Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland

Early Medieval Monetary History

Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn

Edited by
RORY NAISMITH,
MARTIN ALLEN and
ELINA SCREEN

EARLY MEDIEVAL MONETARY HISTORY

Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland

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Early Medieval Monetary History

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Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta sanctorum quotquot in orbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bolland et al. (67 vols, Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–)
Adelson	H.L. Adelson, *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 138 (New York, 1957)
Allen	M. Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2012), Appendix E
ANS	American Numismatic Society
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASFN	*Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique*
ASMH	M. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (Leicester, 1986)
ASSAH	*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*
A&W	R.A. Abdy and G. Williams, 'A catalogue of hoards and single finds from the British Isles *c.* AD 410–675', in *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500–1250: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*, ed. B. Cook and G. Williams (Leiden, 2006), 11–74
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCEN	*Bulletin du Centre d'Études numismatiques* (Brussels)
BEH	B.E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinett: funna i Sveriges jord*, 2nd edn (Stockholm, 1881)
Biddle	M. Biddle (ed.), *The Winchester Mint, and Coins and Related Finds from the Excavations of 1961–71*, Winchester Studies, 8 (Oxford, 2012)

B&L		R. Bland and R.X. Loriot, *Roman and Early Byzantine Gold Coins found in Britain and Ireland, with an Appendix on Coin Finds from Gaul*, RNS Special Publication, 46 (London, 2010)
BMC		C.F. Keary and H.A. Grueber, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: Anglo-Saxon Series* (2 vols, London, 1887–93) G.C. Brooke, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. The Norman Kings*, 2 vols (London, 1916)
BNC		C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale* (2 vols, Paris, 1970)
BNJ		*British Numismatic Journal*
BNS		British Numismatic Society
Brooke		G.C. Brooke, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. The Norman Kings*, 2 vols (London, 1916)
BSFN		*Bulletin de la société française de numismatique*
CBA		Council for British Archaeology
CGB		Compagnie générale de bourse
Checklist		M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A revised checklist of coin hoards from the British Isles *c.*500–1100', in *ASMH*, 291–313; an updated version is maintained at <www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/>
CNI		V.E. Di Savoia et al., *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (20 vols, Rome, 1910–43)
CNS		*Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt. Catalogue of Coins from the Viking Age Found in Sweden* (9 vols, Stockholm, 1975–2010)
Comm.	1	*Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis,* 1. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar. Antikvariska serien, 9 (Stockholm, 1961)
	2	*Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis,* 2. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar. Antikvariska serien, 19 (Stockholm, 1968)

	n.s.	*Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis, nova series*
CR		Coin Register (printed annually in *BNJ* since 1987)
CTCE		C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England, from Edward the Elder to Edgar's Reform* (Oxford, 1989)
Dbg		H. Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, 4 vols (Berlin, 1876–1905)
EcHR		*Economic History Review*
EHD 1		*English Historical Documents, vol. 1: c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock (2nd edn, London, 1979)
EHR		*English Historical Review*
EMC		Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: <www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/>)
EME		*Early Medieval Europe*
GDR		*gratia Dei rex*
Hbg		P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146* (Copenhagen, 1900)
Inventory		J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, AD 600–1500*, RNS Special Publication 1 (London, 1956)
JMP		*Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*
Laf-M		J. Lafaurie and C. Morrisson, 'La pénétration des monnaies byzantines en Gaule mérovingienne et visigotique du VIe au VIIIe siècle', *RN, 6th series, 29* (1987), 38–98
Malmer		B. Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage, c. 995–1020*, Comm. n.s. 9 (Stockholm, 1997)
MEC	1	P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, vol. 1: the Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986)

	6	M. Crusafont, A.M. Balaguer and P. Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, vol. 6: the Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge, 2013)
MG		K.F. Morrison and H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 158 (New York, 1967)
MGH		Monumenta Germaniae Historica
	Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
	DD Kar.	Diplomata Karolinorum
	SS	Scriptores
	SSRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum separatim editi
MIB		W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini: Rekonstruktion des Prägeaufbaues auf Synoptisch-Tabellarischer Grundlage, vol. 3: von Heraclius bis Leo III* (Vienna, 1981)
MIBE		W. Hahn and M.A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire: Anastasius I–Justinian I (491–565)* (Vienna, 2000)
MIBEC		W. Hahn and M.A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire Continued: Justin II–Revolt of the Heraclii, 565–610* (Vienna, 2009)
Mossop		H.R. Mossop. *The Lincoln Mint c. 890–1279* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970)
N		J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage, vol. I: Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600–1272*, 3rd ed. (London, 1994)
NC		*Numismatic Chronicle*
NCirc		(Spink's) *Numismatic Circular*
NMI		National Museum of Ireland, Dublin
NNÅ		*Nordisk Numismatisk Årskrift*
NNF-Nytt		*Norsk Numismatisk Tidsskrift – Nytt*
NNUM		*Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*
NUMIS		Numismatic Information System, Geldmuseum, Utrecht (<www.numis.geldmuseum.nl/nl/zoek/numis>)

ODNB	H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, 61 vols (Oxford, 2004)
Pagan	H. Pagan, 'The *Pacx* type of Edward the Confessor', *BNJ, 81* (2011), 9–106
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme (<www.finds.org.uk/>)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus: series (latina) prima*, ed. J.P. Migne (221 vols, Paris, 1844–64)
RBN	*Revue belge de numismatique*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
RNS	Royal Numismatic Society
S	P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968)
SCBI	*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*
t.a.q.	*terminus ante quem*
Thompson	J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500,* Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 1 (London, 1956)
t.p.q.	*terminus post quem*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
T&S	D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, RNS Special Publication 27 (3 vols, London, 1993–4)
VCCBI	M. Blackburn, *Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles*, ed. E. Screen and R. Naismith, BNS Special Publication, 7 (London, 2011)

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Foreword

This book is the second to appear under the new series title, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (*SEMBI*). This evolution of our title reflects an early medieval reality, since the cultural, intellectual, and political histories of the islands of Britain and Ireland between the fifth and twelfth centuries were closely linked. It also reflects the vibrance of contemporary, twenty first-century scholarship on the early middle ages; the augmented series title offers a new publishing opportunity for academic books that focus on early medieval Ireland as well as those that explore the lives and ideas of the peoples who lived in the island of Britain in the medieval centuries before AD 1100, and the connections of all these people and places with the wider world. The move to *Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* was enthusiastically welcomed by Professor Nicholas Brooks, the founding editor of the series, who always intended it to be a vehicle for the publication of ground-breaking scholarship – both monographs and edited collections – by new scholars as well as those with established academic reputations. He was keen for it to embrace all disciplines (including history, archaeology, numismatics, language, literature) that contribute to our knowledge of Britain in the long period between the collapse of Roman imperial authority and the establishment of French-speaking aristocracies in different areas in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and for the focal length of published studies to extend beyond the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon England. The new series title gives the current editors an opportunity to extend his vision and to welcome proposals from scholars, old and new, for *Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*.

The book that follows is a tribute to one of the most influential scholars of early medieval Britain in recent decades. Mark Blackburn's contribution to the field of numismatics was profound, not least because he made his subject accessible, and in doing so introduced many non-numismatists to its significance. This was true not only for students of history and archaeology, who understood with his help that coins could reveal so much more than a date, but also for the general public who encountered coins through metal detecting and chance finds. Mark realised the potential of data from single finds recovered by metal detectorists to change the quality and quantity of the material record; over time this new class of information has revolutionised our knowledge and understanding of the monetary economies of early medieval Britain, and it paved the way for the development of other nationwide schemes to garner evidence from chance finds of metal artefacts and to share this new knowledge with the public.

Thirty scholars have contributed essays to this collection, which reflect the geographical and chronological range of Mark Blackburn's scholarship on early medieval monetary history. The essays gathered here centre on evidence from Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian England located firmly within its wider European setting, reaching out to Carolingian Francia, Viking Age Scandinavia, Ireland, Byzantium, Visigothic and Arab Spain. As such, the book exemplifies not only the goals of this series but also the gratitude of so many scholars of early medieval Europe for Mark's life and work.

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September 2014

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Mark Blackburn in the Grierson Room, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (photograph by Dan White).

Chapter 1
Introduction: Mark Blackburn and Early Medieval Monetary History

Rory Naismith, Martin Allen and Elina Screen

In 1985, when writing a characteristically self-effacing preface to a volume of memorial essays for Professor Michael Dolley (1925–83), Mark Blackburn emphasised the vitality of the field in which he was working:

> Anglo-Saxon studies have flourished during the last 35 years, not least in the field of coinage and monetary history. The growing awareness among historians of the need to pursue all forms of primary evidence inspired a post-war generation of numismatists to reassess their material critically and to look for its wider relevance. Significant and rapid advances were made, initially in terms of recording, classification, and chronology, tasks which are fundamental to all numismatic research. This work continues, but building upon it new techniques of analysis and new lines of enquiry have been developed ... [T]hey indicate the rich potential which lies in the coinage as a source of evidence for the Anglo-Saxon period.[1]

What he did not address was his own major role in this story. Mark had already been very much a part of it for more than a decade, and would be a central figure in realising the 'rich potential' to which he referred up to his untimely death on 1 September 2011. He worked during a crucial transitional phase in numismatics, beginning in the early 1970s. No small credit is due to Mark for the secure and respected place that numismatics now holds within early medieval studies more widely. The subject stands in a stronger position than ever. It was for this reason that the editors gathered together the chapters contained in the present volume: to survey the methods, achievements and challenges of early medieval numismatics and monetary history after two generations of fast-paced change, and above all to pay tribute to a dear friend, colleague and mentor whose work has left a profound academic impact. Indeed, *Early Medieval Monetary History* was selected as a title not only to pay tribute to one of Mark's own books – that same collection of essays in memory of Michael Dolley he assembled in the

[1] M. Blackburn, 'Preface', in *ASMH*, v–vi, at v.

mid-1980s[2] – but also to highlight the breadth of the book's contents. While Mark's volume, focused on the work of Michael Dolley, concentrated very much on Anglo-Saxon topics, this collection, inspired by Mark himself, takes a broader view that extends beyond the boundaries of England, and also beyond the strict remit of numismatics. Mark knew well the value of collaboration with colleagues elsewhere in Europe and in related disciplines, as well as the importance of carving a niche for numismatics and monetary history alongside the fields of history and archaeology. For this reason the editors have chosen to stress a range of the areas in early medieval studies on which Mark's work touched, and invited contributions which exemplify the advantages to be gained by interpreting coins in their wider geographical and disciplinary context. It is a measure of Mark's standing that the editors could easily have filled a second volume, and unfortunately constraints of space mean that many other good friends and colleagues of Mark's are not represented here.

