

MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE



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WITH A CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

- I The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries), published 1986.
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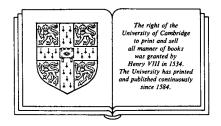
WITH A CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th centuries)

PHILIP GRIERSON

and

MARK BLACKBURN



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FOREWORD

GRAHAM POLLARD

European coins have generally been collected on a national basis, and have been catalogued, when they have been catalogued at all, on the same basis. This is as true of most public collections as it is of those in private hands. The justification of the present catalogue is that the collection of medieval European coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum is one of the most representative in existence, having largely been put together by Professor Philip Grierson, a medieval historian by profession, with the object of providing scholars in Cambridge with a good general coverage of European coins struck between the fall of the Roman Empire and the Italian Renaissance. They have been on indefinite loan to the Museum since the early 1970s and are bequeathed to it in Professor Grierson's will, but for the present he retains their formal ownership, since this gives him greater freedom in disposing of particular specimens when there are opportunities of securing better ones.

Since the Museum already possessed a substantial English, Irish and Scottish collection (c. 3,000 coins), Professor Grierson's share in the final total (c. 19,000) consists mainly of coins struck on the continent of Europe and by the Latins in the Near East. His collection originally also included Byzantine coins, but in 1955, after having been appointed to the honorary post of Advisor in Byzantine Numismatics at the Dumbarton Oaks Center of Byzantine Studies in Washington, he ceased collecting these in order to avoid the creation of a conflict of interest. Such coins as were not already in the Dumbarton Oaks collection were acquired by the Center (1956) at an independent valuation; nearly a hundred coins, half of them gold, were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum; and the remainder have been disposed of privately over the years by gift, exchange or sale. The Western coins now in the Museum (c. 16,000 coins) represent the essential part of his collection.

Professor Grierson initially intended simply to leave his collection to the Museum, where they would be permanently available to students, but its range and quality make its publication highly desirable. The project of which this is the first volume is the fruit of several years of discussion and planning by the British Academy Committee responsible for the publication of the Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles in consultation with Professor Grierson. It is intended that he will be responsible for the publication as a whole, but the generosity of the Leverhulme Foundation has made possible the collaboration of Mr Mark Blackburn, who has already an established reputation in the field of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, as a Research Associate. The project has thus taken shape under the auspices of the British Academy, and the work is being published by the Cambridge University Press.

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vi Foreword

The form envisaged for the Catalogue is publication in what numismatists know as Sylloge form, with all the coins illustrated and summarily described, but it is expanded with accounts of the coinage of each state or mint and extensive bibliographies. This will put each group of coins into perspective and provide a series of standard reference works that will be useful to historians and not, as Sylloge volumes tend to be, intelligible only to numismatists. Although Professor Grierson published in 1976 a general descriptive work on medieval coins (Grierson 1976a) it was necessarily limited in scope, since it had to conform to the general plan of the series of which it formed a part. The high quality of its enlarged illustrations makes it admirably suited to the study of medieval coin types, but it is far from being the comprehensive guide to medieval coinage which is one of the major desiderata of numismatic literature. The present work, when it is complete, should provide such a guide.

The plan of the work envisages a preliminary volume on the coinage of what are conventionally termed the Dark Ages, before the state pattern of the later middle ages had taken shape, and twelve volumes covering the subsequent coinages of Latin Christendom on a regional basis. Details of these will be found facing the title page of this volume. Their size is determined by the number of coins (c. 1,500 coins on c. 70 plates) to be accommodated in each, and their grouping is roughly geographical. Even the somewhat incongruous grouping in Vol. 6 of the Iberian Peninsula with Lorraine and the Kingdom of Arles has a certain justification in the relationship of these three areas to France, though it was in fact determined by the numbers of coins for the three regions making up a volume of reasonable size. Volume 1, which contains preliminary information about the project and some account of the collection as a whole, is necessarily the first to appear, but the order of publication of the others will not necessarily conform to their numbering in the series. The next one to be published will be Volume 7, on the coinage of the Low Countries.

Two aspects of the publication, the omission of the coinage of the Byzantine Empire and the inclusion of Anglo-Saxon coinage, require a few words of explanation.

The coinage of the Byzantine Empire is of course medieval in date, but it is markedly different from that of Latin Christendom. The two evolved along different lines, and save in a few localities and periods there was little contact between them. They can be regarded as distinct, capable of being studied independently of each other, and in view of several recent publications of high quality on Byzantine coins there seemed no justification in adding to them. Although the number of Byzantine coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum is unusually large, owing to substantial benefactions by C. Davies Sherborn in 1939 and by the heirs of C. J. Bunn in 1950, they are mainly copper coins, with relatively few of gold or silver, and there has never been the same policy of systematically building it up into a representative collection as there has been for that of western Europe.

