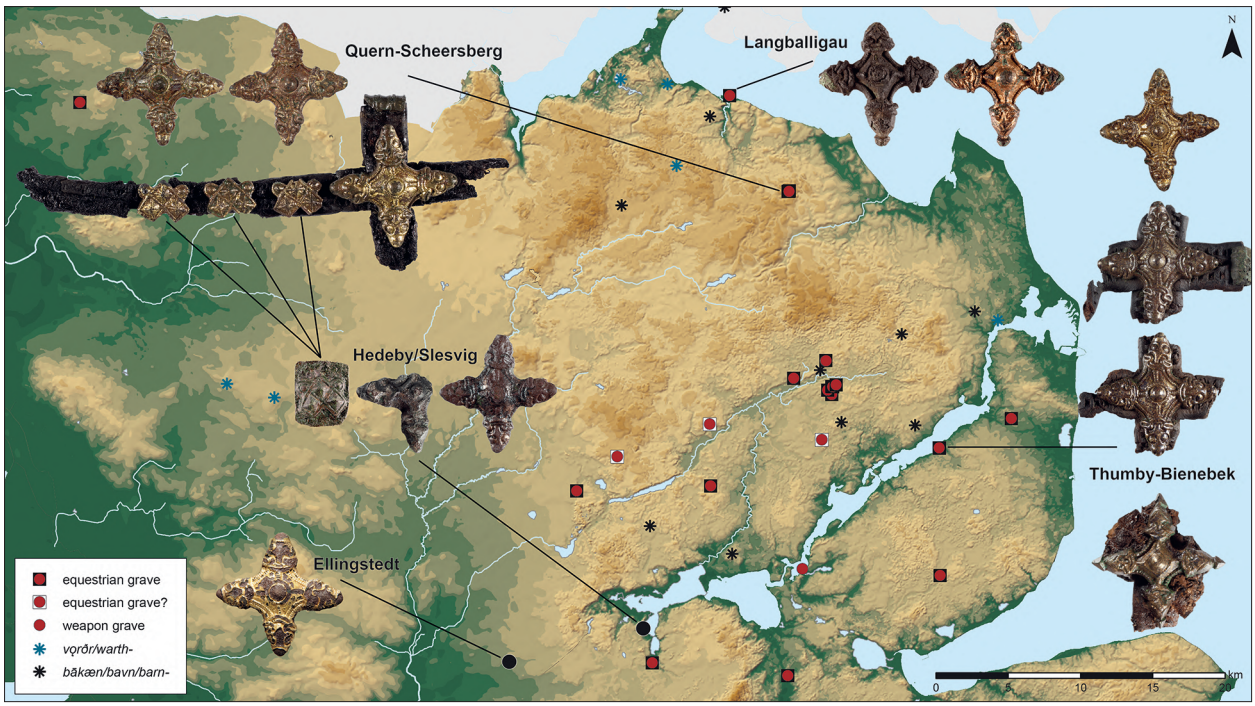

Fig. 5 Equestrian and weapon graves as well as look-out posts (*vǫrðr/warth-*) and beacons (*bākæn/bavn/barn-*) indicated by field names in the hinterland of Hedeby/Slesvig. A certain type of cross-shaped bridle mount featuring both the Borre and Jelling styles is known from the equestrian graves in Quern, Langballigau and Thumby-Bienebek, from a settlement in Ellingstedt, and from the town of Hedeby/Slesvig. At the town, a press die was also found of the exact same type that was used to make the strap fittings from Quern-Scheersberg. – (Graphics T. Lemm, basedata by LVermGeoSH, photos Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, photo Ellingstedt, Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein).

scriptions on the two rune stones very likely attest to the presence of King Sven Forkbeard in Hedeby/Slesvig in the late 10th century.

Royal Retainers in the Hinterland

Royal retainers comparable to Skarði and Eiríkr on the aforementioned rune stones are also known from the surroundings of Hedeby/Slesvig in a different context. King Henry's victory over King Gnúpa makes it clear that the political and military pressure of the East-Frankish kingdom on Denmark began at that time. During this period, the cavalry played a special role within the East-Frankish military in the context of the Magyar incursions (cf. Bachrach/Bachrach 2007). The East-Frankish cavalry and the mounted nobility also seem to have made a great impression on the Danish elite as, interestingly, a new burial custom emerged in western Denmark at this very time. Members of the elite were buried in large burial chambers with weapons and riding equipment and were thus staged as mounted fighters (Pedersen 2014, 225. 228–231. 243. 266; Lemm 2021a, 292–294). Among the grave goods, there are objects with clear parallels to artefacts from the former East-Frankish territory. This applies in particular to stirrups, spurs, winged lances, occasional swords and probably even shields (Lemm 2021a, 287–292 with further references). The influence from the South can also be seen particularly well in the fact that the earliest burials furnished with weapons and riding equipment were located in southern Jutland, and hence in the region closest to the East-Frankish realm (Pedersen 2012, 63; 2014, 225). In contrast to the rest of Old-Denmark, there is an even earlier horizon of chamber graves with weapons in Hedeby/Slesvig, which indicate an upper class and/or royal retinue at the site in the 9th century. Unlike the later equestrian graves, however, the grave goods do not include riding equipment (Arents/Eisenschmidt 2010, 228–231. 303).

The graves may probably be seen in connection with a military background of the deceased and certain rights of their families in their society (Pedersen 2014, 264–267). Moreover, the equestrian graves in particular are uniform, almost stereotypical, in their presentation, which must be an expression of close connections within the elite of the time and the presence of some form of military structure connected with a central power (Pedersen 2012, 63; Dobat 2008, 58). Against this background, it is interesting to see that sets of very similar or even identical cross-shaped bridle fittings were found in graves in the Schlei region (**fig. 5**). These gilded bronze items should be regarded as serial products and therefore do not represent outstanding precious objects.

Nevertheless, they could indicate some early kind of uniform or insignia of the equestrian fighters. A very similar piece was found at a settlement site in Ellingstedt, situated on the road between Hollingstedt and Hedeby/Slesvig almost halfway across the Schleswig Isthmus. One and a half objects of this type from Hedeby/Slesvig might suggest that these mounts were centrally produced there in a workshop and then given out to retainers on behalf of the king (Lemm 2016, 106–107). This assumption is supported by the fact that a press die is also known from the site (Hilberg 2022, 234–236 fig. 151, 3) that was used to make exactly such fittings, three examples of which are to be found together with a cross-shaped fitting on a preserved leather strap of the bridle from Quern. Outside of the South Schleswig region, several exemplars of the type of cross-shaped bridle fittings are meanwhile known from numerous locations all over Denmark (Eisenschmidt 2021, 150–152 fig. 7).

The custom of depositing riding equipment and weapons in graves came into practice around AD 925 and was carried out until approximately the end of the century (Pedersen 2014, 173). Thus it had come into practice before the rise of the Jelling dynasty and was probably still carried out after King Harald had died in c. AD 985/987. The phenomenon of richly furnished equestrian graves therefore cannot directly, or rather not exclusively, be explained through impulses of the Jelling dynasty: at least not in the form of fighters of the elite being stationed on the borders of a mid-10th century Jelling petty kingdom (cf. Randsborg 1980, 127). Nevertheless, these individuals at the top of a locally defined social and possibly military hierarchy with supraregional contacts most definitely played an important role as royal retainers in the formation of the Danish kingdom under Harald Bluetooth (Pedersen 2011, 46. 61).

Presumably, these men also had important tasks to carry out in relation to the control and defence of the Schlei inlet. On the basis of field names and archaeological find sites, and by conducting viewshed analyses that used the names indicating beacon sites as observer points, it was possible to reconstruct a maritime defense system based on visual communication. It appears that a chain of beacons existed via which it would have been possible to transport an alarm signal from the mouth of the Schlei to the hinterland on either side and all the way to the inner end of the inlet where Hedeby/Slesvig was situated (cf. **fig. 5**; Lemm 2019, 101–109). The fire signals would have been visible from the immediate surroundings of almost all the equestrian and weapon graves. In general, the distance between Viking Age graves and the related settlements usually comprised of only a few hundred meters. Hence, it may be assumed that in many cases, if not all of them, the settlement sites were also included within the viewsheds (Lemm 2019, 108–109 fig. 6). This combination not only suggests a dating of the system to the late Viking Age, but also that the buried fighters were involved in the protection of the waterway leading to Hedeby/Slesvig during their lifetimes.

The 10th Century Danevirke and the Semicircular Rampart

The political tensions and military conflicts between the Danish and East-Frankish kingdoms in the 10th century mentioned in the written sources are reflected in a large number of fortification measures in the area of the Schleswig Isthmus – on the Danevirke and at Hedeby/Slesvig (cf. **fig. 2**). As with the massive expansion of the Danevirke in the 8th century, a central power – the Danish kingdom – is to be expected as the initiator of these measures.

The Main Rampart was reinforced around the middle of the 10th century: Dendrochronological dating of timbers at the so-called Thyraburg Damm indicates construction work towards the end of the 940s or in the 950s (Andersen 1998, 47). It can be assumed that this extension was ordered by the reigning king, Gorm († 958; r. c. 936–958/963), who was probably also personally present in this context. It is more difficult to determine whether he was also the builder of the Semicircular Rampart around Hedeby/Slesvig (cf. **fig. 8, 2**), as it has not yet been possible to date this fortification absolutely. Archaeological excavation sections through the rampart reveal a complicated structure (e. g. Jankuhn 1937, 205 fig. 137; fig 144 after p. 218), in which it is very difficult to distinguish between construction stages within a construction process, independent construction phases and local repairs (cf. Schietzel 1968, 171). In the northern area of the Semicircular Rampart, up to nine construction phases are assumed, although these are contrasted with only four phases in the north gate (Jankuhn 1986, 67–68; Andersen 1998, 136–138). According to Jankuhn (1986, 68), the rampart in the northeast rests on settlement layers from the 10th century, which is why he concludes that it could belong to this century at the earliest. In any case, the Semicircular Rampart existed in an advanced stage of development in the 960s when it was connected to the main line of the Danevirke by means of the so-called Connection Rampart. According to Andersen (1998, 132), the third phase of the Semicircular Rampart resembles the first phase of the Connection Rampart in terms of dimensions and front type, which may indicate a certain temporal proximity.

The Connection Rampart (**fig. 2, 6**), with a length of 3.300 m, begins in the east at the Semicircular Rampart of Hedeby/Slesvig and ends at the former Lake Dannewerk. It appears that preparations for the construction began in the winter of 964/965 and were completed in 968 or shortly thereafter (Andersen 1998, 115. 131). The construction of the Connection Rampart probably went hand in hand with building work on the Main Rampart. At least Andersen (1998, 90) would like to interpret phase 7 of the Main Rampart in this context.

There are further fortifications in the southern foreland of Hedeby/Slesvig – a trough-shaped and a V-shaped ditch at distances of 40–50 m and c. 140 m from the Semicircular Rampart, to which they run in parallel lines (cf. **fig. 8, 6**; Steuer 1974, 23). Intersections with burials in that area suggest *termini post quem* for constructions after 900 and after 965–985 (Arents/Eisenschmidt 2010, 316–318). Furthermore, at a distance of c. 270–400 m from the Semicircular Rampart is the so-called Outer Rampart (Vorwall) with a moat in front of it, which has now been removed and runs in an arc from a depression west of Haddeby and Selk Bay to the Connection Rampart and must therefore be contemporary with or younger than the latter (cf. **fig. 8, 8**; Andersen 1998, 144–146 with further references). Hence, in the 10th century there were three fortifications – perhaps merely demarcation lines – in the southern foreland of Hedeby/Slesvig, two of which were most probably only built in the last third of the century. Based on these dates, King Harald Bluetooth may have been responsible for the construction of the Connection Rampart and possibly the extension of the Main Rampart, as well as potentially for a later phase of the Semicircular Rampart and the fortifications in front of it (cf. Axboe 1995, 219).

The same is probably true for the approximately 6.6 km long so-called Kovirke (**fig. 2, 7**). This c. 7 m wide rampart with a 3 m deep moat with a V-shaped profile in front runs in a dead straight line from Selk Bay (Germ. Selker Noor) in the east to the lowlands of the Rheider Au stream in the west (Andersen 1998, 153–168). The special wooden construction of the rampart is typologically associated with that of the so-called Trelleborg fortresses, which were apparently built after 975 and were only in use for a short time (Andersen 1998, 168; Sindbæk 2020, 531; both with further references). Radiocarbon dating of Kovirke, which has only one construction phase, indicates that the fortification was built in the 10th century, with an emphasis on the second half (Erlenkeuser 1998, 193–194. 200 fig. 5d).

By no means did the position of Hedeby/Slesvig »in the southern foreland of Danevirke« put the town in a »marginal position« that excluded it »from the cultural milieu in the northern hinterland«, as proposed by Dobat (2008, 48). Nor should the Danevirke be seen as »an economic and religious demarcation« (Dobat 2008, 59) or the area south of it as a »political no-man's land between Scandinavia and Continental Europe« (Kalmring 2024, 165). Such interpretations seem to be strongly influenced by the common misinterpretation of the Danevirke as a political border. The Danevirke fortifications were military structures. Consequently, the respective constructions of ramparts in certain positions and with certain functions should first and foremost be interpreted from a military point of view. Built in response to external threats, the Danevirke protected the Jutish Peninsula and, clearly, in its later phases also the trading town of Hedeby/Slesvig (cf. Dobat 2008, 58). There is no question that there was a clear mismatch in terms of population density between the border area confined by the Schlei and the Eider and the area north of it (Lemm 2013, 360–361; 2024); however, fundamental social, economic and religious differences in the areas north and south of the military line cannot be deduced from this. Such differences are more likely to be attributed to a political border, which was located along the Eider, and it can be strongly presumed that this had not changed since 811 (see above). Accordingly, during all of its existence Hedeby/Slesvig was situated within the Danish kingdom, and hence within the control and jurisdiction of the Danish kings.