Mark Blackburn was born on 5 January 1953 in Camberley, Surrey. He grew up there and in Tonbridge Wells, Kent, where he attended the Skinners' School. In 1971 he went up to St Edmund Hall, Oxford, reading chemistry and later jurisprudence. His studies paved the way for a career in the law, and in September 1975 he was called to the bar at Middle Temple. After three years, Mark left the law and took up a position with the merchant banking firm Kleinwort Benson Ltd, where he remained until 1982. In that year he made an important decision: to pursue professionally what had previously been an abiding personal interest in numismatics. Mark had had an interest in coins and their interpretation since his school days, but a more academic approach was prompted by Stewart Lyon's 1970 presidential review in the *British Numismatic Journal*, where he lamented the shortage of researchers on the series.[3] Mark responded to this appeal, and published his first scholarly work on Anglo-Saxon and Norman coinage while still an undergraduate in Oxford.[4] By the early 1980s he was an established authority among the small fraternity of numismatists who had turned their attention to Anglo-Saxon and related coinages in the decades since the Second World War. Professor Michael Dolley and Dr Stewart Lyon in particular encouraged Mark's numismatic studies, and soon became close friends as well as respected colleagues.

The immediate cause for Mark's departure from his job in the City in 1982 was an offer to work in Cambridge as a research assistant with Professor Philip Grierson (1910–2006), doyen of early medieval European numismatics. Philip had decided to prepare for publication his great collection of medieval coins, and sought an assistant whose expertise lay in the field of British coinage. This

[2] *ASMH*.

[3] C.S.S. Lyon, 'The President's Review of the Year', *BNJ, 39* (1970), 205–10, at 207.

[4] For a full list of Mark's publications (beginning in 1973) see *VCCBI*, 391–403.

invitation shows the esteem in which Mark was held; the fact that he accepted, and gave up his prospects in London for a far less secure academic position, reflects his passion for the discipline.

Mark and Philip together wrote the first volume of the series Medieval European Coinage, published in 1986,[5] and in the years thereafter began to prepare others. Working in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mark was ideally placed to take up the Keepership of the Department of Coins and Medals when it fell vacant in 1991. He was to hold the post for the next 20 years. During this time he saw the department go from strength to strength, and become one of the most outstanding numismatic collections and research centres in the world.[6]

In addition to his work as Keeper and latterly as a Lecturer and Reader in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at the University of Cambridge, Mark pursued research into early medieval coinage throughout his career. Overall he published more than 200 academic books and papers.[7] In subject matter these extended from Visigothic Spain to thirteenth-century Flanders, but the heart of his research was always the British Isles, Scandinavia and their neighbours in the early Middle Ages. Within this area his work was notable for both its variety and depth. He dedicated his presidential addresses to the British Numismatic Society to the Anglo-Viking coinages of the late ninth and tenth centuries. These lectures presented the culmination of two decades of research into the coinages of Viking England, all now published in a volume of collected papers.[8] In addition, Mark devoted much attention to the contemporary Anglo-Saxon coinages of Alfred and his successors, showing especially well how these issues could inform (and offer opportunities for collaboration with) historians and archaeologists.[9] Late Anglo-Saxon coinage and its impact in Ireland and Scandinavia provided another rich avenue of research. Mark's involvement began towards the end of a crucial period of work on the coinages of England between about 973 and 1066. Since the late 1950s, Michael Dolley, Christopher Blunt (1904–87) and others had shown how much could be gained by cultivating closer ties with professional historians and by devoting minute attention to the rich collections preserved in Scandinavian museums. Mark was a major figure in the next stage of this research, which was focused on the processes which took English coins across the North and Irish Seas, and on how they were used

[5] *MEC* 1.

[6] R. Naismith, 'Obituary: Mark Blackburn, LittD, FSA (1953–2011)', *BNJ, 81* (2011), 300–303.

[7] Listed in *VCCBI*, 391–403.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See, for example, *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn and D.N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998); M. Blackburn, 'Mints, burhs and the Grately Code cap. 14.2', in *The Defence of Wessex: the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, ed. D. Hill and A. Rumble (Manchester, 1996), 160–75.

and imitated by local authorities. Many of the coinages inspired by late Anglo-Saxon models, issued from Dublin to Sigtuna, benefited from Mark's sensitive and patient analysis. These series are among the more challenging in medieval numismatics. The lack of meaningful inscriptions poses a serious obstacle, and date and attribution can be difficult to determine. As a consequence, die- and hoard-studies assume special importance, and yield precious information about how imitative coinages and the manufacturing systems behind them could be structured. Mark excelled at combining these demanding techniques, and as a result was able to turn these difficult coinages into models of numismatic methodology.[10]

Some of these approaches were also used in Mark's analysis of Anglo-Norman coins and of the *sceattas*: early Anglo-Saxon silver coins of diverse appearance, very few of which carry significant inscriptions naming mint or maker. The chronology of these coins, which spanned some 75 years (*c.*675–750), was brilliantly elucidated by Mark on the basis of hoard contents, metallurgy and other criteria. His scheme for dating them remains authoritative.[11] Anglo-Norman coins offer more detail in the form of inscriptions naming mint, moneyer and ruler, yet still present thorny problems of chronology and historical interpretation. In his major papers on the coinages of Henry I (1100–35) and Stephen (1135–54), Mark combined critical assessment of historical sources with traditional numismatic analysis, and also undertook an important comparison of hoards with single-finds. Critically, he noted that some coin-types appeared to be common simply because of the fortuitous discovery of a large hoard from the relevant period. Single-finds, Mark found, present a much surer guide to the nature of the monetary economy, for each one is likely to represent a random loss.

Consideration of single-finds had by this stage become a hallmark of his writing. In the early 1980s Mark (with Mike Bonser and others) was instrumental in gathering and publishing finds brought to light by metal-detector users in England.[12] He also played a central role in the establishment of the Coin Register of the *British Numismatic Journal*, and later the digital Corpus of

[10] See (*inter alia*) M. Blackburn, 'An imitative workshop active during Æthelræd II's *Long Cross* Issue', in *Studies in Northern Coinages of the Eleventh Century*, ed. C.J. Becker (Copenhagen, 1981), 29–88; M. Blackburn, 'English dies used in the Scandinavian imitative coinages', *Hikuin, 11* (1985), 101–24.

[11] M. Blackburn, 'A chronology for the sceattas', in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, ed. D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf, BAR British Series, 128 (Oxford, 1984), 165–74; *MEC* 1, 164–89.

[12] M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins – 1', *BNJ, 54* (1984), 63–72; M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins – 2', *BNJ, 55* (1985), 55–78; M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins – 3', *BNJ, 56* (1986), 64–101.

Early Medieval Coin Finds of the Fitzwilliam Museum (which was founded in 1997).[13] By the time of writing in winter 2012, nearly 10,000 single-finds had been recorded on the Corpus. Ways of interpreting these finds are legion. Mark himself was particularly successful in using them to unveil details of the early medieval monetary economy. He was among the first to draw attention to the phenomenon of the 'productive site': a location which produces a concentration of individual coin finds.[14] These sites are found mostly in eastern England in what are now quiet rural areas, yet it seems likely that they served an important purpose in the Anglo-Saxon economy. The precise nature of most 'productive sites' remains obscure, given the rarity of archaeological or historical context, though one example investigated in detail by Mark shows how effectively the numismatic record can be married up with the written record. The 'productive site' at Torksey in Lincolnshire has produced several hundred coins, including the largest group of dirham fragments from anywhere in the British Isles, as well as more than a thousand other metallic artefacts. Combining a survey of this material with the statement of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that in 872/3 the Viking great army wintered at *Tureces iege* (Torksey) led Mark to the conclusion that the Torksey site was where the Great Army and its followers had stayed that winter.[15]

On a more general level, the geographical and chronological distribution of single-finds – both at individual sites and across England – enabled Mark to reconsider the shape of the monetary economy in Anglo-Saxon England. He was able to show the extraordinary effervescence of the early eighth century, when the *sceattas* expanded to become the best represented silver coinage among single-finds from England between the Romans and the thirteenth century.[16] He was able to apply some of the methods he had developed in work on English material to other areas, for instance the single-finds of dirhams from the important trading site of Kaupang in Norway. Through detailed comparison of hoards and other Scandinavian 'productive sites', Mark constructed a method of dating and contextualising these losses. He thereby showed that Kaupang enjoyed a period of rich activity late in the ninth century but declined swiftly in the tenth.[17]

These points cover only a selection of Mark's interests as a scholar of early medieval monetary history. They serve to highlight features of his legacy: how

[13] See <www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/emc/>.

[14] M. Blackburn, '"Productive" sites and the pattern of coin loss in England, 600–1180', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650–850*, ed. T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (Macclesfield, 2003), 20–36.

[15] M. Blackburn, 'The Viking winter camp at Torksey, 872–3', in *VCCBI*, 221–64.

[16] Blackburn, '"Productive" sites'.

[17] M. Blackburn, 'The coin finds from Kaupang', in *Kaupang – the Means of Exchange*, ed. D. Skre (Aarhus and Oslo, 2008), 29–74.

he has affected the field, and how it might develop in light of his contribution. Mark's rigorous and incisive methods determined so much about some coinages that his conclusions are unlikely to be superseded, at least until significant new finds come to light. His interpretation of the coinage of Alfred still stands firm, for example, whereas Anglo-Viking numismatics has already been moved forward by several new hoards.[18] One strongly suspects, however, that Mark himself would have wholeheartedly approved, for an abiding feature of his work was readiness to confront new material head on, and to follow its implications through to the full – a principle which must be maintained as new finds continue to emerge on an almost daily basis. He applied the rigour and dynamism of the generation of scholars associated with Michael Dolley to the new challenges offered by proliferating single-finds. It behoves current and future scholars to continue this tradition: to apply new techniques to the rich material now available from England, and to embark on comparative work with other parts of Europe, as has already begun.[19] It is also necessary for scholars to bear in mind other specialisations. Mark reached out to scholars in related fields – historians, archaeologists, philologists and others – through publications in broader collections of essays and close collaboration with colleagues. Dialogue between numismatists and monetary historians and those in related disciplines can and should continue, especially as readings of the early medieval economy tend more towards integration across geographical and disciplinary boundaries.[20]

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The editors have arranged this volume to reflect four intersecting themes inspired by Mark's research. These are the development and position of the field in general; interdisciplinary approaches to numismatics; the use and circulation of coin; and the interpretation of specific coins and coin finds. The first section embraces chapters on aspects of English coinage, which always remained central to Mark's work. Together, they reflect the healthy state in which he left the field, in large part thanks to his own efforts. These surveys comprise Gareth Williams on the Anglo-Viking coinage, Rory Naismith on England in the tenth century and Martin Allen addressing the coinage of early Norman England – all areas where the benefits of numerous recent finds and collaboration with historians and philologists shine through very clearly.

[18] See Gareth Williams's chapter in this volume (Chapter 2).

[19] Rich records of single-finds are also available from Denmark and Netherlands. For 'productive sites' and their significance in the Carolingian empire see S. Coupland, 'Carolingian single finds and the economy of the early ninth century', *NC, 170* (2010), 287–319.

[20] As in, for example, C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford, 2005).

The interdisciplinary element of Mark's work is present to some extent in many of the chapters in this volume, but is showcased particularly prominently in the section comprising the contributions of Martin Biddle, Simon Coupland, Anna Gannon, Tuukka Talvio and Jonathan Jarrett. The first two of these delve into the archaeological and art-historical background of coins from western Europe: Biddle argues that the building shown on the XPICTIANA RELIGIO reverse of Charlemagne's portrait deniers is a representation of the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (with an important check-list of all known examples of Charlemagne's portrait coinage by Simon Coupland), while Gannon considers the links between certain Anglo-Saxon *sceattas* and Christian artefacts representing the Lamb of God. They complement one another in stressing the integration of numismatic iconography into religious life at a profound level. Tuukka Talvio looks at the coinage of Edward the Confessor with a similar aim in mind, showing how centralised and coherent the stylistic structure – and by extension the distribution of dies – generally was in this king's reign. Jonathan Jarrett also demonstrates what can be gained through disciplinary integration, in his case focusing on monetary terminology in the complex transactions carried out in tenth- and eleventh-century Spain, in which cows, sheep and pigs featured in the same terms as coins of silver or gold. He shows how flexible the notion of a standard price for these animals could be, and how cautiously one must deal with attestations (and historiography) concerning them. All of the chapters in this section, therefore, demonstrate ways in which coins can be made to divulge important information about the cultural milieu in which they were produced and used.

From these readings of coins as a source for the broader economic and cultural background the volume moves to the third group of chapters, which focuses on the use of coin in early medieval society. These studies discuss different geographical areas, yet touch several times on similar themes and methodologies. In an important review of early Byzantine coin finds from Britain and their interpretation, Cécile Morrisson argues for a more optimistic reading of their role as artefacts of early medieval circulation rather than souvenirs of modern travellers. The coins she considers are comparatively few and may often have been used in a non-monetary context. Michael Metcalf, on the other hand, addresses an altogether different problem, and offers a characteristically dynamic survey of the full economic ramifications of the *sceattas* which circulated in late seventh- and early eighth-century England, based on the voluminous corpus of single-finds now known. Simon Coupland reaches a broadly similar conclusion about the vibrancy of the ninth-century monetary economy of the Carolingian empire, but he is forced to do so with very different tools. Single-finds are numerous but unevenly reported across the vast territory once ruled by Charlemagne (768–814) and Louis the Pious (814–40); however, a few particularly rich sites together with a relatively extensive written

body of material on coin-use opens up the possibility of a new approach to the subject. Andrew Woods contends with still greater difficulties in the case of Irish material. Single-finds are scarce, and documents rarer still – but this in itself is argued to be an important point, partly reflecting modern legal policy as well as a genuine difference in the nature of the monetary economy in and around Dublin. No Norwegian documents at all are available to Svein H. Gullbekk, who picks up on Mark's important study of the coins from Kaupang to consider the Viking-Age monetary economy of the region around Oslo, and particularly a major new 'productive site' comparable in many respects to that at Kaupang. These significant sites allow Gullbekk to shed important new light on the use of silver coin within the complex monetary setting of ninth- and tenth-century Norway. Somewhat different is the subject matter of Elina Screen, who looks at the piercing of Anglo-Saxon and related coins as a potential window onto the religious and symbolic meaning and changing use of coins in conversion-period Norway. Her judicious analysis hints at the multifarious ways in which users viewed coins: some treated them simply as conveniently round pieces of bullion; others may have seen the cross-motifs on English coins as a way to demonstrate their faith. Another interesting case of coins crossing boundaries between religions as well as kingdoms is discussed by Marion Archibald. Her study of Spanish Islamic gold pieces circulating in Norman and Plantagenet England elegantly combines coin finds with documentary records to highlight the important part these coins played in high-value exchange.

The last and largest group of chapters considers particular coins or coin finds, and in a sense represents the specific application of the wider points developed in the previous sections. Work such as this is the bedrock of numismatics, especially in the era of the metal-detector: it is telling that virtually all of these chapters include at least some specimens brought to light in this way. Five specific hoards from as far afield as the Baltic and Ireland are considered by Kristin Bornholdt Collins, Allison Fox, James Graham-Campbell, Hugh Pagan, David Symons, Kenneth Jonsson, and Ivar Leimus, Mauri Kiudsoo and Ülle Tamla. These present quite diverse problems. Those broached by Jonsson, and Leimus, Kiudsoo and Tamla belong to the later Viking Age, when the quantity of English coins entering Scandinavia and the Baltic had begun to decline: both hoards provide important new evidence for how and why this occurred. Bornholdt Collins, Fox and Graham-Campbell integrate an important new hoard from the Isle of Man (deposited in the eleventh century) into the broader setting of the island's bullion economy, while Symons highlights a small but significant English hoard from the ninth century, containing particularly rare and debatable coins of Burgred, king of the Mercians (852–74). The tenth-century Port Glasgow hoard discussed by Pagan differs in its very early date of discovery (1699): reconstruction of its contents hence requires delicate analysis of antiquarian documents, as well as of surviving coins. Other approaches to individual coins or groups of coins are

taken by the remaining chapters in this section, which again serve to highlight the range of knowledge and methodologies required for full appreciation of surviving coins. Like Marion Archibald's analysis of the few but important finds of high-value coins, Stewart Lyon examines a coin of exceptional worth and importance – one of the very rare early Anglo-Saxon *solidi*. Drawing on metallurgical analyses, he concludes that the coin was indeed die-struck, but like most other related specimens it seems to have been mounted for display early in its life. Display and prestige seem to have been at least as central to its function as any monetary role. Jens-Christian Moesgaard, Megan Gooch and Andrew Woods and Joe Leighton consider further groups of historically associated coins. Each concentrates on a particularly complex segment of coinage – respectively, ninth-century Rouen, Viking York and the Irish Sea area of the eleventh century. All three chapters demonstrate how finely detailed numismatic techniques – such as die-studies leading to quantitative estimates of production, careful attention to hoard distribution and sophisticated stylistic analysis – can lead to persuasive conclusions of significance to all scholars working on the period: an appropriate result for any collection associated with Mark's achievement.

Rich and varied though they are, the studies in this volume can only give a flavour of Mark's own tastes and achievements in research. As curator of oriental as well as early medieval coins, for example, he devoted much time to the study of Indian, Japanese and Korean coins, and cultivated close relationships with colleagues working in those areas. Neither are even all of his early medieval interests broached here, such was the extent of his activity. Yet the goal of *Early Medieval Monetary History* is not, strictly speaking, to touch on all of the material on which Mark worked over his prolific career. The aim of this book is, rather, to celebrate Mark's work by showing how it has impacted on his colleagues, friends and pupils. All of the authors shared some connection with Mark, and through his scholarship and also his personal kindness and warmth Mark has left an indelible impression on all their outlooks and, by extension, on the subject more broadly. Moving forward, there can be no doubt that his legacy as a world-class numismatist is secure.

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PART I
Progress in Early Medieval Monetary History

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Chapter 2

Coins and Currency in Viking England, AD 865–954

Gareth Williams

Introduction

Mark Blackburn had a prolific output across many areas of numismatics, but one in which he made a particularly important contribution was that of Viking coins and currency. This was a subject that he had addressed throughout his career, and especially the final decade or so of his life.[1] His detailed work on Anglo-Scandinavian coinage began with the 1984 hoard from Ashdon, Essex, and continued with studies of the hoard from Thurcaston, Leicestershire, and the important productive site of the Viking winter camp at Torksey, Lincolnshire. These were followed by surveys of Anglo-Scandinavian coinage both north and south of the Humber, and Mark chose the subject of *Currency under the Vikings* for the series of five Presidential Addresses which he delivered to the British Numismatic Society in 2004–8. *Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles* was also the subject of his final book, which reprinted the Presidential Addresses and eight other articles, with added comments and updates where appropriate, together with a major new article on the major Viking site at Torksey.[2] This might suggest that there is little value in reviewing the state of the subject again so soon. However, a number of factors contribute to a developing understanding of the subject.

The first is a wider development in the study and interpretation of coinage and silver economies across the Viking world. In December 2008 the University of Aarhus hosted a symposium on *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, c.800–1100*. The speakers included both archaeologists and numismatists, and reflected the healthy state of research in this field. Although the focus was on Scandinavia rather than the British Isles, the symposium and the

[1] M.A.S Blackburn, 'Bibliography of Mark Blackburn's publications', in *VCCBI*, 391–403; G. Williams, 'Mark Blackburn: an appreciation', in *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, 800–1100*, ed. J.A. Graham-Campbell, S.M. Sindbæk and G. Williams (Aarhus, 2011), 25–7.

[2] *VCCBI*.

resulting publication presented both new finds and conceptual frameworks for the studies of coinage and exchange which can be applied to Viking Britain and Ireland.[3] The symposium followed the publication in 2007 of another volume of conference papers on related topics, and in 2008 of an edited volume on *Means of Exchange* published as part of the Kaupang research project, in which the various contributors engaged in a stimulating debate on the methodology of studying silver economies, and particularly of comparing the evidence of hoards, site finds and stray finds of diverse coins and bullion objects in societies with limited systematic control of silver circulation.[4]

Secondly, the body of evidence is increasing at an unprecedented rate. Single-finds have been multiplying since the 1970s as a result of metal detecting, and have been published systematically since the 1980s in the Coin Register of the *British Numismatic Journal*, and more recently through the online databases of the *Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds* (EMC) maintained by the Fitzwilliam Museum, and of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), maintained by the British Museum.[5] A growing corpus of coins with identified find-spots permits more detailed study of the distribution of individual coin types, which is particularly important in the Anglo-Scandinavian series, given that many of the types within this series lack mint signatures, while some do not even clearly indicate the issuing authority. Furthermore, the Portable Antiquities Scheme is not limited to numismatic material, so there is a growing corpus of single-finds of Viking weights, hack-silver and ingots, all of which contribute to an understanding of the bullion economy which flourished alongside the use of coins in Viking England in the late ninth and early tenth centuries.[6]

In addition to single-finds, there has been a massive increase in the number of Viking hoards discovered in recent years (Colour Plate 2.1). Interpretation of the chronology and attribution of the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage has to a great extent been derived from the combinations of different types within a few major hoards, most notably Cuerdale and Bossall/Flaxton. While some of the new hoards discovered in the last 15 years have merely reinforced the evidence of existing hoards, others have included entirely new types, or have

[3] J.A. Graham-Campbell, S.M. Sindbæk and G. Williams (eds), *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, 800–1100* (Aarhus, 2011).