It is true that merchants from abroad needed »a place where they could safely transact their business« (Bäck 1997, 151). However, that required neither a »neutral space« (Bäck 1997, 151) within Hedeby/Slesvig – or other *emporia* such as Birka, Ribe or Kaupang – nor »a neutral socio-political environment« (Dobat 2008, 46) with regard to their surroundings, nor the status of an »exterritorial site« »deliberately placed in a no-man's land« (Kalmring 2024, 60. 98. 123. 165). In very simplified form, arguably all it required was a market peace within the town granted by the king (cf. Kalmring 2016, 16), and thus the protection of domestic and especially foreign merchants there[24]. This, however, could be

24 This would have been accompanied by special rules and regulations concerning the conduct of trade, the taxes to be paid and the modalities of the merchants' stay in the town (cf. Kalmring 2024, 84-104 with further references). However, such a special jurisdiction for the place, which naturally set the trading town apart from the surrounding area, did not mean that it did not belong politically to the territory that surrounded it. Especially as this special jurisdiction was also enforced in the name of the king.

enforced convincingly and effectively only by means of an administrator who, as logic dictates, had a »police force« at his disposal – a royal steward with a military retinue on site. Hence, these towns were definitely not »administratively detached from the power structures of the surrounding countryside« (Kalmring 2016, 15–16). On the contrary, it was the same central powers in charge of the surroundings that also controlled coinage, demanded tolls and secured peaceful commerce in the towns, because that meant benefit and profit for the kingship (cf. Hilberg 2014, 172). For early Hedeby/Slesvig, the presence and influence of Danish kings and their governors – such as the *comes vici* Hovi and possibly others – has already been discussed in detail above. For early Birka, the *Vita Anskarii* (Rimbert, ch. 11. 14. 19. 28) also contains several indications that the trading centre was under royal control and was administered by a governor on behalf of the king. The *Vita Anskarii* also provides an indication of royal control of the town of Ribe, as King Horik II not only authorised Ansgar to reopen the church in Hedeby/Slesvig in 854, but also to build a church in Ribe (Rimbert, ch. 32). All in all, there are numerous indications that the early towns were part of the kingdoms surrounding them.

Coinage and Taxation

Evidence suggests that Harald Bluetooth controlled the minting of coins in Hedeby/Slesvig, which, like those from the 9th century, were still based on Carolus Dorestad imitations: During the later period of Harald's reign, from the 970s, these were quite common in Denmark. At that time, the so-called cross-coins (KG 10 and 11) were introduced, which date from the 980s, possibly as early as the second half of the 970s (c. 975/980–990). The typological term is based on the cross depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, they bear a motif of curves and triangles and, in a slightly later phase of the coinage, there is a face on the obverse. The obverse design is inspired by the Carolus Dorestad coins, without being a true continuation (Moesgaard 2018, 143. 145 fig. 3, 30; 146 with further references).

In Hedeby/Slesvig, cross-coins have been found in several different locations within the Semicircular Rampart and must have been lost individually. This indicates that they were used as a widespread means of payment in the 980s and presumably even represented the dominant coin type. Due to the fact that Hedeby/Slesvig had previously had a well-organised mint and, due to the number of finds from there, it is reasonable to suggest that the cross-coins were minted in the trading town, too (Hilberg/Moesgaard 2010; Moesgaard 2018, 146). Although the cross-coins do not feature an inscription, there is no doubt that the Danish king was behind their minting, as he used them to pay his men (Moesgaard 2018, 143).

Judging from its wide and even distribution, this was arguably the first Danish coinage to be used for the entire country, and it forced out all other types of coins (Moesgaard 2018, 143). Hence, Harald seems to have been able to establish a monopoly for his coinage, which also very likely presupposes some form of general taxation, which would have been collected mainly in towns. However, if taxation existed in this period, it did not outlast his death in 985/987 (Poulsen 2011, 285). For, after Harald Bluetooth had been overthrown by the rebellion led by his son, the minting of cross-coins quickly ceased (Moesgaard 2018, 147 with further references), and King Sven re-established an economy based on tributes – first and foremost the English *danegeld* (Poulsen 2011, 285 with further references).

In addition to the already-mentioned seal of Theodosios from the middle of the 9th century, two other Byzantine lead seals were found in Hedeby/Slesvig. These belong to the first half and later part of the 10th century and indicate that official contacts between Denmark and Byzantium still existed during that period. The first one is a seal of Paulos Monomachatos (or Monomachos), who was the head of a financial department known as the *Genikon* (*Logothesion*). One of his duties was the control of the export of certain goods. Hence, the seal may be interpreted as evidence of trade relations or activities between Byzantium and Denmark. The second seal was issued by Nikephoros, who was head of a financial department (*ἰδικόν*/*εἰδικόν*) of the imperial treasury, where coins, valuable metals such as gold, luxury items and military material were stored. His department provided funds for the purchase of equipment for the military and ensured the financial maintenance of the army and fleet during campaigns. Nikephoros' seal from Hedeby/Slesvig could potentially indicate the sending of resources of the *εἰδικόν* to the Danish king in the hope of his support in the struggles with the Arabs, which began again in 972 (Wassiliou-Seibt/Hilberg 2022).

An East-Frankish Overlordship?

The still ongoing discussion of a potential East-Frankish hegemony over Hedeby/Slesvig and the border region in the 10th and early 11th centuries is mainly based on the three military events mentioned above: King Henry I's victory over King Gnúpa in 931/934, Emperor Otto II's victory over King Harald and the

building of an East-Frankish fortress in 974, and the Danish »uprising« and destruction of the fortress in 983. In contrast to the contemporary sources (cited above), Adam of Bremen, who wrote his *Gesta* in 1073/1076 (Radtke 2017, 8; Fried 2022, 24), provides additional »information« on these events. According to him, after his victory over Gnúpa (over King Vurm/Gorm?, as Adam erroneously writes) Henry allegedly moved the borders of his kingdom (*regni terminos*) »to Slesvig, which is now called Hedeby [*apud Sliaswich, quae nunc Heidiba dicitur*]«, appointed a margrave there and settled a Saxon colony (Adam I, 57). With regard to the events of 974, Adam (II, 3) mentions that a margrave was slain and a Saxon settlement destroyed in *Heidiba*. It must be noted that Adam reports all of this as the sole source. The tribute imposed on Gnúpa (Widukind I, 40) and Adam's accounts have led to a discussion about the existence of an East-Frankish controlled March of Schleswig from 931/934 (cf. Hoffmann 1984, 113–122; Unverhau 1990, 28–34; Riis 2001, 54–55; Lund 2020, 192–212; all with further references). However, this is now considered unlikely – at least for the period 931/934–974. Several indications – such as the building measures at the Danevirke in the 940s/950s and 964/965–968 described above as well as references to military conflicts around 939 and in 968 in the written sources (Widukind II, 20. 70; Dudo of St Quentin, p. 97) – speak against it (cf. Hoffmann 1984, 116–118; Andersen 1998, 147; Lund 2012, 15–16; 2020, 198–199. 203).

The assumption of East-Frankish control after 974 stands or falls with the fortress built by Emperor Otto II, which has not yet been identified[25]. If it was placed south of the Eider, for example, there was no East-Frankish rule over Hedeby/Slesvig and Danish territory (cf. Unverhau 1990, 29). Based on Thietmar's (III, 6) geographical indication *in hiis finibus*, however, the fortress would probably have been located within the border district, in which Hedeby/Slesvig was also situated (Hoffmann 1984, 121; Unverhau 1990, 30). Should this be the case, then the region between the Schlei and the Eider would presumably also have represented an East-Frankish zone of influence, possibly connected with a dependence of the Danish Kingdom on Otto II for tribute during the short period 974–983 (Hofmann 1984, 121; cf. Unverhau 1990, 30). Meanwhile, even this interpretation of the sources is being argued against, namely based on King Harald's coinage. Moesgaard (2018, 146) concludes that, if Harald was the master of the mint, and the cross-coins were issued in Hedeby/Slesvig, then he must have ruled over the town at that time, i. e. in the late 970s or at least in the 980s (Hilberg/Moesgaard 2010). This would rather suggest that his control over the day-to-day affairs of the town and the area was intact (Moesgaard 2018, 146), and it presents a strong argument against any notion that the Danish king's authority in Hedeby/Slesvig was challenged (Lund 2020, 211). Moesgaard (2018, 146), however, remarks that whether there was some form of East-Frankish supremacy or Danish tribute to the emperor cannot be determined from the coins.

The discussion of a potential East-Frankish overlordship naturally depends on how the latter is defined or understood. A distinction must be made, for example, as to whether an overlordship could have been exclusively direct or also indirect. In case of the latter, more or less regular tribute payments are conceivable, which may have gone hand in hand with the relative independence of the Danish king – including the minting of coins in Hedeby/Slesvig. The final localisation of the fortress built in 974 and destroyed in 983 is therefore of the highest importance for this debate. Unlike Dobat (2008, 58. 60), who places the construction of the Kovirke around 980/981[26] and speaks of a »lack of any indication for a military threat«, King Harald is very likely to have anticipated a military counter-reaction after the destruction of the East-Frankish fortress. Hence, an imminent military threat did exist. It is therefore highly probable that as a preventive measure he had the rampart known as Kovirke, which can only be roughly ^{14}C-dated to the second half of the 10th century, erected in 983 (cf. Erlenkeuser 1998, 194). There was, however, no East-Frankish reaction to this in view of the simultaneous uprising of the Slavic Obodrites and Liutizes (Hoffmann 1984, 122).

Nevertheless, according to the prevailing research opinion, the official recognition of the Eider border supposedly took place much later, in 1025, 1027 or 1035 at the latest[27]. A detailed study of the relevant literature, however, makes it abundantly clear that there is only one primary source both for a presumed peace treaty between Conrad II and

25 Various suggestions have been made for the localisation of the fortress, but only a few of them - e. g. the Semicircular Rampart (Schlesinger 1972, 82-84), the Hochburg (hillfort) of Hedeby/Slesvig (Sach 1896-1907, 54; Hoffmann 1984, 121) or the hitherto undated ring fortress in Hütten approximately 12 km southeast of Hedeby/Slesvig (Lemm 2013, 361-362 figs 151-152) - correspond to Thietmar's geographical indication in the narrower sense. Also under debate are Rendsburg on an island in the Eider (Steenstrup 1900, 65), Old-Gottorf (Unverhau 1990, 30) and Thyraburg on the Danevirke (Biereye 1909, 108). Andersen (1978, 117; 1980, 78-79) even introduced the fortress of Itzehoe into the discussion.

26 At another point, Dobat (2008, 42) assumes that the Kovirke was built at the »end of the 980s«.

27 Breßlau 1870, 612; 1879, 102-104; May 1937, 45 no. 184; Trillmich 1961, 296 fn. 223; Schlesinger 1972, 84; Hoffmann 1984, 125-126; Unverhau 1990, 30. 33; Fried 2022, 26.

Cnut and for a presumed official cession of a March of Schleswig by the East-Frankish Kingdom to Denmark: Adam of Bremen (II, 56)[28]. Adam is also the only source to report on a shift of the border of the East-Frankish kingdom to Hedeby/Slesvig, the appointment of a margrave there and the establishment of a Saxon settlement in 931/934, and he is also the only one who mentions the slaying of a margrave and the destruction of the Saxon settlement in 974 (Adam I, 57; II, 3; cf. Hoffmann 1984, 116). This constellation gives cause for concern and reason to agree with Lund's opinion that Adam must be treated with the utmost caution. Lund emphasises that Adam's work was a political tract, commissioned by the Archbishop of Bremen in a specific situation and part of the struggle on behalf of the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen that was waged with forged diplomas and similar unsavoury methods (Lund 2020, 205). In this particular scenario, it is the case that Bishop Unwan († 1029) who, according to Adam's (II, 56) narrative, engineered the peace treaty, the marriage between Cnut's daughter Gunhild and Conrad II's son Henry as well as the cession of Hedeby/Slesvig and the march beyond the Eider, had very likely already died, before Gunhild was ever considered as a potential bride. Thus, for Lund (2020, 199) it seems that Adam deliberately »established« a margraviate or march so that he could later let Conrad have something to bargain with.

There must have been peace between Conrad II and Cnut in 1026, as the latter would hardly otherwise have travelled to the emperor's coronation in Rome in March 1027 or even been invited to do so. Whether such a peace was actually only concluded through the mediation of Archbishop Unwan in the years immediately before, or had already existed for some time, must remain an open question. In any case, the written sources did not record any conflicts or military confrontations between 983 and 1026. If one assumes that a march established by Henry I, solely according to Adam, in 931/934 did not exist, as discussed above, then there is also no reason to assume that Conrad II would have ceded such a march to King Cnut of Denmark in the 1020/1030s. This does not necessarily rule out an indirect East-Frankish overlordship over the border region and Hedeby/Slesvig in the period 974–983. After all, Thietmar of Merseburg's mention of the construction of Emperor Otto II's fortress *in hiis finibus* in 974 (III, 6) and its destruction nine years later (III, 24), which must have fulfilled some kind of political or military purpose, cannot be dismissed out of hand. However, there is no specific mention of an East-Frankish march anywhere in the contemporary sources for this period. Consequently, it is probably best to assume that the events of 983 restored the *status quo* of early 974 with regard to the border area and the political border on the Eider (cf. Biereye 1916, 38; cf. Hoffmann 1984, 126), and that this was accepted, for better or worse, in view of the lack of capacity for a military response on the part of the East-Frankish kingdom.

Kings in Hedeby/Slesvig in the 11th Century

There is no reason to follow Adam's (II, 27) narrative and assume that Sven Forkbeard was carried to the throne by a wave of pagan countermovement. On the contrary, there is much to suggest that the Christianisation of Denmark also progressed slowly under his reign (Hoffmann 1984, 122–123; Lund 2020, 254–255). The *danegeld* he repeatedly extorted during the viking campaigns in England enabled him to raise a large military retinue, conquer England towards the end of his life and make himself lord of the land in 1013 in place of the Anglo-Saxon king Æthelred, who had been driven out of the country (Hoffmann 1984, 123; Lund 2020, 229–230. 249).

Þíngamannalið and Hedeby Wreck 1

According to the Jómsvíkingasaga (ch. 50), after his victory Sven is said to have divided his military retinue – the *Þíngamannalið*. He supposedly placed 60 ships in *Lundúnaborg* (London) and another 60 ships in the North, in *Sléssvík*: Jarl Hemingr had supreme command of the latter (Marold 2001a, 92 fn. 58). Even if it cannot be ruled out that *Sléssvík* in this case could refer not to the town but to the Schlei inlet, it can in any case be assumed that the troops were stationed in or near Hedeby/Slesvig. For a time, the town was therefore not only a trading centre and

28 This had already been explicitly pointed out by von Liliencron (1914, 40) and Biereye (1916, 40). All other (primary and secondary) sources cited by later historians either refer directly to Adam's text passage (May 1937, 45 no. 184; RI 3, 1 no. 48b & 225c), have copied from him (Annalista Saxo, p. 677; Annales Magdeburgenses, p. 169), have interpreted the information provided by him (Breßlau 1870; 1879) or describe certain contextual events without confirming Adam's statements (Florentius Wigornensis, p. 126; Wipo, ch. 16, p. 36; ch. 35, p. 54; Diplomatarium Danicum 1:1, no. 422; Annales Hildesheimenses, p. 39).