[4] J.A. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (eds), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Walnut Creek, CA, 2007); and D. Skre (ed.), *Means of Exchange: Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age*, Kaupang Excavation Project Publication Series, 2, Norske Oldfunn, XXIII (Oslo, 2008).

[5] The databases, which are updated frequently, are available at <www-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/emc> and <www.finds.org.uk> respectively.

[6] Viking-Age single-finds of a monetary character are currently the subject of a postdoctoral research project being undertaken by Dr Jane Kershaw of UCL.

changed the distribution patterns of existing types.[7] Thus, Mark Blackburn's 2011 reprint of his 2005 Presidential Address included an update to his corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian Sword types of the 920s, reflecting their presence in the Flusco Pike (2) hoard (2005) and the Vale of York hoard (2007), but since then a further parcel has emerged in the 'Near York' hoard discovered in 2012, while other important recent hoards include Furness, Cumbria (2011), Silverdale, Lancashire (2011) and Bedale, North Yorkshire (2012).[8] Between them, the Viking hoards discovered in the last decade span the period from the first Viking settlements of the 870s to the aftermath of the fall of Viking Northumbria in the 950s, and thus impact on our understanding of the entire sequence of coinage and currency in Viking England.

Metal detecting has also revealed two important new sites of the 870s, at the very beginning of the settlement period. An association between the deposition of hoards and the movements of the *micel here* ('great raiding band') in the 860s and 870s was noted as long ago as 1966 by Michael Dolley, and explored in more detail by Nicholas Brooks and James Graham-Campbell, but the assemblage of detected finds from Torksey in Lincolnshire, historically documented as the winter camp of the *micel here* in 872–873, is the first such assemblage from a site of this kind.[9] The Torksey assemblage casts new light on exchange and currency

[7] G. Williams, 'RORIVA CASTR: a new Danelaw mint of the 920s', in *Scripta varia numismatico Tuukka Talvio sexagenario dedicate*, ed. O. Järvinen, Suomen Numismaattisen Yhdistyksen julkaisuja, 6 (Helsinki, 2008), 41–7; G. Williams, 'The Coins from the Vale of York Viking hoard: preliminary report', *BNJ, 78* (2008), 227–34; G. Williams, 'Hoards from the northern Danelaw from Cuerdale to the Vale of York', in *The Huxley Viking Hoard: Scandinavian Settlement in the North West*, ed. J.A. Graham-Campbell and R.A. Philpott (National Museums Liverpool, 2009), 73–83; G. Williams, 'Coinage and monetary circulation in the northern Danelaw in the 920s in the light of the Vale of York hoard', in *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage, vol. 2: New Perspectives*, ed. T. Abramson (Woodbridge, 2011), 146–55; G. Williams, 'A new coin type (and a new king?) from Viking Northumbria', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 4 (2012), 261–76; G. Williams, 'The Northern hoards revisited: hoards and silver economy in the northern Danelaw in the early tenth century', in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World: Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*, ed. A. Reynolds and L. Webster (Leiden, 2013), 459–86; G. Williams and B. Ager, *The Vale of York Hoard* (London, 2010).

[8] Williams, 'Northern hoards revisited'; M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Supplements to the articles 2011', in *VCCBI,* 371–90, at 376–84; D. Boughton, G. Williams and B. Ager, 'Viking hoards: buried wealth of the Norse North-West', *Current Archaeology, 264* (March 2012), 26–31; G. Williams, 'Viking Hoards from Yorkshire, *c.*866–954: A survey', in *A Riverine Site Near York: a Possible Viking Camp, and Other Related Papers,* ed. G. Williams (in preparation); Treasure cases 2005 T471 (Flusco Pike 2), 2007 T2 (Vale of York), 2011 T283 (Furness), 2011 T259 (Silverdale), 2012 T341 ('Near York') and 2012 T373 (Bedale).

[9] R.H.M. Dolley, 'Provisional listing of Viking-Age hoards from Great Britain and Ireland', in his *SCBI 8: The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1966), 47–91; N.P. Brooks and J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on the Viking-Age silver hoard from Croydon,

in the 870s (see below), and the Torksey evidence is reinforced by a smaller but directly comparable detected assemblage from a riverine site in North Yorkshire which, unlike Torksey, is not historically recorded in the late ninth century. Both sites have produced a combination of coins (of different types), weights, hack-silver and hack-gold, providing a broader range of evidence concerning forms of exchange than any of the hoards of the early settlement period (Colour Plate 2.2).[10]

The third major factor which has the potential to influence our interpretation of the Anglo-Viking coinage is the broader interpretation of the history of Viking England in the late ninth to mid-tenth centuries. The few surviving contemporary historical sources from England from this period tend to focus on Wessex and southern Mercia, so coverage of the different areas of Viking settlement is very incomplete. Anglo-Saxon sources can be complemented by contemporary references from Ireland and the Continent, as well as by material recorded by later English chroniclers and (debatably) derived from now lost contemporary accounts, and by later sagas and related Latin texts from Scandinavia. The different types of evidence raise different problems of source criticism, and there are also numerous conflicts and contradictions, not just between different types of evidence but between, for example, different texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Although an important synthetic narrative history of the Viking settlements of northern England has been available since the 1970s in the work of Alfred Smyth,[11] Smyth's interpretations have not been universally accepted. Since the mid-1990s, a number of historians have discussed and re-evaluated the history of Viking Northumbria in this period and, although there is still no consensus on a single definitive narrative, understanding of the historical framework within which the coins functioned is certainly more nuanced than was the case up to the 1990s. Reinterpretations vary between relatively minor adjustments to the accepted chronology, and more radical positions, including the suggestion that the conventional use of

Surrey', in *ASMH,* 91–110 (repr. and updated in N.P. Brooks, *Communities and Warfare 700–1400* (London, 2000), 69–92). M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Finds from the Anglo-Scandinavian site of Torksey, Lincolnshire', in *Moneta Mediævalis. Studia numizmatyczne i historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Suchodolskiemu w 65. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. B. Paszkiewicz (Warsaw, 2002), 89–101 (*VCCBI*, 207–20); M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The Viking winter camp at Torksey, 872–3', in *VCCBI*, 221–64; G. Williams, 'Silver economies, monetisation and society: an overview', in *Silver Economies, monetisation and society*, ed. Graham-Campbell, Sindbæk and Williams, 337–72; G. Williams, 'Viking camps and the means of exchange in Britain and Ireland in the ninth century', in *Before and after the Battle of Clontarf: The Vikings in Ireland and Beyond*, ed. H.B. Clarke and R. Johnson (Dublin, forthcoming).

[10] R. Hall and G. Williams, with B. Ager and N. Rogers, 'A riverine site near York', in *Riverine Site Near York,* ed. Williams (in preparation); Williams, 'Viking camps'.

[11] A.P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: the History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1975–9).

terms such as 'the Danelaw', 'the Five Boroughs', and 'the Kingdom of York' is based on misconceptions and may fundamentally distort our understanding of the political landscape of late ninth- and tenth-century England.[12] One area on which there now seems to be agreement is that, even taken as a whole, the historical sources have significant gaps, and that the coins cannot simply be mapped onto an accepted text-based chronology; but also that the coins in many cases fill what would otherwise be gaps, and are themselves amongst the most important surviving contemporary historical sources for the period. As noted by Peter Sawyer, detailed consideration of the numismatic evidence may yet offer a solution to the conflicting chronologies offered by different texts.[13] However, while coins have formed part of the discussion in most if not all of the works cited above, most historians in recent years have considered the numismatic evidence without seriously questioning the established numismatic chronology, while recent numismatic work, although acknowledging the existence of a wider historical debate over aspects of the chronology, has largely followed the established chronology derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This leads to the unfortunate situation that, taken separately, both history and numismatics can find justification from the other in maintaining the *status quo*, despite the wealth of important work that has taken place in both disciplines in recent years. A more integrated approach is needed to take our understanding of coins and currency in Viking England to the next stage.

The idea of taking an integrated approach to history and numismatics in order to understand the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage, while at the same time recognising that coins may in some cases fill gaps in the historical record, can be traced back to the beginnings of the serious study of this coinage. Daniel Haigh, in a series of articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and elsewhere, considered the coinage of both East Anglia and Northumbria.[14] He provided a detailed

[12] P.H. Sawyer, 'The last Scandinavian kings of York', *Northern History, 31* (1995), 39–44; A. Woolf, 'Erik Bloodaxe revisited', *Northern History, 34* (1998), 189–93; A. Woolf, 'Amlaíb Cuaran and the Gael', in *Medieval Dublin* III, ed. S. Duffy (Dublin, 2002), 34–42; D. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003); C.E. Downham, 'The chronology of the last Scandinavian Kings of York', *Northern History, 40* (2003), 25–51; C.E. Downham, 'Eric Bloodaxe – axed? The mystery of the last Viking king of York', *Mediaeval Scandinavia, 14* (2004), 51–77; C.E. Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: the Dynasty of Ívarr to AD 1014* (Edinburgh, 2007); G. Williams, *Eirik Bloodaxe* (Kernavik, 2011); G. Williams, 'Towns and Identities in Viking England', in *Everyday Life in Viking Towns: Social Approaches to Viking Age Towns in Ireland and England c. 850–1100*, ed. D.M. Hadley and L. Ten Harkel (Oxford, 2013), 14–34.

[13] Sawyer, 'Last Scandinavian kings', 44.

[14] D. Haigh, 'On the pennies of Regnald', *NC, 2* (1839–40), 7–11; D. Haigh, 'On the coins of the Cuerdale find, with the names of "Siefredus", "Cunnetti", and "Ebraice"', *NC, 5* (1843), 105–17; D. Haigh, *Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles*

discussion of the problems of reconciling the different groups of historical sources mentioned above before using this historical framework as background to a suggested attribution and dating for the Northumbrian series. Many of his detailed conclusions have since been superseded, but his approach laid the foundations for all subsequent study of the subject, including the attribution of the Cuerdale phase of Northumbrian coins to York, the recognition of the importance of both Christian and specifically Frankish influence on the development of the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage, and the need to look beyond contemporary Anglo-Saxon documentary sources alone to provide a satisfactory chronology for the attribution of the coinage.

Anglo-Scandinavian coinage continued to attract attention from historians and numismatists throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although with mixed effect. However, it was from the 1950s onwards that a series of major studies appeared which between them have led to the currently accepted classification and interpretation of the coinage. A full discussion of the numismatic literature in this field lies beyond the scope of this chapter, but a number of contributions have been particularly important. Michael Dolley established a clear distinction between those coinages which pre-dated Athelstan's assumption of authority over Northumbria in 927, and those which dated from the period between Athelstan's death in 939 and the more lasting integration of Northumbria into a single kingdom of England from 954.[15] Equally important was the classification of the Northumbrian coins of the Cuerdale phase by Stewart Lyon and Ian Stewart, who together with Christopher Blunt also refined the chronology and attribution of much of the post-Cuerdale coinage.[16] Blunt provided the first detailed study of the St Edmund Memorial coinage (later refined in the light of more recent hoard evidence by Mark Blackburn and Hugh

(Leeds, 1845); and D. Haigh, 'The coins of the Danish kings of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Æliana*, 2nd series, 7 (1876), 21–77.

[15] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The post-Brunanburh Viking coinage of York', *Nordisk Numismatisk* Årsskrift 1957–8, 13–88.

[16] C.S.S. Lyon, and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The Northumbrian Viking coins in the Cuerdale hoard', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies Presented to F. M. Stenton on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, ed. R.H.M. Dolley (London, 1961), 96–121; I. Stewart and S. Lyon, 'Chronology of the St Peter coinage', *Yorkshire Numismatist, 2* (1992), 45–73; B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The St Martin coinage of Lincoln', *BNJ, 36* (1967), 46–54; B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The anonymous Anglo-Viking issue with sword and hammer types and the coinage of Sihtric I', *BNJ, 52* (1982), 108–16; B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'CVNNETTI reconsidered', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria: the Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. D.M. Metcalf, BAR British Series 180 (Oxford, 1987), 345–54; B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'On the date of the Bossall hoard', *NC, 151* (1991), 175–82; C.E. Blunt and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The coinage of Regnald I of York and the Bossall Hoard', *NC, 143* (1983), 146–63; and *CTCE*, 97–107 and 211–34.

Pagan).[17] Blunt also reconstructed elements of the Cuerdale hoard which were abstracted from the hoard before it was properly recorded, or which were not properly identified by early commentators, and established to the satisfaction of most scholars the attribution of the coins of the Cuerdale phase in the name of ALVVALDVS to Æthelwold, the exiled nephew of Alfred the Great.[18] Veronica Smart has added to our understanding of the origins of the moneyers within the St Edmund Memorial coinage, as many of the moneyers have Continental Germanic names, indicating the likely use of imported Frankish moneyers to develop the coinage.[19] Marion Archibald's detailed study of the composition of the Cuerdale hoard established that it could not realistically have been deposited before *c.*905, which impacts not only on the historical context in which the hoard was deposited, but also on the chronology of the Cuerdale and post-Cuerdale phases of the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage.[20] She has also examined the secondary testing of coins as evidence for use within a bullion economy, with specific reference to the Cuerdale hoard, but also in other Viking hoards of the late ninth and early tenth centuries from England and elsewhere, and this has clarified the dating of the development of the bullion economy in Viking England in the late ninth and early tenth centuries.[21] Archibald's work on testing feeds into the broader topic of a 'dual economy' of bullion currency alongside local minting in areas of Viking settlement, which has also been considered by Mark Blackburn and James Graham-Campbell, and the relationship between different types of silver economy and the composition of Viking hoards has been considered in the light of a number of recent hoards.[22] Recent discussions have

[17] C.E. Blunt, 'The St Edmund Memorial coinage', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, 31* (1969), 234–55; M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'The St Edmund coinage in the light of a parcel from a hoard of St Edmund pennies', *BNJ, 72* (2002), 1–14.

[18] C.E. Blunt, 'The composition of the Cuerdale hoard', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 1–6; and C.E. Blunt, 'Northumbrian coins in the name of Alwaldus', *BNJ, 55* (1985), 192–4.

[19] V. Smart, 'The moneyers of St Edmund', *Hikuin, 11* (1985), 83–90; and V. Smart, 'Scandinavians, Celts and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of moneyers' names', in *ASMH*, 171–84.

[20] M.M. Archibald, 'Dating Cuerdale: the evidence of the coins', in *Viking Treasure from the North West: the Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside Occasional Papers 5 (Liverpool, 1992), 15–20.

[21] M.M. Archibald, 'Pecking and bending: the evidence of British finds', in *Sigtuna Papers: Proceedings of the Sigtuna Symposium on Viking-Age Coinage 1–4 June 1989*, ed. K. Jonsson and B. Malmer, Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis, Nova series 6 (Stockholm, 1990), 11–24; M.M. Archibald, 'Testing', in *The Cuerdale Hoard and Related Viking-Age Silver and Gold, from Britain and Ireland, in the British Museum*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell, British Museum Research Publication 185 (London, 2011), 51–64.

[22] M.A.S Blackburn, 'Expansion and control: aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian minting south of the Humber', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch and D.N. Parsons (Oxford, 2001),

also moved beyond 'dual economies' to 'multiple economies', including social as well as monetary and or quasi-monetary exchange, while finds of imitative gold coins, gold ingots and hack-gold point to the monetary use of gold as well as silver. There may also be evidence for the monetary use of copper alloy in the late ninth century, although this has yet to be considered in detail.[23] The iconography of the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage, and particularly the relationship between coinage, Christianity and royal authority, has been considered, with varying conclusions, by Mark Blackburn, Megan Gooch and myself,[24] and Gooch has also contributed in this volume a detailed study of the *Swordless St Peter* type, the one substantive Anglo-Scandinavian series which had not previously received detailed attention.[25] The remaining Anglo-Scandinavian series have all been surveyed in some detail in recent years by Blackburn, while I have suggested some further refinements of chronology and attribution in certain series in the light of recent hoards, and in the discussion of the coins in Graham-Campbell's recent catalogue of the Cuerdale hoard.[26]

125–42; J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'The Dual economy of the Danelaw. The Howard Linecar memorial lecture 2001', *BNJ,* 71 (2001), 49–59; J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'The Northern hoards; from Cuerdale to Bossall/Flaxton', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (London, 2001), 212–29; G. Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and coinage: monetary and political perspectives on silver economy in the Viking Age', in *Silver Economy*, ed. Graham-Campbell and Williams, 177–214; Williams, 'Hoards from the northern Danelaw'; Williams, 'Coinage and monetary circulation in the northern Danelaw'; and Williams, 'Northern Hoards revisited'.

[23] G. Williams, 'Silver economies, monetisation and society', 354; Blackburn, 'Viking winter camp', 236; Hall and Williams, 'Riverine Site Near York'.

[24] M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Crosses and conversion: the iconography of the coinage of Viking York *ca* 900', in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, ed. K.L. Jolly, C.E. Karkov and S.L. Keefer, Medieval European Studies IX (Morganstown WV, 2008), 172–200 (*VCCBI*, 308–36); Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and coinage', 198–9; M. Gooch, 'Viking kings, political power and monetisation', in *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 2*, ed. Abramson, 111–20; M. Gooch, 'Money and power in the Viking kingdom of York' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2012).

[25] See Chapter 21, this volume.

[26] M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The coinage of Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Scandinavian York*, ed. R. Hall*,* Archaeology of York: Anglo-Scandinavian York 8.4 (York, 2004), 325–49 (*VCCBI*, 281–307); M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Presidential address 2004. Currency under the Vikings. Part 1: Guthrum and the earliest Danelaw coinages', *BNJ, 75* (2005), 18–43 (*VCCBI*, 2–31); M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Presidential address 2005. Currency under the Vikings. Part 2: the two Scandinavian kingdoms of the Danelaw, *c.* 895–954', *BNJ, 76* (2006), 204–26 (*VCCBI*, 32–57); Williams, 'Coinage and monetary circulation in the northern Danelaw'; G. Williams, 'The Cuerdale coins', with a contribution by M.M. Archibald, in *Cuerdale Hoard*, ed. Graham-Campbell, 39–71.

The Current State of Research

Between them, the various works cited in the previous section have created a much more comprehensive picture of coinage and currency in Viking England than was available hitherto, while at the same time raising a number of questions which can only be answered by further research. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to summarise the current state of our knowledge, while identifying some of the key questions which remain to be answered. Since the period saw a number of changes in the character of coinage and other forms of exchange, which to some extent reflect wider developments within Anglo-Scandinavian society, this section has been divided into a number of distinct phases.

Phase 1, 865–c.880

Although the *micel here* arrived in East Anglia in 865, and conquered Northumbria the following year, it was not until 874 that Scandinavian settlement rather than campaigning was recorded in Northumbria, East Anglia and eastern Mercia. The section of the *micel here* normally said to have settled East Anglia under Anund, Guthrum and Oscytel reverted to its previous role as a raiding force, however, until Guthrum's submission to Alfred of Wessex at Wedmore in 878 following his defeat by Alfred at the battle of Edington. This period saw the deposition of a number of hoards, some of which can be associated with specific historical events, and pre-Viking coinage continued to be used for much of the period, in addition to/alongside a bullion economy.[27] The bullion economy was predominantly based on silver, but hack-gold is present at both Torksey and the North Yorkshire productive site, indicating the use of gold bullion. This is reinforced by single-finds of hack-gold and ingots, but these cannot be precisely dated.[28] In contrast with the precious metal (including imported dirhams) used as bullion, the coins in circulation in England before the Viking conquests did not in most cases have particularly high precious metal content. The Lunettes coinage of Mercia and Wessex was made of debased silver, while the Northumbrian *stycas* were made of copper alloy, with a minimal silver content. Nevertheless, these coins are found in Viking contexts and apparently functioned as coinage, possibly with a nominal value in excess of their bullion value. What appears to be a lead trial-piece for an imitative Lunettes penny has

[27] Brooks and Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on the Viking-Age silver hoard'; Blackburn, 'Viking winter camp'.