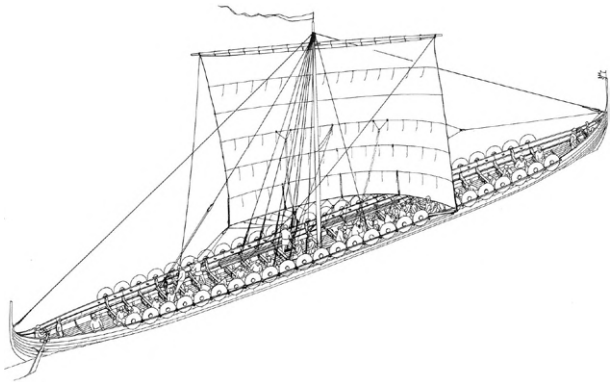

Fig. 6 Reconstruction drawing of Wreck 1 from Hedeby/Slesvig. – (After Crumlin-Pedersen 1997, 93 fig. 4, 20).

an important bishopric, but also something of a garrison town, at least temporarily (Marold 2001a, 92). The question of whether Hemingr may have been jarl of Hedeby/Slesvig and the surrounding border area must remain unanswered.

The presence of a royal fleet with a representative flagship could possibly also be indicated by the discovery of Wreck 1 in Hedeby's harbour (cf. **fig. 8, 3**; cf. Kalmring 2024, 185). The vessel had an overall length of 30.9 m and a beam of max. 2.7 m (**fig. 6**; Crumlin-Pedersen 1997, 92). Due to the exceptionally fine execution of all the ship's details and the employment of large and high-quality planks, Crumling-Pedersen (1997, 93) describes it as »a longship of royal standard, designed for high-speed sailing and rowing in relatively protected waters«. The ship is dendrochronologically dated to around 982 (-0/+7), according to which he concludes that the ship was constructed – on the order of the Danish king – in c. 985. Moreover, he assumes an active lifespan of the vessel of 5–25 years, which might indicate that the ship sank some time between 990 and 1010 (Crumlin-Pedersen 1997, 94).

Of course, a connection between Wreck 1 and Sven's fleet of 1013/1014 should not be made as simple as that. Nevertheless, the presence of this »luxury version of a sailing- and rowing machine« (Crumlin-Pedersen 1997, 93) in the harbour of Hedeby/Slesvig also speaks quite clearly for the presence of a high-ranking royal retainer, or even King Sven himself, in the trading town within the decades around the year 1000. Moreover, the placement of a fleet in the Schlei or possibly at Hedeby/Slesvig itself, and the royal longship in the harbour, are further indications that the description by our only source, Adam of Bremen (II, 56; see above), of an official cession of *Sliaswich* and the march north of the Eider may not correspond to reality.

Cnut the Great and His Successors

When Sven Forkbeard died shortly after his accession to the throne in February 1014, his kingdom fell into crisis. His son Harald became king of Denmark, while his other son Cnut was recognised as king by the Danish army in England, but had to fight for the crown with a military campaign in 1016 (Skovgaard-Petersen 1977, 186–194. 199–200; Christensen 1969, 260–271; Hoffmann 1984, 123–124; Lund 2020, 249). After the death of his brother Harald in 1019, Cnut also became king of Denmark. In 1028, Cnut was also appointed king of Norway at thing-assemblies throughout the country (Krag 1995, 145), and hence managed to establish his »North Sea realm«. Due to his powerful position, Cnut was also present on the European political stage. In Rome, for example, he had obtained assurances from Emperor Conrad II and King Rudolph III of Burgundy that English and Danish merchants could make their trade and pilgrimage journeys to Italy and Rome under the protection of the two rulers and with the assurance that they would be exempt from unjustified customs duties (Hoffmann 1984, 126).

When Cnut the Great died in England in 1035, Magnus the Good Olavsson (*c. 1024, † October 2 1047, r. 1035–1047 Norway, r. 1042–1047 Denmark) became king in Norway. In 1042, he was even elected king of Denmark at the Viborg thing, and due to that position he had a strong connection to the trading town at the inner end of the Schlei (see below). At the same time, Sven Estridsen (*c. 1019, † April 2 1076), son of Sven Forkbeard's sister Estrid, joined Magnus and became his jarl. Soon after, however, Sven also proclaimed himself king. In the fights that followed over the next few years, Sven was unable to challenge Magnus' position and was defeated in several battles. After every defeat, Sven retreated to Scania, where he had large estates, or he fled to Sweden. The Swedish king, Anund Jakob, supported him the whole time (Krag 1995, 169–170; Sigurðsson 1999, 73; Sawyer/Sawyer 2002, 252–253).

A »Political Wedding« in *Sliaswig* and the Battle of *Hlýrskógs heiði*

In autumn 1042, King Magnus and Archbishop Bezelin Alebrand of Bremen met for negotiations in Hedeby/Slesvig (*ad Sliaswig pro colloquio*). The latter was accompanied by Duke Bernhard of Saxony, Bishop Thietmar of Hildesheim and Bishop Rudolf of *Sliaswig*. Another reason for the meeting was the marriage of Bernhard's son Otto/Ordulf and Magnus' sister Wulfhild (Adam II, 79; Magnús saga ins góða, ch. 26).

The alliance forged between Magnus and Bernhard with the help of the »political wedding« (Schlesinger 1972, 72) was to pay off the following year, when a Slavic army advanced northwards into Jutland as far as the town of Ribe in the autumn of 1043. As king of Denmark, Magnus had to react to this attack. He sailed with his army to Hedeby/Slesvig (*Heidiba*, Adam II, 79; *til Heiðabœjar*, Magnús saga ins góða, ch. 26) and mobilised all the available Danish troops in order to oppose the Slavic army. His brother-in-law Otto of Saxonia also joined the Norwegian-Danish army with a large band of men[29]. Magnus and his troops now marched towards the Slavs and camped for the night on Lürschau Heath (*Hlýrskógs heiði*, Magnús saga ins góða, ch. 26), north of Hedeby/Slesvig (*norðan Heiðabœ*, st. 1, Skj. IA:396; IB:365; *nær Heiðabý*, st. 6, Skj. IA:362; IB:333). The next day they attacked the Slavs in a battle which, according to the medieval historiographical works[30], involved the heaviest losses since Christianity had spread to the northern countries (Unverhau 1990, 36 with further references; Marold 2001a, 93–94; 2001b, 18).

Hedeby/Slesvig in Flames

Magnus' sudden death in 1047 made his uncle Harald the hard-ruler Sigurdsson (* 1015, † September 2 1066, r. 1047–1066) single king of Norway and Sven Estridsen king of Denmark. However, Harald also took over Magnus' claim to the Danish throne. He equipped a Norwegian fleet almost every year and led military campaigns into Danish waters (Krag 1995, 172; Sigurðsson 1999, 73). In 1050, Hedeby/Slesvig was the target of one of his attacks, during which the town appears to have been completely engulfed in flames (Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar ch. 26; Fagrskinna, ch. 55; Skj. IA:426; IB:396; Skj. IA:398; IB:366; Marold 2001a, 94–95; 2001b, 18–19). Whether this event can be linked to the burned layer that was documented by excavations along the stream running through Hedeby/Slesvig is currently unclear (Jankuhn 1986, 223; Hilberg 2022, 111–113). With regard to the conflict between Harald Sigurdsson and Sven Estridsen, the two kings made peace in 1064 and pledged themselves to refrain from further raiding (Krag 1995, 172; Sigurðsson 1999, 73).

In the winter of 1052/1053, Archbishop Adalbert travelled to King Sven in *Sliaswig*. At a banquet (*opulentum convivium*) lasting eight days, many ecclesiastical issues were decided (Adam III, 18). Whether this meeting in Hedeby/Slesvig still took place south of the Schlei or had already moved to the northern shore cannot be answered at this stage of the research (cf. Radtke 2017, 85–98; Fried 2022, 28; see below). For the year 1066, a scholion inserted after the completion of Adam of Bremen's Church History manuscript (Adam III, 51, schol. 81) mentions that the *civitas Sliaswig* was thoroughly destroyed by a Slavic raid (*funditus excisa est*). This is consistent with Hilberg's conclusions regarding the abandonment of the settlement area within the Semicircular Rampart, which argue in favour of a relocation of the trading centre in the 1060s (Hilberg 2022, 469–480 tab. 46). All events in Hedeby/Slesvig described in the written sources after this event can now be located on the north bank of the Schlei.

Royal Presence in Hedeby/Slesvig after 1066

Around 1120, the Canterbury monk Ælnoth reports in his *vita et passio sancti Canuti* that in 1085 King Cnut IV held a royal assembly with wise and experienced counsellors at the famous place, Hedeby/Slesvig (*in loco celeberrimo* […] *Hethebi*, Ælnoth, ch. 14). Ælnoth (ch. 16–29, here especially 24) also reports on a rebellion that broke out north of the Limfjord in North Jutland in 1086 and caused the king to flee. He first fled to Børglum, then via Viborg to the harbour on the river (actually an inlet) called the Schlei (*portum fluminis, qui Sle dicitur*) – i. e. to Hedeby/Slesvig – and finally to Odense, where he was killed on the 10th of July. The holding of the royal assembly and in particular the refuge of the king in a dangerous situation required a place that offered appropriate accommodation and protection. Hoffmann (1974, 548) and Radtke (1977, 30) therefore assume that there must have been a fortified royal residence in Hedeby/Slesvig at that time. Although such a residence is not explicitly mentioned anywhere for the 11th century, it does emerge in later sources, which also allow retrospective conclusions.

Magnússona saga (ch. 13) and *Morkinskinna* (p. 352) report that King Sigurd of Norway, on his return journey from the Holy Land in 1111, met the Danish king, Níkulás/Niels, in *Heðabý*, who organised a great feast to welcome him (Marold 2001a, 79). This event suggests at the least that there were buildings suitable for such a celebration. The same applies to the year 1130, when Jarl Cnut Lavard had a banquet prepared in *Heiðabœjar* for King Níkulás and his son Magnús (Knýtlinga saga, ch. 91). The most

29 *Kom til hans Otta hertogi af Saxlandi or Brúnsvík;* […] *hertoginn hafði mikla sveit manna* (Magnús saga ins góða, ch. 26).

30 Adam II, 79; Magnús saga ins góða, ch. 26–28; Fagrskinna, ch. 49–50; Knýtlinga saga, ch. 21.

important reference, however, is provided by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* (XIII, ch. 11.14) for the year 1134:

»As soon as he [King Níkulás/Niels] noticed them coming through the streets with their banners to confront him, despite his friends' strong suggestion that he take refuge in St Peter's Church, he directed his way to the royal residence; he would rather be protected by a palace than a shrine [...] and said that he would meet his end more tranquilly in the hall of his ancestors [*paterno in lare*]. His soldiers were not slow in their resolve to defend his life by sacrificing their own. [...] First the men of Schleswig [*Sleswicenses*] shed the blood of these supporters, and finally spilt the king's too.«

Paterno in lare may be more precisely translated as »in the paternal/fatherly house«, meaning »in the house of King Sven Estridsen«. From this information, it can be concluded that there had been a (fortified?) royal palace in medieval Schleswig (at least) since the time of Sven Estridsen (Radtke 1977, 30–31). In this context, the Franciscan monastery of St Paul – located within Schleswig's old town on the north bank of the Schlei since 1234 – is of particular interest. Due to the small dimensions of the old town, the monastery was only 50 m away from the medieval market square and yet on the eastern edge of the town. To the east and northeast of the monastery walls stretches the vast marshland of the Holmer Noor, a former bay of the Schlei, the waters of which reached right up to the town hill before the apparently rapid silting up. Only a narrow, now filled-in, passage separated the town area from the former island of Holm in front of it (Vogel 1983, 27; Radtke 2003, 7). In the *Annales Ryenses*, the yearbooks of the former *Rus regis* monastery near Flensburg, there is a note on the foundation of the monastery: *1234 Fratres minores domum accepterunt Sleswik* (Annales Ryenses, p. 171). The Franciscans can only have received the building referred to here through a lordly donation (Radtke 2003, 3–4).

In the course of archaeological excavations in the early 1980s, older traces of settlement were discovered in the northern area of the monastery. These were compressed deposits of dung with humic-sandy inclusions containing animal bones, pottery and other small artefacts. Some remains of wooden structures were also uncovered. The finds also appear to contain pottery from the 11th century (Vogel 1983, 29). Furthermore, the excavations uncovered the remains of a large stone construction. This multi-part building ensemble consisted of a representative hall building approximately 19 m long and a good 10 m wide with a wall thickness of around 1.30 m, a fixed tower measuring 8 m × 10 m with 1.80 m thick walls on a fieldstone foundation up to 2.60 m wide as well as partly heatable annexes and a chapel (**fig. 7**; Vogel 1983, 29; Radtke 2003, 4).

For various reasons, the building ensemble is interpreted as a 12th century royal palace. On the one hand, stratigraphic observations prove that the building is older than the oldest documented monastery buildings. However, various signs indicate that it cannot be dated to before the middle of the 12th century (Vogel 1983, 29). Secondly, the building is made of stone, a building material that was reserved for ecclesiastical and secular lordly builders in this region in the 12th century and long afterwards. As the bishop's church is located in the far west of the city, it can be ruled out that the bishop was also able to erect the building on the eastern edge of the city. This leaves only the Danish king as the initiator. In addition, the complex, with its ground plan consisting of a hall building (*palas*), a tower-like fortified room and a side extension, displays elements of European lordly architecture modelled on continental palaces. The broad and deep foundations were intended to support a heavy building, perhaps with two or more storeys, which probably had a representative room for festive occasions on the first floor, which could be reached via an external staircase. There are also parallels for this in the East-Frankish/German region (Vogel 1983, 30; Radtke 2003, 4). In addition, some uncovered foundation remains testify to an earlier building activity at the site which, however, could not be investigated in more detail due to static difficulties in the medieval building (Vogel 1983, 30). According to Vogel (1983, 31), in conjunction with historical sources, these older features, preserved in remnants, could speak in favour of a continuity of the site dating back to the 11th century (cf. Radtke 1977, 30–31).

Whether this continuity of location actually goes back to the 11th century must remain an open question for the time being. However, it seems justified to assume that it was precisely this building that was used for the royal banquets in 1111 and 1130 (Radtke 1977, 32). Nonetheless, the older, as yet undated phase could coincide with the comment that King Níkulás took refuge »in the paternal house« (*lar paternus*) in 1134. The older phase may therefore be attributed to King Sven Estridsen (Radtke 1977, 30; 2003, 4). However, the answer to the question of whether Sven himself built the royal residence from the ground up, or whether a building already existed on the site that he merely renovated (cf. Radtke 1977, 31), remains a matter of speculation without further archaeological investigations at the site. In any case, Saxo's mention provides indirect evidence that Sven Estridsen resided on the north bank of the Schlei

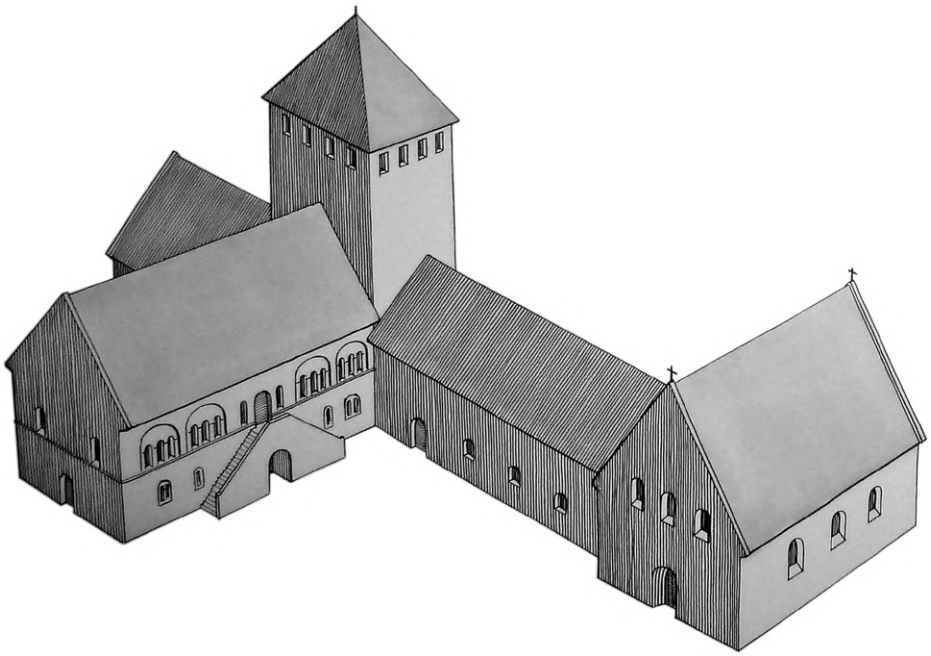

Fig. 7 Reconstruction drawing of the 12th century royal residence in medieval Schleswig, based on the excavation results. – (Drawing Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf).

from 1066 at the latest, when he visited the town. In 1085, King Cnut IV and his *prudentes* and *sapientes* would also have held their royal assembly in this residence, and they fled there a year later (cf. Schlesinger 1972, 74; Radtke 2003, 4).

Coinage, *kununglef* and *husebyer*

Although coins were minted in Denmark from the early 9th century, it was not until the 11th century, under King Cnut the Great and the influence of Anglo-Saxon coinage, that the issuing places were mentioned on the coins and that some mints can therefore be clearly identified (Andrén 1983, 46 fig. 9; cf. Moesgaard 2018, 156–158. 190–192). A first series of coins from about 1020 can be linked to five mints – Lund, Roskilde, Ringsted, Viborg and Ribe – of which the first four are referred to as *kununglef* in King Valdemar's survey from c. 1230 (Aakjær 1926–1943a; Andrén 1983, 67 fn. 73). Another six mints appeared at the end of the 1020s, of which Slagelse, Odense, Aalborg, Aarhus and Hedeby/Slesvig are later listed as *kununglef* (Andrén 1983, 67 fn. 74). With the above-mentioned cross-coins minted between c. 975/980 and 990, the activity of a corresponding mint in Hedeby/Slesvig ended for the time being. Coins that could have been issued there after c. 986 during the reign of King Sven Forkbeard have not yet been identified (Hilberg 2022, 376 with further references). As far as the 11th century is concerned, too little is known about Hedeby/Slesvig as a mint due to the current state of numismatic research, but it is becoming apparent that coins were minted there repeatedly, albeit certainly with interruptions or low output until after 1047 (Wiechmann 2013; Hilberg 2022, 376–381 fig. 223 cat. nos 323–330 pl. 20). Worth mentioning are coins by King Harthacnut and King Magnus the Good, some of which name a monetar *Ioli* or *Iuli*, who minted in *EIÐEBIINI*, which can only mean Hedeby/Slesvig (Hilberg 2022, 379 fig. 226b–d). From c. 1070, Sven Estridsen then had coins minted on the north bank of the Schlei – *denarii* of the type Dbg. 1304 with the inscriptions *+SVEINREX-DANORVM* on the obverse and *+SVIESVVIOH* on the reverse (Hilberg 2022, 380 fig. 227b).

Andrén (1983, 47) points out that the minting of coins was a regalian right (cf. Poulsen 2015, 147), and the king had coins struck by authority of his office and not because he belonged to one or the other royal dynasty. It therefore seems extremely plausible to Andrén that the minting of coins was linked to an institutional – *kununglef* – and not to the patrimonial property[31]. Parallels can be found in England, where coins were struck only in »boroughs«. The minting of coins was thus, to all appearances, directly linked to the royal power apparatus, and the coin was intended for the royal authorities attached to the *kununglef* (Andrén 1983, 47). According to Andrén (1983, 47. 49), the great correspondence between mints and *kununglef* is more than just a coincidence, and the many and scattered mints of the 1020s throughout

31 Even in the event that the minting of coins was carried out in a form of private direction, e. g. in the case of enfeoffment or a lease, the activity would still have been initiated and controlled by the royal power (Andrén 1983, 47).

the country presuppose that the crown estate must have existed during this decade. Even though Andrén's statements are in the field of speculation in the absence of concrete written evidence, his conclusions, based on the comparison of royal mints of the early 11th century and later *kununglef*, are very convincing. Hence, Andrén can be supported in his conclusion that the crown estate becomes tangible at the latest from the 1020s onwards and that great importance may be attributed to it from this period.

Closely connected with the *kununglef* were the so-called husebyer. They were probably even part of the crown estate, even though they are not listed as such in King Valdemar's survey. In any case, they must be understood against a royal background (cf. e. g. Steenstrup 1873–1874, 21; Steinnes 1955, 116–129; Andrén 1983, 50–52; Brink 2000, 276; Hybel/Poulsen 2007, 301; Poulsen/Sindbæk 2011, 21). This is evident from a royal charter by King Valdemar II from 1233 directed at the bishop of Ribe (discussed in detail by Lemm in prep. b). With his charter, Valdemar II ratified an earlier royal agreement between the king and the Church of Ribe saying that the king had full jurisdiction – both secular and ecclesiastical – over his estates, which were called Huseby (*in nostris uillis que Huseby dicuntur*, DD 1:6, no. 167). Moreover, the charter indicates that the huseby-places functioned as centres for the administration of the law and the collection of secular and ecclesiastical levies and fines as well as taxes for the levy fleet – the *leding* (cf. Steenstrup 1873–1874, 21; Hybel/Poulsen 2007, 301).

The husebyer existed not only in Denmark, where only eight of these place names have survived, but also in the separate kingdoms of Norway (N = c. 53) and Sweden (N = 66), where their royal background can be recognised even more clearly (cf. e. g. Brink 2000, 277; Westerdahl/Stylegar 2004, 114; Eilersgaard Christensen et al. 2016). Almost without exception, the villages are characterised by very good connections to the land and waterways or even their junctions (Steinnes 1955, 67–78; Hallan 1954–1956, 258–265; Larsson 1986, 43–50; Brink 2000, 278; Westerdahl/Stylegar 2004, 112). Research generally assumes that the original settlements – often featuring outstanding archaeological monuments and finds from the younger Germanic Iron Age and Viking Age – were the seats of petty kings or chieftains, whose property passed into royal ownership through confiscation in the course of the unification of the respective kingdom. However, there are also farms and hamlets that at first glance give a rather insignificant impression, but go by the same names. Hence, in the form of an established appellative and place name, the original term *Húsabýr may also have been used to designate newly established central settlements or farms (Hyenstrand 1974; Brink 1999, 283. 286–288; 2000, 277–278; Westerdahl/Stylegar 2004, 101. 109. 119; Lemm in prep. b).

In the hinterland of Hedeby/Slesvig, there is a huseby-site that is clearly based on an older centre from the younger Germanic Iron Age and Viking Age (cf. **fig. 1A**; presented in detail in Lemm 2018). In the High and Late Middle Ages, Husby represented the eponymous centre of what was once the largest hundred (Dan. herred) in Angeln, which originally probably encompassed the whole of northern Angeln (Laur 1992, 355). In all likelihood, the place was important at least at regional level in political, cultic and probably also economic terms, and most likely became part of the Danish king's power apparatus when it was elevated to the status of huseby. Research now assumes that the husebyer were established in the period after 1000 (Andrén 1983, 50–51; Lindkvist 1988, 30. 61; Brink 1999, 283; 2000, 276; Westerdahl/Stylegar 2004, 116. 119. 125), but it is very difficult to date the places more precisely. However, there are indications that the Danish husebyer may have been established before the middle of the 11th century – presumably during the reign of King Cnut the Great. From this time onwards, Husby is likely to have been home to a royal official who was charged with administrative tasks, above all the collection of taxes and levies. It may also have served as a temporary residence for the king and his retinue when travelling through the realm, as it was only a day's journey from Hedeby/Slesvig at a distance of just over 25 km (Lemm in prep. b).

Summary and Conclusion

If Godfred is accepted as the founder of the trading place in 808, this is also the first written evidence of a royal presence in Hedeby/Slesvig. Even though older archaeological finds are now known from Hedeby/Slesvig, it seems that it was only in the early 9th century that the Danish kingship recognised the favourable geographic preconditions of the Schlei and the narrow Schleswig Isthmus from an economic point of view, or at least only then decided to take advantage of them for long-distance trade. It is reasonable to assume that in 808 King Godfred took the merchants from *Reric* to *Sliesthorp* to establish a trading place there. Archaeological evidence for this early date is not yet available, but the establishment of a parcelled »merchant settlement« falls into the first quarter of the 9th century. It was probably in around 820/825, i. e. after a certain time delay, that a royal mint was established at the site. Building measures (e. g. harbour facilities) and the flourishing of the exchange of goods at the site must inevitably have led to the perception of the site as a trading centre among its Frankish-Saxon neighbours, which was probably reflected in the change of the name used from *Sliesthorp* to *Sliaswich*. The building of a church around 849 – expressly with royal permission – resulted in a greater presence of Christian traders, which had a positive effect on the prosperity of the place.

Apart from a brief interruption (812–813), only members of one royal lineage sat on the Danish throne in the first half of the 9th century – from Godfred to Horik II – who consequently also exercised control over Hedeby/Slesvig and profited from the trading place. In any case, the continuity of power under the »Godfred-dynasty« may have positively influenced the rise of the *emporium* at the inner end of the Schlei. The most striking visible expression of their power is probably to be seen in the magnificent boat chamber grave, in which a member of the family – very likely Horik I – was buried. Whether the kings Sigfred and Halfdan, who are mentioned for 873, also belonged to this linage cannot be clarified in the absence of further sources. Nevertheless, their intention to make trade routes through the Danish-Saxon border area safer must certainly be seen as an expression of their interest in the profitable trading centre. Thus, for almost the entire 9th century, concrete evidence of royal control over and influence on the place can be gathered, justifying the designation of Hedeby/Slesvig as a royal town.

Despite the short, much-discussed episode between 974 and 983, both written sources and archaeological evidence, such as rune stones, the construction work on the Semicircular Rampart and the Danevirke, the minting of coins, the equestrian and weapon graves of royal retainers, and possibly also the establishment of a defensive system to protect Hedeby/Slesvig, clearly show that Danish kings continued to exercise control over the trading town and its hinterland in the 10th century and were also present there.

With the conquest of England by Sven Forkbeard in 1013 and again by Cnut the Great in 1016, as well as the latter's overlordship of Norway, the huge »North Sea realm« was established. The inevitably intensive contacts with England that followed are also reflected in the finds from Hedeby/Slesvig (Hilberg 2022, 476–477). In addition, an Anglo-Saxon influence on Danish coinage is clearly recognisable. Furthermore, it can be assumed that from the 1020s, at the same time as several mints were established across the country, the *kununglef* also began to take concrete shape, and this presumably went hand in hand with the establishment of the royal huseby-places in Denmark. Overall, this gave the itinerant kingship, which had certainly already existed before, an even broader basis. Due to the position of power that Cnut held, he now also appeared on the European political stage, which manifested itself, among other ways, in direct contact with Emperor Conrad II. As a result, there were several marriage alliances between Scandinavian and East-Frankish members of royal and noble families and negotiations with high-ranking secular and ecclesiastical officials. Hedeby/Slesvig was the scene of such events on several occasions.

The attack by the Norwegian King Harald on Hedeby/Slesvig in 1050 appears to have resulted in a complete destruction of the town, but not its abandonment. The following Slavic attack on the trading centre only 16 years later, however, resulted in a drastic decision, which was most likely taken at royal level (Hilberg 2022, 470 tab. 46; 480): During the reign of Sven Estridsen, the trading town was moved to the north bank of the Schlei to the location of medieval Schleswig. Further royal visits to this place are documented in writing in the late 11th, and more frequently in the 12th and 13th centuries. In King Valdemar's survey from c. 1230, three-quarters of *Hethæby* is still documented as belonging to the crown estate (*kununglef*) and one-quarter to the duchy.

The royal presence and control, however, was not limited to the trading centre and its northern hinterland, but extended far beyond: Hedeby/Slesvig was at the same time the centre of the territory to the south, which also belonged to the Danish king's sphere of

power. The political border in the south had been at the Eider since 811 at the latest, while the Danevirke in the North represented a withdrawn military defence line. In between was the border district between the Schlei and the Eider which, with the possible exception of the period 974–983, belonged permanently to the Danish Kingdom. It is highly likely that, since its early stages, this territory constituted a self-contained district closely connected to royal governorship, which still existed in the 13th century with a high density of crown estate and royal private property, and was then denoted as *Frælæt* and *inter Slæ et Eydær*, according to the »main part« of King Valdemar's 1231 survey. This is supported by written evidence on King Godfred and the presumed royal stewards, Gluomi, Hovi and Roric, in relation to military defence and expeditionary forces, governorship and border region matters. Unlike the rest of Old-Denmark north of the Danevirke, this district was not divided into administrative hundreds (Dan. herreder) before the early 14th century, when the entire crown estate in the Duchy of Schleswig was also ceded by the king to the duke.

Although there are no written sources for the Viking Age comparable to the records in Valdemar II's survey with regard to royal possessions in the Schlei region, one thing should be clear: Both economically and militarily, the Schlei region was of paramount importance to the Danish kingdom in the Viking Age. Consequently, we can assume not only a great royal interest, but also a strong royal presence in the region, be it in person, through a governor, with the help of the military retinue or in the form of representative buildings such as the Danevirke or, at certain times, through all of these at once.