[28] M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Gold in England during the "Age of silver" (eighth–eleventh centuries)', in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. Graham-Campbell and Williams, 55–98; Blackburn, 'Viking winter camp', 233–5; Hall and Williams, *Riverine Site near* York; J.F. Kershaw, 'Metals and exchange in Viking-Age Yorkshire: the contribution of single finds', in *Riverine Site Near York,* ed. Williams (in preparation).

been found at Torksey (as well as a trial-piece for an imitative gold solidus), and this suggests that Viking imitations of Lunettes were produced before the end of the Lunettes coinage, *c.*874–75, although no such imitations have yet been discovered.[29] The presence at both Torksey and the riverine site in North Yorkshire of Northumbrian *stycas* suggests that these may also have continued in circulation after the fall of Northumbria in 866. The established chronology for *stycas* is based on the assumption that minting ceased with the Viking conquest of Northumbria, but the presence of coins of this type in assemblages of the 870s raises the question of whether minting may have continued, especially as the last phase of the *styca* coinage was dominated by coins with blundered inscriptions. These also appear in hoards with no obvious Viking characteristics, but which also include *stycas* in the name of Osberht, the last Anglo-Saxon king of Northumbria, who was killed in 866, although some blundered issues appear in hoards which appear to terminate rather earlier. On this basis, it is possible that some, although not necessarily all, of the late blundered *stycas* may be Viking imitations rather than pre-Viking issues, but this theory has yet to be tested in detail, and a comprehensive review of the late *stycas* is much needed. Such a review would need to consider a range of permutations, including seeing the *stycas* as purely pre-Viking issues; seeing some of them as imitative issues under Viking rule; and also considering the possibility of some sort of continuity of native rule, as in East Anglia (see below).[30]

This phase also saw the reform of the silver content of Southumbrian coinage, with the introduction of the *Cross and Lozenge* type (and related issues) in both Mercia and Wessex, lasting from *c.*874–75 to *c.*880.[31] As yet, no Viking imitations are recorded of this type, although this may partly reflect the current absence of any major hoards of the late 870s, and even the official issues are comparatively rare. Marion Archibald has plausibly suggested that the introduction of the characteristic Viking method of testing coins known as pecking may date from this period, as such testing would make sense against the background of the transition from the base silver Lunettes to the purer *Cross and Lozenge* type. Pecking is not visible in hoards of the early to mid-870s, and is

[29] Blackburn, 'Finds from the Anglo-Scandinavian Site at Torksey', 93–4; Blackburn, 'Viking winter camp', 225 and 228.

[30] Blackburn 'Finds from the Anglo-Scandinavian Site at Torksey', 91–2; Hall and Williams, *Riverine Site near York.* For evidence in later chronicles of 'puppet' kings in Northumbria in the transition to Viking rule, see Downham, *Viking Kings*, 69; S. McLeod, *The Beginning of Scandinavian Settlement in England: the Viking 'Great Army' and Early Settlers, c. 865–900* (Turnhout, 2014), 173–203.

[31] M.A.S. Blackburn and S.D. Keynes, 'A Corpus of the Cross-and-Lozenge and Related Coinages of Alfred, Ceolwulf II and Archbishop Æthelred', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn and D.N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), 125–50.

present from the mid-890s onward but, as Archibald notes, the gap in the hoard evidence between these two phases leaves a question as to exactly when in the intervening period pecking began.[32]

A final feature of this phase of coinage is the transition from pre-Viking to Anglo-Viking coinage in East Anglia. The last historically recorded Anglo-Saxon king of East Anglia was Edmund, killed in 869 and later venerated as a saint. However, rare issues of East Anglian type survive in the names of the otherwise unknown Æthelred and Oswald.[33] It is unclear whether these should be seen as purely East Anglian claimants, attempting to fill the vacuum in power between the death of Edmund and the eventual Viking settlement of East Anglia, or whether they should be seen as 'puppet' rulers, governing East Anglia on behalf of their Viking masters, although one may note that the paradigm for Viking puppet kings provided by West Saxon accounts of Ceolwulf II of Mercia is called into question by the reassessment of Ceolwulf II by Simon Keynes and Mark Blackburn.[34] In addition to the coins in the names of Æthelred and Oswald, a literate lead striking of an East Anglian Temple type with the name EÐELSTAN REX was discovered at Hoxne in Suffolk *c.*1996. Together with two badly blundered imitations of the same type from the Cuerdale hoard which can plausibly read as derived from an EÐELSTAN REX prototype, it has been identified as an issue of Guthrum, the Viking leader defeated by Alfred of Wessex at Edington in 878, who subsequently accepted baptism with the name Athelstan, and ruled East Anglia under a peace treaty (if not an active alliance) with Alfred.[35] Coins of Athelstan II/Guthrum of East Anglia imitating Alfred's *Two Line* coinage have been recognised since the discovery of the Cuerdale hoard and are discussed in more detail in the next section, but the possibility that the blundered *Temple* types from Cuerdale might also belong to this ruler was only recognised in the light of the recent literate example. Other illiterate *Temple* imitations may be derived from any of the three rulers, or directly from Frankish prototypes.

It seems most obvious to place Æthelred and Oswald in the period immediately following the death of Edmund in 869, but before Athelstan II/Guthrum was permanently established in East Anglia in *c.*879–80. Blackburn suggests that the Athelstan II *Temple* type was issued after his baptism in 878 and probably after 879–80, with the blundered issues following even later, providing continuity within the type, and giving a total duration for the *Temple* issues of 10–15 years

[32] Archibald, 'Testing', 62–4.

[33] M. Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and Dublin* (London, 1965), 16; Blackburn, 'Guthrum and the earliest Danelaw coinages', 23–5.

[34] S.D. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances*, ed. Blackburn and Dumville, 1–46, at 12–19; Blackburn and Keynes, 'Corpus of Cross-and-Lozenge', passim.

[35] Blackburn, 'Guthrum and the earliest Danelaw coinages', 26–7.

after the death of Edmund.[36] This is a plausible reading of the evidence, but it is not the only one, as it is uncertain whether there was direct continuity from the *Temple* issues of Æthelred and Oswald to those of Athelstan II, and also whether Athelstan II's *Temple* type pre-dates or post-dates his *Two Line* issue, which must date from at least the early 880s (see below). An earlier date would imply a degree of assimilation and possibly even Christianisation before the battle of Edington, while a reversion to an East Anglian design after the West Saxon-derived *Two Line* type might point to a distancing from Alfred which is not otherwise recorded, but which would prefigure the St Edmund coinage (see below). The dangers of relying on a purely West Saxon historical narrative have already been noted, and the extent of Athelstan/Guthrum's authority and assimilation in East Anglia between his arrival there in 876 and his attack on Wessex over the winter of 877–78 remains unclear, and is likely to remain so unless resolved by fresh numismatic evidence. Athelstan/Guthrum's relations with Alfred in the years following the Treaty of Wedmore are also obscure, and would bear further consideration, especially in the light of the re-dating of Alfred's taking control of London to *c.*878–80,[37] as this has implications for the dating of the surviving treaty between Alfred and Guthrum.

Phase 2, c.880–895

This period is characterised by the production and circulation of Anglo-Scandinavian coinage alongside a mixed bullion economy, within which intact ornaments, ingots, hack-silver, imported and locally issued coin all circulated as forms of currency within a bullion economy. The ultimate value of precious metal within this economy probably derived from the role of gold and silver in various forms of social exchange, which lie beyond the scope of this chapter. Nevertheless, the recognition that gold and silver might have a social rather than purely economic value is a warning that one should think in terms of multiple economies rather than simply the dual economy discussed in some of the literature.[38]

[36] Ibid., 28–30.

[37] M.M. Archibald, 'Coins', in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600–900*, ed. L. Webster and J. Backhouse (London, 1991), 284–9, at 286; Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', 19–24; M. Blackburn, 'The London mint in the reign of Alfred', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances*, ed. Blackburn and Dumville, 105–23.

[38] R. Samson, 'Fighting with silver: rethinking trading, raiding and hoarding', in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, ed. R. Samson (Glasgow, 1991), 123–33; M. Gaimster, 'Viking economies: evidence from the silver hoards', in *Silver Economies,* ed. Graham-Campbell and Williams, 123–33; S.M. Sindbæk, 'Silver economies and social ties: long-distance interaction, long-term investments – and why the Viking Age happened', in *Silver Economies, Monetisation*

The Anglo-Scandinavian coinage of this phase exclusively takes the form of imitative issues, although these are divided between those which imitate the designs of Anglo-Saxon or Frankish issues, but with distinct literate inscriptions relating to Anglo-Scandinavian rulers, and anonymous imitations on which not only the designs but the inscriptions were copied, with varying degrees of literacy. The former group contains coins in the names of four, or perhaps six, rulers. Of these, the most extensive coinage is that of Athelstan II (Guthrum) of East Anglia, imitating the *Two Line* type of Alfred of Wessex. Here the numismatic evidence largely supports the narrative provided by contemporary or near-contemporary West Saxon sources. The Viking leader Guthrum was defeated by Alfred at the battle of Edington in 878; by the terms of the peace subsequently agreed in the Treaty of Wedmore, he accepted Christianity, with Alfred as his godfather, and took the baptismal name of Athelstan, whereupon he was accepted as ruler of East Anglia by Alfred. This is reflected in a coinage bearing versions of EDELSTAN REX, with a distribution suggesting a Viking origin, and clearly imitating the *Two Line* type of Alfred (introduced *c.*880), and apparently sharing some moneyers with Alfred. Such issues point to the relationship between Alfred and Athelstan/Guthrum, as well as a wider correlation between minting and an ideal of Romanised Christian kingship.[39] As discussed in the previous section, there are also rare issues of Athelstan/Guthrum imitating a Carolingian *Temple* type, but the relative chronology of these and the more common *Two Line* type is unclear, and they sit less comfortably with the West Saxon narrative.

Imitative issues can be identified by weight, as well as by style. As noted by Blackburn, Anglo-Viking coinage maintained the weight standard of *c.*1.35 grams found in all the Southumbrian English coinage prior to *c.*880, whereas Alfred's reforms at that time raised the West Saxon coinage to a weight standard of *c.*1.5 grams.[40] This choice to maintain the pre-reform standard rather than imitating the weight as well as the designs of Alfred's new coinage now appears more explicable if there was continuity across the period in East Anglia, as suggested above. The weight standards were not very precisely applied, so the distinction on weight alone is not always clear cut, with the heaviest Anglo-Viking coins outweighing the lightest official West Saxon issues.

Imitations exist of several of Alfred's later types, including the *Two Line* and *London Monogram* types as well as the rarer OHSNAFORDA type from

and Society, ed. Graham-Campbell, Sindbæk and Williams, 41–66; Williams, 'Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society', passim.

[39] Blackburn, 'Guthrum and the earliest Danelaw coinages', 30–34; Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and coinage', 180 and 206–7.

[40] Blackburn, 'Expansion and control', 128–32; M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Alfred's coinage reforms in context', in *Alfred the Great. Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), 199–218; Blackburn, 'Guthrum and the earliest Danelaw coinages', 20–23.

Oxford, imitated by the Vikings with the form ORSNAFORDA. Most of these Alfredian imitations are anonymous, and cannot be precisely attributed, although there are varieties with literate mint signatures for Lincoln and Leicester. As noted, a literate coinage in the name of Athelstan/Guthrum was minted in East Anglia, but that does not preclude the minting of anonymous coinage there as well. Anonymous coinage may well also have been issued in this phase in Northumbria, as well as in the Midlands, and while the attributions of the various anonymous types were considered by Blackburn in his paper to the 1997 Viking Congress, more detailed analysis is still required.[41]

In addition to Athelstan/Guthrum, there are three other named rulers in this phase of the coinage, all known from rare or unique examples. Coinage in the name of Sihtric Comes, or Earl Sihtric was struck at SCELDFOR (probably Great or Little Shelford in Cambridgeshire, rather than Shelford in Nottinghamshire, which raises questions about the relationship between Sihtric and the rulers of East Anglia, and the extent of Sihtric's authority, especially as this is the only coinage in Britain or Scandinavia to be struck in the name of a *jarl*, or earl, rather than a king, despite the importance of other individuals with the same title.[42]

A solitary, and incomplete example of a *Two Line* imitation with the partial inscription XGV DE F[ ] RE survives in the Ashdon hoard. This has been interpreted as signifying Guthfrith, a Viking ruler of Northumbria who died in 895, and was buried in York Minster, although Blackburn argued on stylistic grounds that this coin is likely to have been struck south of the Humber, based on its similarity to imitative issues with a Lincoln monogram, as well as to some of the less securely attributed anonymous imitations.[43] This would also be consistent with Viking rulers of Northumbria in the tenth century who appear to have exercised authority south of the Humber (see below), and while a single fragment is insufficient to provide a secure attribution, there is nothing inherently implausible about the attribution to Guthfrith, which seems likely to stand unless other examples are found in contexts which suggest an alternative.

The final coins considered within this phase carry versions of the name ALFDENE or HALFDENE, representing anglicised forms of the Scandinavian name Halfdan. This name appears on a unique coin combining the reverses of Alfred's *London Monogram* and *Two Emperors* issues, as well as on two imitations of Alfred's *Two Line* type. While on current evidence an imitation of the *Two*

[41] Blackburn, 'Expansion and control', 130–32; Williams, 'The Cuerdale coins', 48–9 and 68.

[42] C. Hart, 'The *Aldewerke* and minster at Shelford, Cambridgeshire', *ASSAH, 8* (1995), 43–68; Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', 132; Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and coinage', 200–1

[43] M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) hoard and the currency of the southern Danelaw in the late ninth century', *BNJ, 59* (1989), 13–38, at 18–20 (*VCCBI*, 177–205, at 182–4).

Emperors type could conceivably be associated with the Halfdan who led the settlement of Northumbria in 876 but was killed the following year, both the *London Monogram* and *Two Line* types postdate his death, and are unlikely to relate to this individual. Another Halfdan (possibly based in Northumbria, north-west Mercia, or around the Irish Sea), was killed at the battle of Tettenhall in 910. This would be consistent with the presence of two Halfdan coins in the Cuerdale hoard, but the name is not particularly unusual, and Alfredian imitations might fit better with another unrecorded ruler of that name active in the 880s or 890s.[44]

A number of outstanding questions remain for this phase. From a numismatic perspective, the largest and most important of these is the classification and attribution of the various anonymous imitations. Do these indeed represent a single group, and were they all minted in the same region, or would more detailed analysis reveal different stylistic groupings, as in various Anglo-Saxon series, which point to different mint-places/die-cutting centres despite a shared design? This could probably be attempted at least in part on the basis of the current evidence, but would also benefit from new recorded finds, whatever the find circumstances. From an historical perspective, the more interesting questions relate to the regal coins. With so few examples, further evidence is also needed for the coins attributed to Guthfrith and Halfdan. While the attribution to Guthfrith seems likely with only a partial inscription of the name, a complete example is needed to secure the attribution to that ruler, while the place(s) and dates of minting of both Guthfrith's and Halfdan's coins remain to be determined. These are questions on which recorded stray finds are likely to have only limited impact, but which might be answered by hoards and finds from secure archaeological contexts.

Phase 3, c.895–910

This is the most extensive phase of the Anglo-Viking coinage, at least in terms of the number of surviving examples, if not necessarily the original scale of minting. Here our understanding of the coinage is necessarily dominated by the Cuerdale hoard, in which both the East Anglian and Northumbrian series are heavily represented. The East Anglian series takes the form of a single type, imitating the design and obverse inscription of the final coinage before the Viking Conquest, that of King Edmund (d. 869). Edmund came to be venerated as a saint and martyr, and the earliest evidence for this comes from coins which carry the name EADMVND REX prefaced by SC or SCE with a contraction mark, indicating *sancte*. This coinage was minted on a large scale, by at least 70 moneyers, several

[44] Williams, 'Cuerdale coins', 47–8.

of whom, to judge by their names, were of Frankish origin.[45] Blackburn has argued, partly on the basis of distribution and partly through the identification of St Edmund moneyers with moneyers of the same names in other types, that minting in this type extended beyond the pre-Viking boundaries of East Anglia into eastern Mercia. Judging from the hoard evidence, the type began to be issued *c.*895, and seems to have been well regulated, successfully excluding other coin types (and to some extent the bullion economy) from East Anglia during its period of circulation. A previous interpretation of a division into an early 'heavy' phase and a later 'light' phase was rejected by Blackburn, following the discovery of the so-called 'Baldwin parcel' from an undeclared hoard, although an internal chronology can still be argued on the basis of style and the literacy of the legends, and of different levels of pecking on coins of different styles within the type.[46] The absence of other information concerning the political history of East Anglia in this period means that the precise circumstances under which this coinage was struck are a mystery, and seems likely to remain so. The design suggests a conscious resurgence of East Anglian identity, and perhaps a corresponding rejection of West Saxon influence, and in addition demonstrates the development of the cult of St Edmund within a generation or so of his death, and therefore of a strong Christian identity. This points to the survival of some ecclesiastical authorities within East Anglia under Viking rule, but both the scale of the coinage and the apparent control of currency circulation suggest strong political authority as well. It therefore seems unlikely that this is a purely ecclesiastical coinage, even if any secular authorities behind the coinage are entirely anonymous. Given that place-name evidence suggests that Viking settlement was less intense in this region than further north one may question quite what the balance of 'Anglo' and 'Scandinavian' was in the case of this particular coinage. While the historical context for this coinage remains opaque, the coinage itself is now well understood numismatically; and although a full corpus and die-study might refine recent interpretations, it seems unlikely to produce major changes in our understanding unless new varieties are discovered.

Around the same time, an extensive coinage was minted in Northumbria, very possibly exclusively in York. The bulk of this coinage appears to be in the name of two rulers, Sigeferth and Cnut, assuming that the forms *Sifredus* and *Sievert*, both of which appear within the coinage, are alternative forms of the same name. Sigeferth is recorded as a 'pirate' from Northumbria in 893, although not as a king, and Cnut is otherwise unrecorded in contemporary historical sources, although later (and unreliable) Scandinavian tradition places a Cnut in Northumbria at this time.[47] There are coins which combine the names

[45] Smart, 'Moneyers of St Edmund'.

[46] Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', 132–4; Blackburn, 'Scandinavian kingdoms', 206–7.

[47] Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, 1, 47–52.

of both rulers, and both names are also combined with a York mint signature, normally in the form EBRAICE. There are also religious inscriptions, including MIRABILIA FECIT and various contractions of *Dominus Deus* (*omnipotens*) *rex*. The Christian message of these inscriptions is reinforced by the use of a central cross on both obverse and reverse, while the majority of the coins of Cnut arrange the letters of his name around the cross in the form of signation (making the sign of the cross), repeating the process with the title REX and a small cross. The different inscriptions appear in various permutations, while the inscription CNVT REX is also found in combination with an enigmatic inscription CVNNETTI.[48] Three other inscriptions within the series will be discussed separately below.

Since the death of Guthfrith is recorded in 895, the assumption has been that Sigeferth succeeded him, while the joint issues of Sigeferth and Cnut, and the sole issues of Cnut appear to be slightly later, *c.*900. The various permutations within this series were considered in detail by Lyon and Stewart, who established a complete typology and relative chronology for the series. This lacks a full die corpus, based as it was on a large but not complete sample of the series, but otherwise remains the definitive work on the subject, with only minor modifications since.

The internal chronology of the series has largely been confirmed by Archibald's study of test marks, based on the number of pecks typically found on different coin types represented in the Cuerdale hoard.[49] A small number of coins within the series carry the name ALVVALDVS, and Blunt plausibly argued that this should be identified with Æthelwold, nephew of Alfred of Wessex, who failed to enforce his claims to Wessex on the death of Alfred in 899 and fled to Northumbria, where he was accepted as a king by the Vikings. This interpretation has generally been accepted.[50] There is an elongated cross-on-steps on some of the coins of Sigeferth, and while the cross-on-steps is a design found on Byzantine coins (indeed, one such coin was found in the Cuerdale hoard), Blackburn proposed that this elongated form was not derived from Byzantine coins, but from the tall stone cross sculptures of Northumbria, although this interpretation is not accepted by all scholars.[51]

Some coins with crude versions of the CNVT REX inscription were combined with a Quentovic mint signature, in good style. Especially since the CNVT REX inscription was not immediately deciphered, owing to the unusual arrangement of the letters, the presence of the Quentovic inscription initially

[48] Lyon and Stewart, 'Northumbrian Viking coins', passim; Stewart, 'Cunnetti reconsidered', passim; Blackburn, 'Coinage of Scandinavian York', 286–7; Williams, 'Cuerdale coins', 43–5.

[49] Archibald, 'Testing', 60.

[50] Blunt, 'Alwaldus', passim; Williams, 'Cuerdale coins', 45.

[51] Blackburn, 'Crosses and conversion', 326–9.

led to the view that the whole series was of Frankish origin. Even after the series as a whole was reinterpreted as Northumbrian, the Quentovic mint signature was not satisfactorily explained until Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn argued that the Quentovic inscriptions were produced with unofficial dies, and could thus be considered as Viking imitations. However, the CNVT REX inscriptions combined with the Quentovic inscriptions are much more crudely cut than other coins of the same type, and are unlikely to have been produced by the same die-cutters, so it seems likely that the coins with this combination should be seen as a separate imitative group, rather than as part of the main Northumbrian series.[52]

A final addition to this series was provided by the discovery of a new hoard near Silverdale in Lancashire in 2011. Both coins and non-numismatic material indicate that the hoard was deposited around the same time as Cuerdale, and the hoard also contained coins from the Northumbrian series, including a new type. One side carries the inscription D[OMI]N[V]S REX, with the two words crossing at right angles to form the sign of the cross. The other side includes the inscription ΛIRDE CONVT, or possibly CONVT ΛIRDE. Within the context of a largely literate coinage, it seems likely that this represents a name of some sort, although the continued enigma of the meaning of CVNNETTI means that one must be wary of assuming that all inscriptions can necessarily be decoded. I have suggested that this could be an attempt to represent the name Harthacnut, but on current evidence this cannot be regarded as more than a possibility.[53]

Within this phase, coinage clearly circulated within a bullion economy, as hoards typically contain a mixture of coins and non-numismatic material.[54] However, Archibald's work on test marks demonstrates that the later Northumbrian coins within Cuerdale show little or no evidence of testing, suggesting that they may have been accepted at face value, at least in some areas,[55] and it is possible that different monetary systems may have prevailed in York itself, and more widely in Northumbria and other areas of Viking settlement (see also Phase 5 below). The fact that York has produced so few Viking weights compared with Dublin, and with the ninth-century assemblages from Torksey, the riverine site in North Yorkshire and Woodstown, may indicate the presence of a more regulated coin-based economy within York than elsewhere, although the presence of several mixed hoards found within a few miles of York suggests

[52] *MEC* 1, 322; Stewart, 'CVNNETTI reconsidered', 346; Williams, 'Cuerdale coins', 49.