Medieval documents show that the royal palace (*aula regia*) in Hedeby/Slesvig was a frequently visited place of residence in the course of the Danish itinerant kingship. A corresponding exercise of rulership can probably be assumed as early as the Viking Age. The high medieval royal residence on the north bank of the Schlei has been proven by archaeological excavations on the eastern edge of the old town of Schleswig. This complex of massive stone buildings with echoes of East-Frankish/German *Pfalz* architecture can be dated to the middle of the 12th century, but has an older, as yet undated, construction phase. The latter can probably be equated with the »paternal house« (*lar paternus*) in which King Níkulás/Niels sought refuge in 1134. It may therefore be assumed that his father, King Sven Estridsen, already resided in this building complex from 1066 (at the latest). However, written sources, the boat chamber grave, archaeological evidence of building activities at the Semicircular Rampart and at the Danevirke as well as rune stones indicate a royal presence in Hedeby/Slesvig or its immediate surroundings prior to 1066. An important question that arises in this context relates to the location of the Viking Age royal residence. So far, this question has not been answered.

The question of whether the royal residence of Hedeby/Slesvig could have been located on the north bank of the Schlei early in the 11th century is discussed by historians in close connection with the hitherto unknown location of the episcopal church at that time. This is based on the historical ensemble of royal seat, cathedral, mint, trading town and administrative centre, as can also be seen in the Danish town of Lund in Scania, for example (Hoffmann 1984, 129). *Sliaswig*, together with Ribe and Aarhus, was elevated to a bishopric by Pope Agapit II and Otto the Great in 948 (Adam II, 4). While Hoffmann (1984, 128) and Radtke (1977, 31; 2003, 4; 2017, 85–98) consider a location of the bishop's church (in combination with a presumed royal palace) on the north shore, Schlesinger (1972, 82) and Fried (2022, 25) conclude that this *Sliaswig* could only have been located at Haddeby Bay. An assessment is made more difficult by the double name of the place used before and after 1066, and especially in the choice of words by Adam of Bremen, which Radtke (2017) and Fried (2022) have recently dealt with in detail. Based on the written sources, it is not possible to clarify beyond doubt, especially for the first half of the 11th century, whether the place name Hedeby/Slesvig still refers exclusively to the settlement at Haddeby Bay or likewise to an already-existing settlement on the north bank of the Schlei. However, there is no archaeological evidence of settlement activity within the old town of Schleswig before 1071 (Vogel 1983, 21).

Besides King Godfred (804, 808), both King Horik I (c. 849) and his successor Horik II (854) are likely to have been present in Hedeby/Slesvig and must therefore have resided somewhere. The same applies to the members of the Olaf-dynasty and the Jelling kings of the 10th century. For the 11th century, events such as the colloquium and the »political wedding« of 1042 and the *opulentum convivium* in the winter of 1052/53 suggest both an episcopal church and a royal residence with opportunities for representative banqueting in Hedeby/Slesvig (Schlesinger 1972, 71–72; Radtke 1977, 29; Hoffmann 1980, 28; 1984, 128; opposite view: Fried 2022, 28–30). These events may very well still be seen in connection with the town within the Semicircular Rampart. This is even more true in view of the fact that Hilberg (2022, 469–480) can now document craft and trade activities at the site up to the 1060s.

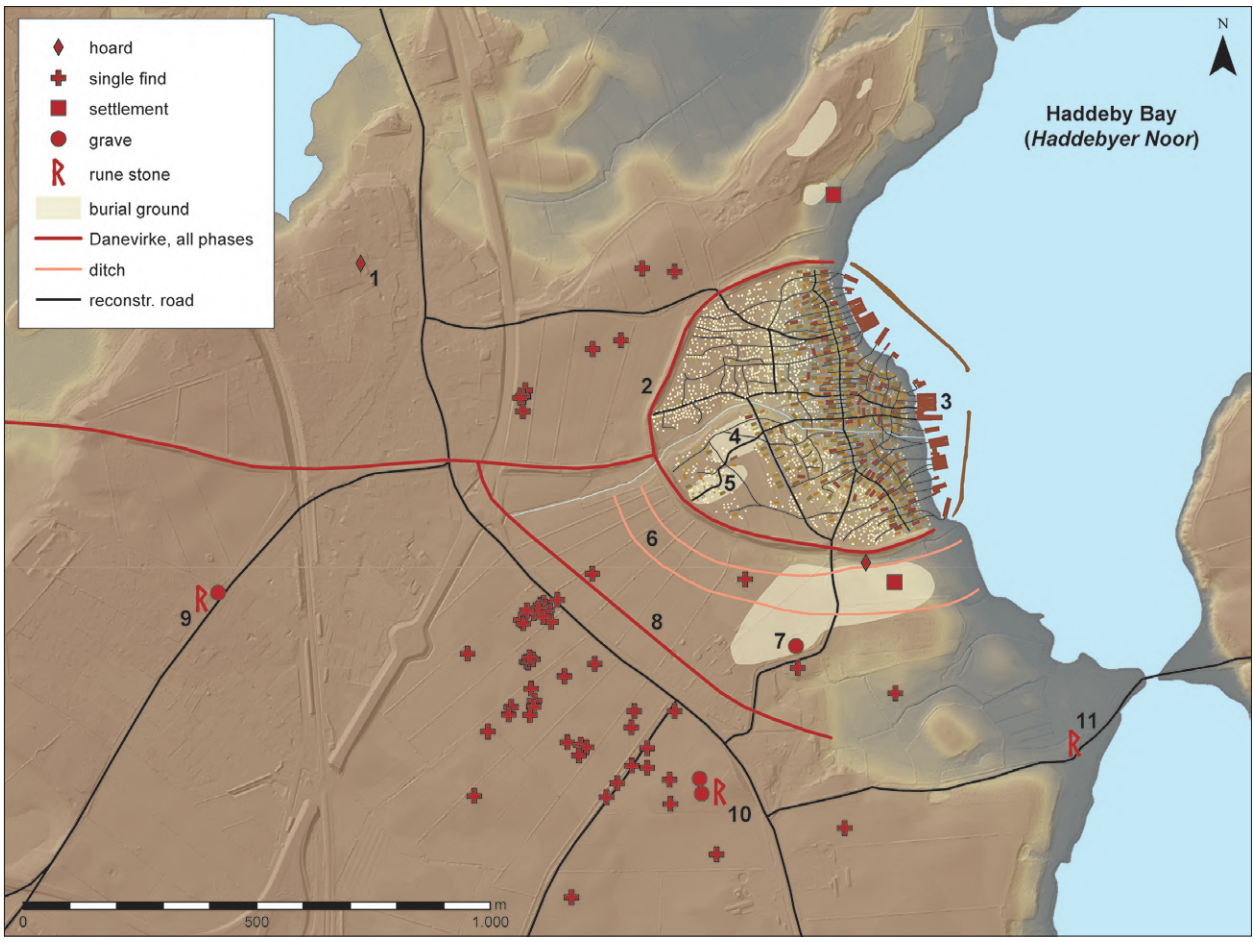

Fig. 8 The trading town of Hedeby/Slesvig and selected Viking Age finds and sites in its immediate vicinity: **1** Find place of two swords decorated in the Jelling style. – **2** Semicircular Rampart. – **3** Location of Hedeby Wreck 1. – **4** Inhumation burial ground (Flachgräberfeld). – **5** Chamber-burial ground (Kammergräberfeld). – **6** Trough-shaped and V-shaped ditches. – **7** Boat chamber grave on the southern edge of the southern burial ground (Südgräberfeld). – **8** Outer Rampart. – **9** DR 3/Sl 3. – **10** DR 1/Sl 1. – **11** DR 2/Sl 2. – The reconstruction of roads in this area – based on prehistoric monuments and Viking Age finds in combination with various historical maps and topography – proved to be much more difficult than in other areas and should therefore still be regarded as preliminary. – (Graphics T. Lemm, basedata by LVermGeoSH, reconstruction of roads and buildings within the Semicircular Rampart by V. Hilberg 2022, 471 fig. 270).

The most prominent position for a royal residence in Hedeby/Slesvig would have been the elevation in the southwest of the town area, where two burial grounds are also situated (**fig. 8, 4-5**). The short distance to the merchants' and craftsmen's settlement need not have been an exclusion criterion, since the later royal residence in Schleswig's old town was also only 50 m away from the medieval market square. For topographical reasons, a large building on the elevation would have towered over all other parts of the town and would have been visible from afar, not only to travellers reaching the town by ship, but also to those approaching by land prior to the construction of the Semicircular Rampart, probably in the 10th century. However, this localisation is of course still pure speculation, as no archaeological evidence of a representative building on this spot has yet been found. However, it should not be forgotten that only around 5 % of the entire town area of around 25.5 ha has been excavated to date (Hilberg 2022, 35)[32].

As there is no previous archaeological evidence within the Semicircular Rampart, a location in the vicinity of the trading town should also be considered for the royal seat that was connected to Hedeby/Slesvig. Due to the close spatial proximity, Dobat (2022, 13) proposes the settlement in Füsing as a potential royal residence. His consideration is based on a possible contextual comparability with the two

32 Recently, Kalmring (2024, 185-186 fn. 16-17) put forward a different suggestion for the potential position of the (late Viking Age) royal residence within the Semicircular Rampart. He speculates whether it may have existed directly on the shoreline in close proximity to the find location of the royal longship Wreck 1; this area has not yet been archaeologically or geophysically investigated, since it is heavily water-saturated due to the risen water level.

Fig. 9 Two fragmented swords elaborately decorated in the Jelling style found in Busdorf c. 700 m west of Hedeby/Slesvig. – (Photos Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf).

aristocratic/royal residences of Adelsö/Hovgården and Huseby/Skíringssalr, both of which were located within a few kilometres of the *emporia* of Birka and Kaupang (Hedenstierna-Jonson 2016; Skre 2007, 223). As mentioned above, Füsing (still) stands out from contemporary settlements in the Schlei region due to the archaeological finds, the number of pit houses and the character of the post buildings. A certain number of elite or aristocratic settlements from the 8th–10th centuries, several of which can certainly be understood as (temporary) royal residences, are now known from Old-Denmark – e. g. Tissø and Lejre on Zealand, Järrestad in Scania and now also Erritsø in Jutland (e. g. Jørgensen 2003, 191–200; Christensen 2015, esp. 133–149; Ravn et al. 2019, 38–39). These settlements have a more or less comparable appearance. They are characterised by a large east-west aligned hall building in the centre, a small building within a fenced area to the south of the hall, various auxiliary buildings and often a rectangular fence or palisade enclosing the entire complex (cf. Grimm, this volume). The architecture in Füsing does not correspond to the layout of these settlements; however, this fact should not be seen as an exclusion criterion *per se* in view of the still incomplete state of research on Viking Age aristocratic and royal residences (especially in western Denmark). It is quite conceivable and even probable that not all early Viking Age aristocratic and royal manors in Old-Denmark were built according to the same scheme. This naturally makes it more difficult to identify actual royal residences. The example of Jelling (Kähler Holst et al. 2013, 494) also teaches us that royal sites should not even be expected to have special or high numbers of finds; this also applies to Erritsø, which has been interpreted as a potential royal manor (Ravn et al. 2019, 40). The possibility that the settlement in Füsing could have served as a temporary residence for the king or his steward (cf. Dobat 2022, 14) therefore still exists.

Furthermore, a royal residence is also theoretically conceivable in the immediate vicinity of Hedeby/Slesvig. The rune stone (DR 3/Sl 3) placed by King Sven himself to the west of the town in Busdorf could perhaps provide a clue (**fig. 8, 9**). Moreover, approximately 800 m north of the rune stone, two splendid swords elaborately decorated in the Jelling style were discovered, which certainly belonged to an elite – perhaps royal? – social class (**figs 8, 1; 9**; Müller-Wille 1973). To date, however, there is no archaeological

evidence of a settlement at either of the two sites and, due to the large-scale modern development of the area, future discoveries of such are probably no longer to be expected. In the recent past, private detector surveys southwest of Hedeby/Slesvig have uncovered a large number of Viking Age artefacts spread over several fields. Geomagnetic surveys and minor excavations, however, did not yield any traces of a permanent settlement (Tummuscheit et al. in print). Accordingly the human activities in this area are considered to be rather seasonal in nature[33].

Hence, clarifying the question of the Viking Age royal residence of Hedeby/Slesvig will remain one of the more important tasks of future archaeological investigations at the site and in its immediate vicinity. This article, however, should sufficiently answer the question of whether and why Danish kings had a great interest in controlling the important trading centre and were therefore temporarily present at Hedeby/Slesvig and its surroundings.

Bibliography

Sources

Aakjær 1926-1943a: S. Aakjær (ed.), Kong Valdemars Jordebog. 1: Text. Samfund Udgiv. Gammel Nordisk Lit. 50, 1 (København 1926–1943).

1926-1943b: S. Aakjær (ed.), Kong Valdemars Jordebog. 2: Kommentar. Samfund Udgiv. Gammel Nordisk Lit. 50, 2 (København 1926–1943).

AB = Annales Bertiniani: Jahrbücher von St. Bertin. In: R. Rau (ed.), Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 2. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 6 (Darmstadt ^{2}1969) 11–287.

Adam von Bremen: Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificium. Bischofsgeschichte der Hamburger Kirche, transl. by W. Trillmich. In: Trillmich/Buchner 1961, 160–503.

AF = Annales Fuldenses: Jahrbücher von Fulda. In: R. Rau (ed.), Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 3. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 7 (Darmstadt ^{2}1969) 19–177.

Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi: Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis auctore Alcuino, ed. W. Levison. MGH SS rer. Merov. 7 (Hannoverae 1920) 81–141; trans. into English by C. H. Talbot, The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany (London, New York 1954) 1–22.

Annales Altahenses maiores: Annales Altahenses maiores, ed. E. L. B. von Oefele / W. von Giesebrecht. MGH SS rer. Germ. 4 (Hannoverae 1891) 1–91.

Annales Augienses: Annales Augienses, ed. G. H. Pertz. MGH SS 1 (Hannoverae 1926) 67–69.

Annales Corbeienses: Annales Corbeienses, a. 658–1148, ed. G. H. Pertz. MGH SS 3 (Hannoverae 1839) 2–18.

Annales Hildesheimenses: Annales Hildesheimenses, ed. G. Waitz. MGH SS rer. Germ. 8 (Hannoverae 1878, reprint Hannover 1947) 1–69.

Annales Magdeburgenses: Annales Magdeburgenses, ed. G. H. Pertz. MGH SS 16 (Hannoverae 1859) 105–196.

ARF = Annales regni Francorum: Die Reichsannalen. In: R. Rau (ed.), Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 1. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 5 (Darmstadt 1955, reprint 1968) 10–155; transl. into English by B. W. Scholz / B. Rogers, Carolingian Chronicles. Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories (Ann Arbor 1972) 37–125.

Annales Ryenses: Annales Ryenses. In: E. Kroman (ed.), Danmarks middelalderlige Annaler (København 1980) 149–176.

Annalista Saxo: K. Nass (ed.), Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo. Neuedition mit ausführlichen Registern. MGH SS 37 (Hannover 2006).

Anonymi Vita Hludowici imperatoris: Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs vom sog. Astronomus. In: R. Rau (ed.), Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 1. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 5 (Darmstadt 1955, reprint 1974) 255–381.

Ælnoth: Ælnoth, Vita et passio sancti Canuti. In: E. Albrectsen (ed. and trans.), Ælnoths krønike (Odense 1984). Latin text: https://tekstnet.dk/books/aelnoth_vita-sancti-canuti/ (06.08.2025).

33 In 2021, the author himself carried out large-scale detector surveys on the eastern shore of Haddeby Bay. However, no Viking Age artefacts were uncovered. The localisation of a royal residence on the elevated terrain with a view over Hedeby/Slesvig can therefore be practically ruled out.

Æthelweard: Chronicon de rebus Anglicis. In: R. Pauli (ed.), MGH SS 13 (Hannoverae 1881) 122–123.

Aðalbjarnarson 1979: B. Aðalbjarnarson (ed.), Snorri Sturluson. Heimskringla 3 = Íslenzk Fornrit 28 (Reykjavík 1979).

Bauer/Rau 1971: A. Bauer / R. Rau (eds), Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 8 (Darmstadt 1971).

DD 1.1/Diplomatarium Danicum 1.1: C. A. Christensen / H. Nielsen (eds), Danmarks Riges Breve. 1. R. 1, 789–1052 (København 1975).

DD 1.2/Diplomatarium Danicum 1.2: C. A. Christensen / G. Hermansen / H. Nielsen (eds), Danmarks Riges Breve. 1. R. 2, 1053–1169 (København 1975).

DD 1.6/Diplomatarium Danicum 1.6: N. Skyum-Nielsen (ed.), Danmarks Riges Breve. 1. R. 6, 1224–1237 (København 1979).

DD 2.3/Diplomatarium Danicum 2.3: A. Afzelius (ed.), Danmarks Riges Breve. 2. R. 3, 1281–1290 (København 1939).

DD 2.7/Diplomatarium Danicum 2.7: K. Olsen (ed.), Danmarks Riges Breve. 2. R. 7, 1313–1317 (København 1956).

Dudo of St Quentin: Dudo, Historia Normannorum, ed. G. Waitz. MGH SS 4 (Hannoverae 1841) 93–106.

Einhard: Vita Carolii Magni. Das Leben Karls des Großen. In: R. Rau (ed.), Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 1. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 5 (Darmstadt 1968) 157–211.

Ex Miraculis S. Germani in Normannorum adventu factis: Ex Miraculis S. Germani in Normannorum adventu factis. In: G. Waitz (ed.), MGH SS 15, 1 (Hannoverae 1887) 10–16.

Fagrskinna: F. Jónsson (ed.), Fagrskinna. Nóregs Kononga Tal. Samfund Udgiv. Gammel Nordisk Lit. 30 (København 1902–1903).

Flodoardi annales: Flodoardi annales, ed. G. H. Pertz. MGH SS 3 (Hannoverae 1839) 363–408.

Florentius Wigornensis: Florentius Wigornensis, Chronica Chronicarum, ed. R. Pauli. MGH SS 13 (Hannoverae 1881) 124–130.

Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar: Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar. In: Aðalbjarnarson 1979, 41–122.

Jómsvíkingasaga: Jómsvíkingasaga ok Knytlínga með tilheyrandi þáttum. In: C. C. Rafn (ed.), Fornmanna Sögur 11 (Kaupmannahøfn [Copenhagen] 1828) 1–162.

Knýtlinga saga: Knýtlinga saga. In: B. Guðnarson (ed.), Danakonunga sǫgur = Íslenzk Fornrit 35 (Reykjavík 1982) 91–321.

Lamperti monarchi Hersfeldensis opera: Lamperti monarchi Hersfeldensis opera, ed. O. Holder-Egger. MGH SS rer. Germ. 38 (Hannoverae, Lipsiae 1894) 1–304.

Liudprand of Cremona: Liber Antapodoseos. In: Bauer/Rau 1971, 244–495.

Magnússona saga: Magnússona saga. In: Aðalbjarnarson 1979, 145–169.

Magnús saga ins góða: Magnús saga ins góða. In: Aðalbjarnarson 1979, 29–40.

May 1937: O. H. May, Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Bremen 1 (787–1306). Veröff. Hist. Komm. Hannover, Oldenburg, Braunschweig, Schaumburg-Lippe u. Bremen 11 (Hannover 1937).

Morkinskinna: F. Jónsson (ed.), Morkinskinna. Samfund Udgiv. Gammel Nordisk Lit. 53 (København 1932).

Brennu-Njáls saga: E. Ó. Sveinsson (ed.), Brennu-Njáls saga = Íslenzk Fornrit 12 (Reykjavík 1954).

RI 3, 1: J. F. Böhmer (ed.), Regesta Imperii. 3: Salisches Haus: 1024–1125. 1, 1024–1056. Abt. 1: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Konrad II., 1024–1039 (Graz 1951).

Richeri historiarum libri 3: Richeri historiarum libri 3, ed. G. Waitz. MGH SS rer. Germ. 51 (Hannoverae 1877[2]).

Rimbert: Vita Anskarii, transl. into German by W. Trillmich. In: Trillmich/Buchner 1961, 16–133; translated into English by C. H. Robinson, Anskar. The Apostle of the North, 801–865 (London 1921).

Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum. Translated into English by P. Fisher. In: K. Friis-Jensen (ed.), The History of the Danes (Oxford 2015).

Skj.: F. Jónsson (ed.), Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning 1–2 (København 1912–1915).

Thietmar of Merseburg: Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon / Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung, ed. R. Holtzmann. MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 9 (Berlin 1935); Thietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon. In: W. Trillmich (ed. and trans.), Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 9 (Darmstadt [7]1957) 2–477; trans. into English by D. A. Warner (ed. and trans.), Ottonian Germany. The »Chronicon« of Thietmar of Merseburg (Manchester 2008).

Trillmich/Buchner 1961: W. Trillmich / R. Buchner (eds), Quellen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches. Ausgewählte Quellen Dt. Gesch. Mittelalter. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausg. 11 (Darmstadt 1961).

Widukind of Corvey: Rerum Saxonicarum libri 3. In: Bauer/Rau 1971, 12–183.

Wipo: Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris. Trans. into German by W. Trillmich. In: Trillmich/Buchner 1961, 522–613.

References

Althoff 2006: G. Althoff, Otto der Große und die neue europäische Identität. In: A. Ranft (ed.), Der Hoftag in Quedlinburg 973. Von den historischen Wurzeln zum Neuen Europa. Symposium in Quedlinburg, 7.–9. Mai 2003 (Berlin 2006) 3–18.

Andersen 1978: H. H. Andersen, Die Burg von Itzehoe in ihrer besonderen archäologischen und historischen Bedeutung. Steinburger Jahrb. 22, 1978, 117–134.

1980: H. H. Andersen, Die Burg in Itzehoe. Offa-Ergr. 4 (Neumünster 1980).

1998: H. H. Andersen, Danevirke og Kovirke: Arkæologiske undersøgelser 1861–1993 (Højbjerg 1998).

Andrén 1983: A. Andrén, Städer och kungamakt – en studie i Danmarks politiska geografi före 1230. Scandia 49, 1983, 31–76.

Annaert 2019: R. Annaert (ed.), Early medieval waterscapes. Risks and opportunities for (im)material cultural exchange. 67. Internat. Sachsensymposion, 17.–21. September 2016, Antwerpen. Neue Stud. Sachsenforsch. 8 (Wendeburg 2019).

Arents/Eisenschmidt 2010: U. Arents / S. Eisenschmidt, Die Gräber von Haithabu. 1: Text, Literatur. Ausgr. Haithabu 15 (Neumünster 2010).

Auer et al. 2016: J. Auer / O. Nakoinz / C. Rinne, Archäologie in trübem Wasser – Ein Überblick zur Fundgeschichte und neue Untersuchungen zu einer Holzkonstruktion des 8. Jahrhunderts in der Schlei. Arch. Nachr. Schleswig-Holstein 22, 2016, 70–79.

Axboe 1995: M. Axboe, Danish kings and dendrochronology: archaeological insights into the early history of the Danish state. In: G. Ausenda (ed.), After Empire. Towards an Ethnology of Europe's barbarians. Stud. Hist. Archaeoethn. 1 (Woodbridge 1995) 217–251.

Bachrach 2001: B. S. Bachrach, Early Carolingian Warfare – Prelude to Empire (Philadelphia 2001).

Bachrach/Bachrach 2007: B. S. Bachrach / D. S. Bachrach, Saxon Military Revolution, 912–973? Myth and reality. Early Medieval Europe 15, 2007, 186–222. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-0254.2007.00203.x.

Bäck 1997: M. Bäck, No island is a Society. Regional and Interregional Interaction in Central Sweden during the Viking Age. In: H Andersson / P. Carelli / L. Ersgård (eds), Visions of the past. Trends and traditions in Swedish medieval archaeology. Lund Stud. Medieval Arch. 19 = Riksantikvarieämbetet Ark. Unders. Skr. 24 (Stockholm 1997) 129–161.

Biereye 1909: W. Biereye, Beiträge zur Geschichte Nordalbingiens im 10. Jahrhundert (Berling 1909).

1916: W. Biereye, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Nordalbingiens im 10. Jh. Zeitschr. Ges. Schleswig-Holstein. Gesch. 46, 1916, 1–40.

Bjørkvik 1992: H. Bjørkvik, The Norwegian Royal Lands in the Middle Ages. Collegium Medievale. Tverrfaglig tidsskr. for middelalderforskning. Interdisciplinary Journal Medieval Research 5, 1992(1–2), 7–26.

Bordemann 2008: H. R. Bordemann, Archäologisch-bodenkundliche Untersuchungen des Danewerks zwischen Matzenkamp/Gemeinde Hollingstedt und der Treene in Hollingstedt [Master thesis Univ. Kiel 2008].

Breßlau 1870: H. Breßlau, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis von Konrads II. Beziehungen zu Byzanz und Dänemark. Forsch. Dt. Gesch. 10, 1870, 606–613.

1879: H. Breßlau, Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II. 1. 1024–1031. Jahrb. Dt. Gesch. 1 (Leipzig 1879).

Brink 1999: S. Brink, Nordens husabyar – unga eller gamla? In: I. Fuglestvedt / T. Gansum / A. Opedal (eds), Et hus med mange rom. Vennebok til Bjørn Myhre på 60-årsdagen. B (Stavanger 1999) 283–291.

2000: RGA² 15 (2000) 274–278 s. v. Husby (S. Brink).

von Carnap-Bornheim/Hilberg 2007: C. von Carnap-Bornheim / V. Hilberg, Recent archaeological research in Haithabu. In: J. Henning (ed.), Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium. 1. The Heirs of the Roman West. Millenium Stud. Culture and Hist. First Millenium C. E. 5, 1 (Berlin, New York 2007) 199–218.

A. E. Christensen 1969: A. E. Christensen, Vikingetidens Danmark. På oldhistorisk baggrund (København 1969).

T. Christensen 2015: T. Christensen, Lejre bag myten: de arkæologiske udgravninger (Aarhus 2015).

Crumlin-Pedersen 1997: O. Crumlin-Pedersen, Viking-Age Ships and Shipbuilding in Hedeby/Haithabu and Schleswig. Ships & Boats of the North 2 (Schleswig, Roskilde 1997).

Darby 1977: H. C. Darby, Domesday England (Cambridge 1977).

Dobat 2008: A. S. Dobat, Danevirke Revisited: An Investigation into Military and Socio-political Organisation in South Scandinavia (c AD 700 to 1100). Medieval Arch. 52, 2008, 27–67.

2010: A. S. Dobat, Füsing. Ein frühmittelalterlicher Zentralplatz im Umfeld von Haithabu/Schleswig. Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Prospektionen 2003–2005. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), Studien zu Haithabu und Füsing. Ausgr. Haithabu 16 (Neumünster 2010) 129–256.

2022: A. S. Dobat, Finding Sliesthorp? The Viking Age settlement at Füsing in North Germany. Journal Danish Arch. 11, 2022, 1–22. DOI: 10.7146/dja.v11i.127759.

Düwel et al. 2001: K. Düwel / E. Marold / C. Zimmermann (eds), Von Thorsberg nach Schleswig. Sprache und Schriftlichkeit eines Grenzgebietes im Wandel eines Jahrtausends. Internationales Kolloquium im Wikinger Museum Haithabu vom 29. September – 3. Oktober 1994. RGA² Ergbd. 25 (Berlin 2001).

Dulinicz 2006: M. Dulinicz, Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe – eine archäologische Studie (Neumünster 2006).

Eilersgaard Christensen et al. 2016: L Eilersgaard Christensen / T. Lemm / A. Pedersen (eds), Husebyer – status quo, open questions and perspectives. Papers from a workshop at the National Museum Copenhagen 19–20 March 2014. Publ. Nat. Mus., Stud. Arch. & Hist. Jelling Ser. 20, 3 (Copenhagen 2016).

Eisenschmidt 2004: S. Eisenschmidt, Grabfunde des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts zwischen Kongeå und Eider. Zur Bestattungssitte der Wikingerzeit im südlichen Altdänemark. Stud. Siedlungsgesch. u. Arch. Ostseegebiete 5, 1 (Neumünster 2004).

2021: S. Eisenschmidt, Burials with Horse Equipment in Schleswig. The cultural connection to the Fregerslev burial. In: Pedersen/Schifter Bagge 2021, 141–152.

Ellmers 1980: D. Ellmers, Fränkisches Königszeremoniell auch in Walhall. Beitr. Schleswiger Stadtgesch. 25, 1980, 115–126.

Eriksen et al. 2017: B. V. Eriksen / A. Abegg-Wigg / R. Bleile / U. F. Ickerodt (eds), Interaktion ohne Grenzen. Beispiele archäologischer Forschungen am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. 2: Festschr. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim zum 60. Geburtstag (Schleswig 2017).