[53] Williams, 'New coin type'.

[54] Williams, 'Cuerdale coins', 68–71; Williams, 'Northern hoards reconsidered', 475–81; Boughton, Williams and Ager, 'Viking hoards'.

[55] Archibald, 'Testing', 60–61.

that firm regulation of monetary circulation may not have extended beyond the city itself.[56]

The number of surviving examples of both the St Edmund Memorial type and the Northumbrian series means that both are comparatively well understood. Complete die-studies of either series might add slightly to our understanding, but would be unlikely to cause fundamental changes to the existing classifications and relative chronology, although the new dating of Cuerdale to 905–10 rather than the former *c.*905 may necessitate minor adjustments to the exact chronology of this and the following phase. New hoards of this phase from York itself and, for example, from rural Yorkshire, might help to determine whether there were regional distinctions in monetary systems, while the outstanding questions regarding interpretation of CVNNETTI and ΛIRDE CONVT are only likely to be conclusively resolved if more transparent variant inscriptions are discovered.

Phase 4, c.910–c.919

There is only one distinct new series in the phase immediately following the Cuerdale phase. This is the *Swordless St Peter* coinage, which carries the inscription S[AN]C[T]I PETRI MO[NETA], or 'money of St Peter', combined with a York mint signature. This coinage is treated in detail by Megan Gooch elsewhere in this volume, so only a brief discussion is given here.[57] The inscription in the name of St Peter rather than a ruler is interesting, since it follows directly from a regal coinage, although that coinage also contained some varieties with religious inscriptions (see above). The absence of a regal inscription led David Rollason to propose that these coins were issued by the archbishops of York rather than by Viking rulers.[58] While this interpretation is not impossible, it is difficult to reconcile either with the strength of royal authority implicit in the previous coinage, or with broader patterns of minting authority in both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian coinage. [59] It is possible that the inscription simply follows the example of the St Edmund type. The lack of written accounts of Northumbria in this period means that this point is unlikely to be resolved. The end of the St Edmund type (introduced in the previous phase) overlapped with the beginning of the St Peter type. The exact dates are uncertain, but the St Edmund type certainly came to an end at some point in the second decade of the tenth century, probably following the conquest of East Anglia and the adjoining

[56] Williams, 'Viking hoards from Yorkshire'.

[57] See Chapter 21, this volume.

[58] Rollason, *Northumbria*, 313–14.

[59] Blackburn, 'Aspects of minting', 159–60; Blackburn, 'Coinage of Scandinavian York', 333.

areas in *c.*917.[60] It is also possible that the inscription may have been influenced by the mint names on some Frankish coins, although the absence of moneyer's names on this and the preceding phase in the Northumbrian coinage means that it is impossible to be certain whether Frankish moneyers were imported to develop the coinage, as is known to be the case in East Anglia.

Otherwise, two important points emerge from Gooch's study of the coinage. Firstly, while the total number of surviving coins in this coinage is not large compared with the previous phase, the previous phase only appears to be so much larger because it was so well represented in the Cuerdale hoard, which is quite exceptional by the standards of the late ninth and tenth centuries, and is otherwise comparatively rare. However, the number of dies represented within the *Swordless St Peter* type relative to the number of surviving coins indicates that this must also have been minted on a large scale (if perhaps not quite so large as the Cuerdale phase) and it is only the absence of a major hoard from this phase which means that the corpus is not larger. Secondly, it was formerly argued that there were two distinct sub-phases within the series, distinguished by 'heavy' and 'light' sub-types.[61] Gooch, developing earlier work by Stewart and Lyon, argues convincingly that this distinction was caused by failing to account for the condition of the coins, and thus by counting damaged coins as a distinct lighter weight standard.[62] There is probably little further to be done with this coinage at present, but additional hoards from the beginning and end of the phase might help to clarify the chronology of the transitions between phases.

In addition to the *Swordless St Peter* coinage, this phase also saw the continuation of anonymous imitations of Anglo-Saxon issues. These have been studied in the context of Edward the Elder's coinage.[63] However, following significant growth in the number of known coins in the name of Edward the Elder (including imitations) as a result of recent hoards, both Edward's official coinage and the imitations would bear a detailed re-examination.

Phase 5, c.919–27

Anonymous imitations continued in this phase, which also saw the resurgence of explicitly regal coins, together with new varieties in the name of St Peter from York, and a similar issue from Lincoln in the name of St Martin. Stray St Edmund coins still appear in some later hoards, but minting in this type appears to have stopped in the previous phase. A coinage in the name of Regnald of

[60] Blackburn, 'Aspects of minting', 156; Blackburn, 'Scandinavian kingdoms', 34–5.

[61] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Norse coinages of York', in *Viking Age York and the North*, ed. R.A. Hall, CBA Research Report 27 (London, 1978), 27.

[62] See pp. 461–2.

[63] *CTCE*, 81 and 207–8.

Northumbria (*c.*919–21) is comparatively rare today, but extremely varied, suggesting that the coinage was more substantial than the surviving number of examples would initially suggest. The majority of Regnald's issues imitate Frankish and/or Anglo-Saxon types, but two designs are distinctive. One shows what appears to be a bow and arrow, unparalleled on any other coinage of the period, but possibly originally inspired by the stylised ships on some Carolingian coins of Dorestad and Quentovic, with the ship turned through ninety degrees so that the mast becomes the arrow in the new design. This would be consistent with the clear Carolingian influence of the KAROLVS monogram on other coins of Regnald. More interesting in some ways is the appearance of a T-shaped design, which has generally been interpreted as representing Thor's hammer, although it may conceivably represent a tau cross.[64]

The Thor's hammer is also a feature of the *Sword* series which followed Regnald's coinage. This series has several types and sub-types, all characterised by the use of a sword as the main obverse design. The two main types are an issue in the name of St Peter, with a York mint signature, and an issue in the name of Sihtric, mostly without mint signature, and including several examples with blundered inscriptions. Each of these has three main sub-types: one with a hammer like that on the coins of Regnald on the reverse; a second with a more unambiguous hammer with voided head and handle (usually described as a 'mallet' to distinguish it from the previous sub-type); and a cross on the third. In the case of the 'cross' variety, the St Peter type incorporates the 'mallet' design on the obverse, making the I of PETRI the handle of a miniaturised mallet. I have argued elsewhere that this may have been a tool of the conversion process, linking Thor with St Peter in a form of religious syncretism.[65] The Sihtric named on the corresponding types must be Sihtric I Caoch, recorded as king of Northumbria (921–26/7), but only one known example in his name has a York mint signature, and Blackburn argued, primarily on the basis of distribution, that these were minted south of the Humber.[66] While coins in the name of Sihtric have subsequently been found in three hoards north of the Humber, they have been outnumbered in each case by the *Sword St Peter* type, and Blackburn's interpretation in my opinion still holds. This was also based in part on the existence of a related type in the name of St Martin with a Lincoln mint signature.[67] What appears to be another mint name appears on one of the Sihtric types, with the inscription EORT CASTRA, or CASTRA EORT, which cannot be closely identified, but which clearly represents a place-name,[68] and which may

[64] Blunt and Stewart, 'Coinage of Regnald I of York', passim; *CTCE*, 105–6; Blackburn, 'Coinage of Scandinavian York', 332–5.

[65] Williams, 'Kingship, Christianity and coinage', 198.

[66] Blackburn, 'Scandinavian kingdoms', 212.

[67] Stewart, 'St Martin Coinage', passim; Blackburn, 'Scandinavian kingdoms', 210–15.

[68] Blackburn, 'Scandinavian kingdoms', 215.

be a Latinisation of Old English *eorþbyrig,* or 'earthern fortification' a known name form, if not one which permits attribution to a specific mint.[69] A further mint appears to be identified on a currently unique Sword type discovered in the Vale of York hoard with an inscription which appears to read rORIVACASTR, or possibly hORIVACASTR which I have tentatively linked to Rocester in Staffordshire, or possibly to Castor near Peterborough. This coin type appears to be derived from the Cross sub-type of *Sword St Peter*, including the insertion of a miniaturised Thor's hammer in the obverse design.[70] A final *Sword* variety, typically with blundered inscriptions, has been known as the *Anonymous Sword* type, but a recent single-find of this type from near Newark, Nottinghamshire, carries a slightly blundered Sihtric inscription, so this variety can also either be attributed to Sihtric, or interpreted as an imitation derived from Sihtric's issues, while the Nottinghamshire provenance reinforces the attribution to the Midlands of the coinage in the name of Sihtric.[71] Blackburn's die catalogue of the majority of the Sword series includes all the known examples with the exception of a few finds from recent hoards.[72]

The fact that all of the recent hoards (including two certainly dating from the reign of Athelstan) contain only the *Cross* sub-type of the *Sword St Peter type* suggests, first, that this was the latest of the three sub-types, and secondly that there may have been a relatively controlled circulation of coinage within York itself (and therefore that the coinage obtainable directly from York was relatively homogeneous), although outside the town a number of hoards demonstrate a continued mixed bullion economy even within a few miles of York into the mid- and late 920s. On the basis of the extent of die duplication within the known corpus, it seems likely that this phase saw minting on a substantially smaller scale than in the Cuerdale phase (phase 3 above), but here the evidence may be distorted by the fact that Cuerdale alone provides a much larger sample than all of the hoards of the 920s combined. Initial comparison of the new finds with Blackburn's corpus suggests that the majority of dies within the series have been recorded, but this could easily be altered by the discovery of another major hoard.

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[69] Williams, 'Towns and identities', 30.

[70] Williams, 'RORIVACASTR', passim.

[71] *VCCBI,* 377–9.

[72] A corpus of examples known in 2005 was published in Blackburn, 'Two Scandinavian kingdoms', supplemented in *VCCBI,* 376–84, with more recent finds of all of the Sword types thought to be minted south of the Humber. This means that the combined corpus currently lacks the Sword St Peter issues from the Vale of York and Flusco Pike hoards, and the various Sword types in the 2012 'near York' hoard. The monograph in preparation for the Vale of York and related hoards, which will include all three hoards, will present a further supplement to Blackburn's corpus incorporating these and any additional finds which may appear in the interim.