Erlenkeuser 1998: H. Erlenkeuser, Neue ^{14}C-Datierungen zum Danewerk, Schleswig-Holstein. In: H. H. Andersen, Danevirke og Kovirke: Arkæologiske undersøgelser 1861–1993 (Højbjerg 1998) 189–201.

Ethelberg 2017: P. Ethelberg, Anglerriget storhed og fald. Skalk 2017(3), 15–27.

Fabech/Ringtved 1995: C. Fabech / J. Ringtved, Magtens geografi i Sydskandinavien – om kulturlandskab, produktion og bebyggelsesmønster. In: H. G. Resi (ed.), Produksjon og Samfunn. Beretning fra 2. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavolden Gjæstgiveri 7.–10. mai 1992. Univ. Oldsakslg. Varia 30 (Oslo 1995) 11–37.

Fried 2022: J. Fried, Wendezeiten – ein Jahrhundert der Krisen und Haithabus Untergang, zugleich eine Entmythologisierung. In: Hilberg 2022, vol. 1, 5–33.

Gammeltoft/Lund 2012: P. Gammeltoft / N. Lund (ed.), Beretning fra tredivte tværfaglige vikingesymposium (Højbjerg 2012).

Hallan 1954-1956: N. Hallan, Det eldste krongodset i Trøndelag. Hist. Tidsskr. 37, 1954–1956, 241–265.

Hansen 2019: J. Hansen, King Cnut's donation letter and settlement structure in Denmark, 1085 – new perspectives on an old document. In: S. Hope / M. Manøe Bjerregaard / A. Hedeager Krag / M. Runge (eds), Life and cult of Cnut the Holy. The first royal saint of Denmark. Report from an interdisciplinary research seminar in Odense. November 6th to 7th 2017. Kulturhist. Stud. i Centralitet – Arch. & Hist. Stud. Centrality 4 (Odense 2019) 60–84.

Hansen/Bruus 2018: J. Hansen / M. Bruus (eds), The Fortified Viking Age. 36th Interdisciplinary Viking Symposium in Odense, May 17th, 2017. Kulturhist. Stud. i Centralitet – Arch. & Hist. Stud. Centrality 3 (Odense 2018).

Harck 1998: O. Harck, Anmerkungen zum Primärwall des Danewerks. In: A. Wesse (ed.), Studien zur Archäologie des Ostseeraumes. Von der Eisenzeit zum Mittelalter. Festschr. Michael Müller-Wille (Neumünster 1998) 127–135.

Hardt 2000: M. Hardt, Linien und Säume, Zonen und Räume an der Ostgrenze des Reiches im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. In: W. Pohl / H. Reimitz (eds), Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter (Wien 2000) 39–56.

2019: M. Hardt, »Totschlag, Raub und Brandstiftung«. Karolingische Hausmeier und Könige und die Sachsen östlich des Rheins. In: B. Ludowici (ed.), Saxones. Niedersächsische Landesausstellung 2019, Landesmuseum Hannover 5.4.–18.8.2019, Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum 22.9.2019–2.2.2020. Neue Stud. Sachsenforsch. 7 (Darmstadt 2019) 276–278. 282–283.

Hedenstierna-Jonson 2016: C. Hedenstierna-Jonson, Spaces and places of the urban settlement of Birka. In: Holmquist et al. 2016, 23–34.

Helten 2011: V. Helten, Zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation: Dänemark und das Frankenreich im 9. Jahrhundert (Köln 2011).

Hilberg 2011: V. Hilberg, Silver Economies of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries AD in Hedeby. In: J. Graham-Campbell / S. M. Sindbæk / G. Williams (eds), Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, AD 800–1100 (Aarhus 2011) 203–225.

2014: V. Hilberg, Zwischen Innovation und Tradition. Der karolingische Einfluss auf das Münzwesen in Skandinavien. In: K. P. Hofmann / H. Kamp / M. Wemhoff (eds), Die Wikinger und das Fränkische Reich. Identitäten zwischen Konfrontation und Annäherung. Mittelalterstudien des Instituts zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens 29 (Paderborn 2014) 133–215.

2018: V. Hilberg, Detektoruntersuchungen in Haithabu 2003–2015. Aussagemöglichkeiten und Erkenntnisge-

winn für die Entstehung eines wikingerzeitlichen Handelszentrums. In: Hilberg/Lemm 2018, 125–154.

2022: V. Hilberg, Haithabu 983–1066. Der Untergang eines dänischen Handelszentrums in der späten Wikingerzeit 1–2. Ausgr. Haithabu 19 = Festschr. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim zum 65. Geburtstag (München 2022).

Hilberg/Lemm 2018: V. Hilberg / T. Lemm (eds), Viele Funde – große Bedeutung? Potenzial und Aussagewert von Metalldetektorfunden für die siedlungsarchäologische Forschung der Wikingerzeit. Bericht des 33. Tværfaglige Vikingesymposiums, 9. Mai 2014, Wikinger Museum Haithabu. Schr. Mus. Arch. Schloss Gottorf 12 (Kiel 2018).

Hilberg/Moesgaard 2010: V. Hilberg / J. C. Moesgaard, Opsigtsvækkende fund af korsmønter: Er hypotesen om »Tyskervældet« i Hedeby 974–983 forkert? Nordisk Num. Unions Medlemsbl. 4, 2010, 143–150.

Hines 2001: J. Hines, Angeln and the Angles. In: Düwel et al. 2001, 37–51.

Hoffmann 1980: E. Hoffmann, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Schleswig und des westlichen Ostseeraums im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Zeitschr. Ges. Schleswig-Holstein. Gesch. 105, 1980, 27–76.

1984: E. Hoffmann, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen dem deutschen und dem dänischen Reich für die Zeit von 934 bis 1035. In: C. Radtke / W. Körber (eds), 850 Jahre St. Petri-Dom zu Schleswig 1134–1984 (Schleswig 1984) 105–132.

Holmquist et al. 2016: L. Holmquist / S. Kalmring / C. Hedenstierna-Jonson (eds), New Aspects on Viking-age Urbanism, c. AD 750–1100. Proceedings of the International Symposium at the Swedish History Museum, April 17–20th 2013. Theses and Papers Arch. B 12 (Stockholm 2016).

Holtermann et al. 2022: B. Holterman / A. B. Maartje / K. H. Andersen / M. C. Dengg / N. Petersen, Viabundus: Map of Premodern European Transport and Mobility. Social and Economic History. Research Data Journal Humanities and Social Scien. 7, 2022, 1–13. DOI: 10.1163/24523666-bja10025. Viabundus Pre-modern Street Map 2, https://www.landesgeschichte.uni-goettingen.de/handelsstrassen/info.php (25.04.2025).

Hoop 1989: E. Hoop, Geschichte der Stadt Rendsburg (Rendsburg 1989).

Hvidtfeldt 1950: J. Hvidtfeldt, Oversigt over befolkningsforholdene i Sønderjylland i middelalderen. Sønderjydske Årb. 62, 1950, 161–209. DOI: 10.7146/soenderjydskeaarboeger.v62i2.81097.

Hybel/Poulsen 2007: N. Hybel / B. Poulsen, The Danish Resources c. 1000–1550. Growth and Recession (Leiden, Boston 2007).

Hyenstrand 1974: Å. Hyenstrand, Centralbygd – Randbygd. Strukturella, ekonomiska och administrativa huvudlinjer i mellansvensk yngre järnålder. Acta Univ. Stockholmiensis. Stud. North-European Arch. 5 (Stockholm 1974).

Imer 2016: L. M. Imer, Danmarks runesten: en fortælling (København 2016).

Iversen 2011: F. Iversen, The Beauty of Bona Regalia and the Growth of Supra-regional Powers in Scandinavia. In: S. Sigmundsson (ed.), Viking Settlements and Viking Society: Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Viking Congress, Reykjavík and Reykholt, 16–23 August 2009. Fylgirit Árbók. hins Íslenzka fornleifafélags 2011 (Reykjavík 2011) 225–244.

Jacobsen/Moltke 1942: L. Jacobsen / E. Moltke, Danmarks Runeindskrifter. Text (Copenhagen 1942).

Jahnke 2006: C. Jahnke, »… und er verwandelte die blühende Handelsstadt in ein unbedeutendes Dorf« – Die Rolle Schleswigs im internationalen Handel des 13. Jahrhunderts. In: G. Fouquet / M. Hansen / C. Jahnke / J. Schlürmann (eds), Von Menschen, Ländern, Meeren. Festschr. Thomas Riis zum 65. Geburtstag (Tönning 2006) 251–268.

Jankuhn 1937: H. Jankuhn, Die Wehranlagen der Wikingerzeit zwischen Schlei und Treene. Ausgr. Haithabu 1 (Neumünster 1937).

1986: H. Jankuhn, Haithabu: ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit (Neumünster [8]1986).

H. N. A. Jensen 1834: H. N. A. Jensen, Konungslef. Archiv für Staats- und Kirchengeschichte der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg und der angrenzenden Länder und Städte, 2 (Altona 1834) 566–571.

J. Jensen 2004: J. Jensen, Danmarks Oldtid. 4: Yngre jernalder og vikingetid 400–1015 e. Kr. (København 2004).

Jöns 2000: H. Jöns, Neue Untersuchungen auf dem frühgeschichtlichen Handelsplatz von Groß Strömkendorf bei Wismar. Arch. Baltica 4, 2000, 109–134.

Jørgensen 2003: L. Jørgensen, Manor and Market at Lake Tissø in the Sixth to Eleventh Centuries: The Danish »Productive« Sites. In: T. Pestell / K. Ulmschneider (eds), Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and »Productive« Sites, 650–850 (Bollington 2003) 175–207. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv138wtdg.21.

Kähler Holst et al. 2013: M. Kähler Holst / M. Dengsø Jessen / S. Wulff Andersen / A. Pedersen, The Late Viking-Age Royal Constructions at Jelling, central Jutland, Denmark. Recent investigations and a suggestion for an interpretative revision. Praehist. Zeitschr. 87(2), 2013, 474–504. DOI: 10.1515/pz-2012-0022.

Kalmring 2010: S. Kalmring, Der Hafen von Haithabu. Ausgr. Haithabu 14 (Neumünster 2010).

2016: S. Kalmring, Early northern towns as special economic zones. In: Holmquist et al. 2016, 11–22.

2024: S. Kalmring, Towns and Commerce in Viking-Age Scandinavia (Cambridge et al. 2024).

Krag 1995: C. Krag, Vikingtid og rikssamling: 800–1130. Aschehougs Norges Hist. 2 (Oslo 1995).

Kramer 1984: W. Kramer, Die Datierung der Feldsteinmauer des Danewerks. Vorbericht einer neuen Grabung am Hauptwall. Arch. Korrbl. 14, 1984, 343–350.

1992: W. Kramer, Ein hölzernes Sperrwerk in der Großen Breite der Schlei als Teil des Danewerk-Baues von 737 n. Chr. Geb. Arch. Nachr. Schleswig-Holstein 3, 1992, 82–96.

Larsson 1986: G. Larsson, Husabyarna – led i en forntida samhällsplanering. Tekniska högskolan i Stockholm. Meddel. Inst. Fastighetsteknik, Sektionen Lantmäteri 4, 49 (Stockholm 1986).

Laur 1992: W. Laur, Historisches Ortsnamenlexikon von Schleswig-Holstein. Veröff. Schleswig-Holstein. Landesarchiv 28 (Neumünster 1992).

2001: W. Laur, Sprachen, Schriften, »Nationalitäten« in Haithabu und Schleswig. In: Düwel et al. 2001, 61–76.

2006: W. Laur, Runendenkmäler in Schleswig-Holstein und Nordschleswig (Schleswig 2006).

Leegaard Knudsen 1988: A. Leegaard Knudsen, Den danske konges gods I højmiddelalderen. En historiografisk undersøgelse af begreberne Kongelev og Patrimonium. Hist. Tidsskr. 88, 1988, 213–228.

Lemm 2013: T. Lemm, Die frühmittelalterlichen Ringwälle im westlichen und mittleren Holstein. Schr. Arch. Landesmus. 11, 1–2 (Neumünster 2013).

2016: T. Lemm, Husby and the equestrian graves in Angeln and Schwansen – different chronological stages in the development of a royal administration? In: Holmquist et al. 2016, 97–113.

2018: T. Lemm, Auf der Suche nach dem Hof des königlichen Statthalters – Ergebnisse systematischer Detektorbegehungen in Husby, Kreis Schleswig-Flensburg (Schleswig-Holstein). In: Hilberg/Lemm 2018, 49–65.

2019: T. Lemm, Protecting Hedeby – Reconstructing a Viking Age maritime defense system based on visual communication. In: Annaert 2019, 101–114.

2021a: T. Lemm, Saxon Warriors, Carolingian and Ottonian Cavalry. A southern perspective on Danish equestrian graves. In: Pedersen/Schifter Bagge 2021, 281–297.

2021b: T. Lemm, The fight for Nordalbingia: Reconstruction and Simulation of the Danish-Obodrite Attack on the Frankish Fortress of Esesfelth in AD 817. In: F. Iversen / K. Kjesrud (eds), Viking Wars. Viking 84 Special Vol. 1 (Oslo 2021) 63–84. DOI: 10.5617/viking.9050.

2024: T. Lemm, »Tip of the iceberg« – continuity and change between the fifth and the eighth centuries in the hinterland of the Danevirke. In: T. Zachrisson / S. Fischer (eds), Changes: The Shift from the Early to the Late Iron Age. Neue Stud. Sachsenforsch. 13 (Uppsala 2024) 59–83.

in print: T. Lemm, The boat chamber grave from Hedeby and its culture-historical context. In: M. A. Østmo / R. J. S. Cannell (eds), Linking places in the emergent Viking Age. The Archaeology of Northern Europe (Turnhout in print).

in prep. a: T. Lemm, Powerful Architecture – The Danevirke as a major construction site of the 8th century. In: O. Grimm / J. Ljungkvist (eds), Northern and Central East-European Architecture (Late First Millenium to 1300 AD) – Was there a Development of its own or a Frankish-Late Antique Transfer of Ideas? (2026).

in prep. b: T. Lemm, Huseby sites and the establishment of territorial royal rule in 11th century Scandinavia – An interdisciplinary analysis of culture-historical contexts on the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels [preliminary title].

Lerche Nielsen 2002: M. Lerche Nielsen, Runefund fra Hedeby og Slesvig. In: C. Radtke (ed.), Beretning fra enogtyvende tværfaglige vikingesymposium (Højbjerg 2002) 53–71.

von Liliencron 1914: A.-M. von Liliencron, Beziehungen des Deutschen Reiches zu Dänemark im 10. Jahrhundert. Zeitschr. Ges. Schleswig-Holstein. Gesch. 44, 1914, 1–48.

Lindkvist 1988: T. Lindkvist, Plundring, skatter och den feodala statens framväxt. Organisatoriska tendenser i Sverige under övergången från vikingatid till tidig medeltid. Opuscula Hist. Upsaliensia 1 (Uppsala 1988).

Lund 1980: N. Lund, Svenskevældet i Hedeby. Årb. Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Hist. 1980, 114–125.

2012: N. Lund, Forholdet mellem Danmark og Tyskland i det 10. århundrede. In: Gammeltoft/Lund 2012, 5–18.

2020: N. Lund, Jellingkongerne og deres forgængere (Roskilde 2020).

Maixner 2010: B. Maixner, Haithabu – Fernhandelszentrum zwischen den Welten [exhibition cat.] (Schleswig 2010).

Malmer 1966: B. Malmer, Nordiska mynt före år 1000. Acta Arch. Lundensia Ser. in 8°, 4 (Bonn, Lund 1966).

Maluck 2017: M. Maluck, Reviewing the functions of the Danevirke. In: Eriksen et al. 2017, 607–618.

Marold 2001a: E. Marold, Haithabu in der altisländischen Literatur. In: Düwel et al. 2001, 77–99.

2001b: E. Marold, Hedeby – an »International« Trading Place for Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, Frisians and Slavonic People. The Linguistic and Literary Evidence. Offa 58, 2001, 13–20.

McCormick 2005: M. McCormick, Um 808. Was der frühmittelalterliche König mit der Wirtschaft zu tun hatte. In: B. Jussen (ed.), Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit (München 2005) 55–71.

Moesgaard 2018: J. C. Moesgaard, De første skridt mod møntøkonomi – ca. 600–1060. In: H. W. Horsnæs / J. C. Moesgaard / M. Märcher (eds), Denar *til* daler. Danmarks mønthistorie indtil 1550 (København 2018) 116–196.

Müller-Wille 1973: M. Müller-Wille, Zwei wikingerzeitliche Prachtschwerter aus der Umgebung von Haithabu. In: K. Schietzel (ed.), Das archäologische Fundmaterial 2. Ber. Ausgr. Haithabu 6 (Neumünster 1973) 47–89.

1976: M. Müller-Wille, Das Bootkammergrab von Haithabu. Ber. Ausgr. Haithabu 8 (Neumünster 1976).

2002: M. Müller-Wille, Ribe – Reric – Haithabu. Zur frühen Urbanisierung im südskandinavischen und westslawischen Gebiet. In: K. Brandt / M. Müller-Wille / C. Radtke (eds), Haithabu und die frühe Stadtentwicklung im nördlichen Europa. Schr. Arch. Landesmus. 8 (Neumünster 2002) 321–337.

Näsman 1991: U. Näsman, Det syvende århundrede – et mørkt tidsrum i ny belysning. In: P. Mortensen / B. M. Rasmussen (eds), Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt. Jysk Ark. Selsk. Skr. 22, 2 (Højbjerg 1991) 165–178.

Pedersen 2011: A. Pedersen, Military Organization and Offices: The Evidence of Grave Finds. In: Sindbæk/Poulsen 2011, 45–62. DOI: 10.1484/M.TMC-EB.4.1003.

2012: A. Pedersen, Nabo, fjende og forbillede – Danernes forhold til Tyskland i det arkæologiske fundbillede. In: Gammeltoft/Lund 2012, 55–82.

2014: A. Pedersen, Dead Warriors in Living Memory. A Study of Weapon and Equestrian Burials in Viking-Age Denmark, AD 800–1000. 1: Text. Publ. Nat. Mus., Stud. Arch. & Hist. Jelling Ser. 20, 1, 1 (Copenhagen 2014).

Pedersen/Schifter Bagge 2021: A. Pedersen / M. Schifter Bagge (eds), Horse and Rider in the late Viking Age. Equestrian burial in perspective. Papers from a conference, Skanderborg 27–28th of June 2019 (Aarhus 2021).

Poulsen 2011: B. Poulsen, If the Danish Vikings Knew Land Rent, What Was it Like? In: Sindbæk/Poulsen 2011, 277–291. DOI: 10.1484/M.TMC-EB.4.1016.

2015: B. Poulsen, The Church and Monetization in Early Medieval Denmark, c. 1060–1160. In: G. M. Gasper / S. H. Gullbek (eds), Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200: Practice, Morality and Thought (Farnham 2015) 141–157.

Radtke 1977: C. Radtke, Aula und castellum. Überlegungen zur Topographie und Struktur des Königshofes in Schleswig. Beitr. Schleswiger Stadtgesch. 22, 1977, 29–47.

2003: C. Radtke, Das Graukloster in Schleswig: Königspfalz, Franziskanerkloster, Armenhaus, Rathaus. In: C. Kimminus-Schneider / M. Schneider (eds), Klöster und monastische Kultur in Hansestädten. Beiträge des 4. Wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums Stralsund, 12. bis 15. Dezember 2001. Stralsunder Beitr. Arch., Gesch., Kunst u. Volkskde. Vorpommern 4 (Rahden/Westf. 2003) 3–13.

2017: C. Radtke, Noch einmal Haithabu-Schleswig: Adam von Bremen und die Skalden, Siedlungstransfer und Systemtransformation. Arch. Nachr. Schleswig-Holstein 23, 2017, 85–103.

Randsborg 1980: K. Randsborg, The Viking Age in Denmark – The formation of a state (London 1980).

Rasmussen 2011: C. P. Rasmussen, Danish Crown Lands AD 1230 – and Before? In: Sindbæk/Poulsen 2011, 239–259. DOI: 10.1484/M.TMC-EB.4.1014.

Ravn et al. 2019: M. Ravn / C. Juel / C. Lindblom / A. Pedersen, Erritsø – new investigations of an aristocratic, early Viking Age manor in Western Denmark c. 700–850 AD. In: Annaert 2019, 37–45.

Riis 1981: T. Riis, Det middelalderlige danske rejsekongedømme indtil 1332. In: K. Fledelius (ed.), Middelalder, metode og medier. Festskr. Niels Skyum-Nielsen på 60-årsdagen den 17. oktober 1981 (København 1981) 115–136.

2001: T. Riis, Vom Land »synnan aa« bis zum Herzogtum Schleswig. In: Düwel 2001, 53–60.

Rösch et al. 2014: F. Rösch / U. Müller / W. Dörfler, Castrum quod Slesvig villam speculator – Untersuchungen zur Möweninsel in der Schlei vor Schleswig. Zeitschr. Arch. Mittelalter 42, 2014, 117–158.

Roesdahl 2016: E. Roesdahl, The unification process of the Danish kingdom – and the Danish *Husebyer* and their owners. In: Eilersgaard Christensen et al. 2016, 175–182.

Roffe 2007: D. Roffe, Decoding Domesday (Woodbridge 2007).

Sach 1896-1907: A. Sach, Das Herzogtum Schleswig in seiner ethnographischen und nationalen Entwicklung. 1–3 (Halle a. d. Saale 1896–1907).

Sawyer/Sawyer 2002: B. Sawyer / P. Sawyer, Die Welt der Wikinger. Die Deutschen und das europäische Mittelalter 1 (Berlin 2002).

Schietzel 1968: K. Schietzel, Haithabu und Hollingstedt – Kograben und Danewerk. In: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (ed.), Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern 9: Schleswig-Haithabu-Sylt (Mainz 1968) 167–185.

2014: K. Schietzel, Spurensuche Haithabu. Dokumentation und Chronik 1963–2013 (Neumünster 2014).

Schlesinger 1972: W. Schlesinger, Unkonventionelle Gedanken zur Geschichte von Schleswig/Haithabu. In: H. Fuhrmann / H. E. Mayer / K. Wriedt (eds), Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte. Festschrift für K. Jordan zum 65. Geburtstag. Kieler Hist. Stud. 16 (Stuttgart 1972) 70–91.

Schultze 2017: J. Schultze, Überlegungen zu den frühen Phasen der Entwicklung von Haithabu. In: Eriksen et al. 2017, 565–578.

Sigurðsson 1999: J. V. Sigurðsson, Frå høvdingmakt til konge- og kyrkjemakt. Norsk historie 800–1300 (Oslo 1999).

Sindbæk 2008: S. M. Sindbæk, The Lands of *Denemearce*: Cultural Difference and Social Networks of the Viking Age in South Scandinavia. Viking and Medieval Scandinavia 4, 2008, 169–208. DOI: 10.1484/J.VMS.1.100310.

2020: S. M. Sindbæk, Borgring and Harald Bluetooth's *Burgenpolitik*. In: A. Pedersen/S. M. Sindbæk (eds), Viking Encounters. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Viking Congress, Denmark, August 6–12, 2017 (Aarhus 2020), 529–543. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv34wmrzq.42.

Sindbæk/Poulsen 2011: S. M. Sindbæk / B. Poulsen (eds), Settlement and Lordship in Viking and Early Medieval Scandinavia. The Medieval Countryside 9 (Turnhout 2011). DOI: 10.1484/M.TMC-EB.6.090708020500030503010301010101.

Skovgaard-Petersen 1977: I. Skovgaard-Petersen, Oldtid og Vikingetid. In: A. E. Christensen (ed.), Danmarks hist. 1 (Copenhagen 1977) 15–209.

Skre 2007: D. Skre, Excavations of the Hall at Huseby. In: D. Skre (ed.), Kaupang in Skiringssal. Kaupang Excavation Project Publ. Ser. 1 = Norske Oldfunn 22 (Aarhus 2007) 223–247.

Søvsø 2018: M. Søvsø, Emporia, sceattas and kingship in 8th C. »Denmark«. In: Hansen/Bruus 2018, 75–86.

Staecker 2009: J. Staecker, The 9th century Christian mission to the North. In: A. Englert / A. Trakadas (eds), Wulfstan's Voyage. The Baltic Sea region in the early Viking Age as seen from shipboard. Maritime Culture of the North 2 (Roskilde 2009) 309–329.

Steenstrup 1873-1874: J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, Studier i Kong Valdemars Jordebog. 1–2: Efter trykte og utrykte kilder (Kjøbenhavn 1873–1874).

1900: J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, Danmarks Sydgrænse og Herredømmet over Holsten ved den historiske Tids Begyndelse (800–1100) (Kjøbenhavn 1900).

Steinnes 1955: A. Steinnes, Husebyar. Hist. Tidsskr. 37, Special Issue 4 (Oslo 1955).

Steuer 1974: H. Steuer, Die Südsiedlung von Haithabu. Studien zur frühmittelalterlichen Keramik im Nordseeküstenbereich und in Schleswig-Holstein. Ausgr. Haithabu 6 (Neumünster 1974).

Storm 1895: G. Storm, To Runestene fra Sønderjylland og deres historiske Betydning. Hist. Tidsskr. 3, 1895, 354–378.

Trillmich 1961: W. Trillmich, Einleitung [zu Magister Adam Bremensis, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificium]. In: Trillmich/Buchner 1961, 137–158.

Tummuscheit/Witte 2014: A. Tummuscheit / F. Witte, »Der einzige Weg durchs Danewerk«: Zu den Ausgrabungen am Danewerk im Jahr 2013. Ark. Slesvig – Arch. Schleswig 15, 2014, 153–162.

2018: A. Tummuscheit / F. Witte, The Danevirke in the light of recent excavations. In: Hansen/Bruus 2018, 69–74.

2019: A. Tummuscheit / F. Witte, The Danevirke: Preliminary Results of New Excavations (2010–2014) at the Defensive System in the German-Danish Borderland. Offa's Dyke Journal 1, 2019, 114–136.

Tummuscheit et al. in print: A. Tummuscheit / R. Klooß / M. Maluck, Vor den Toren Haithabus – neue Detektorfunde südlich des Halbkreiswalles und deren mögliche Bedeutung. Arch. Nachr. Schleswig-Holstein 31, 2025 (in print).

Unverhau 1990: H. Unverhau, Untersuchungen zur historischen Entwicklung des Landes zwischen Schlei und Eider im Mittelalter. Siedlungsarchäologische Untersuchungen in Angeln und Schwansen 2. Offa-Bücher 69 (Neumünster 1990).

Vierck 1984: H. Vierck, Mittel- und westeuropäische Einwirkungen auf die Sachkultur von Haithabu/Schleswig. In: H. Jankuhn / K. Schietzel / H. Reichstein (eds), Archäologische und naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen an ländlichen und frühstädtischen Siedlungen im deutschen Küstengebiet vom 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert n. Chr. 2: Handelsplätze des frühen und hohen Mittelalters (Weinheim 1984) 366–422.

Vogel 1983: V. Vogel, Archäologische Stadtkernforschung in Schleswig 1969–1982. Ausgr. Schleswig, Ber. u. Stud. 1, 1983, 9–54.

Wamers 1994: E. Wamers, König im Grenzland. Neue Analyse des Bootkammergrabes von Haiðaby. Acta Arch. (København) 65, 1994, 1–56.

2005: E. Wamers, Ein dänischer Vasall im Bootkammergrab von Haithabu – fränkisches Hofzeremoniell im Norden. In: E. Wamers / M. Brandt (eds), Die Macht des Silbers. Karolingische Schätze im Norden [exhibition cat. Frankfurt a. M., Hildesheim] (Regensburg 2005) 165–172.

Wassiliou-Seibt/Hilberg 2022: A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt / V. Hilberg, Byzantium and Beyond. Siegel aus Skandinavien. In: A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt / C. Stavrakos (eds), Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 14 (Turnhout 2022) 121–134.

Westerdahl/Stylegar 2004: C. Westerdahl / F.-A. Stylegar, Husebyene i Norden. Viking 67, 2004, 101–138.

Wiechmann 2013: R. Wiechmann, Byzantinische Treppen und englische Kreuze – Zwei Münztypen des 11. Jahrhunderts – geprägt in Haithabu? In: S. Kleingärtner / U. Müller / J. Scheschkewitz (eds), Kulturwandel im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Innovation. Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille (Neumünster 2013) 145–160.

Windmann 1954: H. Windmann, Schleswig als Territorium. Grundzüge der Verfassungsentwicklung im Herzogtum Schleswig von den Anfängen bis zum Aussterben des Abelschen Hauses 1375. Quellen u. Forsch. Gesch. Schleswig-Holstein 30 (Neumünster 1954).

Witte 2017: F. Witte, Porten i Danevirke. Skalk 2017(1), 3–9.

Thorsten Lemm
Leibniz-Zentrum für Archäologie
Standort Schleswig
Kompetenzbereich Frühgeschichte und Byzanz
Schloss Gottorf
DE - 24837 Schleswig
thorsten.lemm@leiza.de
ORCID: 0000-0003-3935-6277