The Anglo-Saxon coins included in Vol. 1 and those intended to form part of Vol. 8 may seem at first sight a pointless duplication of the Anglo-Saxon material published in the first volume of the British Sylloge in 1958. But the Museum's holdings have been expanded since that time; much research has been done on the subject in the past 25 years and the arrangement can be improved; the change in plan allows the material to be presented in a form more useful to scholars who are not numismatic specialists; and its omission would leave a work intended



Foreword vii

to provide a general survey of the coinage of Latin Christendom lacking an essential section. It is also obviously desirable to take advantage of Mr Blackburn's expertise in the field. Scholars interested in the Museum's holdings of British Celtic coins, however, will still have to consult the volume of 1958, as for the time being will those working on later Anglo-Saxon coins.

The title to this publication implies that its contents are limited to coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, whether they are actually its property or have been deposited there on indefinite loan by the colleges and by Professor Grierson. Scholars will naturally wish to know, however, what other material is available in Cambridge, and two colleges, Corpus Christi and Queens', which have retained their collections have kindly allowed the relevant material contained in these to be included in this catalogue. The same is also the case with the Museum of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, whose collections include a small group of Anglo-Saxon coins used for exhibition purposes which were overlooked when the Sylloge volume was published in 1958.



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PREFACE

This is the first to appear of a projected work in thirteen volumes on medieval European coinage. The form adopted, that of regional surveys accompanied by a detailed catalogue of the Cambridge collections, is explained in Mr Pollard's Foreword, and the plan is set out in detail in the table facing the title-page.

The credit for initiating the project largely belongs to two scholars, Christopher Brooke and Graham Pollard, who, having urged its desirability on one of us over a period of many years, applied themselves enthusiastically to enlisting the support necessary for it to be realized. We are greatly indebted to the British Academy Committee for the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles for having taken it under its wing, seen that a detailed plan was drawn up, and secured for it Academy approval. That it has finally got off the ground is due to the generosity of the Leverhulme Foundation in providing a grant to enable the second partner to devote himself full-time to the enterprise.

Where the University is concerned our basic debt is to the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate for the provision of a home for the Grierson collection and a pleasant office in which to work; to the staff of the Coin Room for assistance in many ways, not least for supplying the high quality photographs necessary for the plates; to the University Treasury for a generous grant from the Chest to cover the heavy cost of these in the early volumes; and to the University Press for undertaking the publication of a dauntingly expensive work. We are grateful to the Master and Fellows of the colleges which have deposited their collections in the Coin Room for allowing us to include the medieval coins in these, and to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College and Queen's College, whose collections are not on deposit, for the same kindness.

It would be invidious to list here the many scholars who have assisted one or other of us with information and advice, but we would wish to acknowledge the contributions of contemporary scholars who, without having all been necessarily consulted in its course, have nonetheless by their recent publications made a significant contribution to the work. The Vandal section owes much to Cécile Morrisson and Mike Clover, the Visigothic section to the late George Miles, the Lombard section to the late Ernesto Bernareggi, the Merovingian and Carolingian sections to Jean Lafaurie, Peter Berghaus, and Françoise Dumas, the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Viking sections to Christopher Blunt, the late Michael Dolley, Ian Stewart, Michael Metcalf, Stewart Lyon and Hugh Pagan. Many scholars besides these have helped us with information, or in providing photocopies of articles not accessible to us in Cambridge, or in other ways – Claude Brenot, Hélène Huvelin, Gert Hatz, Peter Ilisch, Pierre Strauss, Elizabeth Pirie.

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xviii Preface

Andrew Oddy, of the British Museum Conservation Laboratory, has kindly made available the results of the specific gravity analyses of coins in the collection made in the early 1970s and has analysed for us subsequent acquisitions. Reginald and Marjorie Piggott have prepared the maps, Patricia McCullagh and Edna Pilmer have typed drafts and redrafts of our manuscript, and Ann Johnston and Virginia Catmur have eliminated the worst of its inconsistencies and made it ready for the printer. To all of these we are most grateful.

In preparing this volume we have worked in close collaboration and are jointly responsible for it as a whole. In so far as there has been a division of labour, the first of us has been primarily responsible for Chapters 1–7 and 9, the two appendices, and the section on Collectors, Donors and Dealers, while the second prepared Chapters 8 and 10, the Catalogue, and the Plates.

PHILIP GRIERSON
MARK BLACKBURN



ABBREVIATIONS

This list includes abbreviations used in the text and in the catalogue other than those which are defined at the head of the page on which they occur. Abbreviations of periodicals are given at the beginning of the Bibliography (below, p. 339).

acq. acquired

ANS American Numismatic Society

AS Anglo-Saxon

B Belfort 1892-5, see Bibliography

bibl. bibliography

BM British Museum, London

BMC with suffix The appropriate volume of the British Museum Catalogues as follows:

BMC AS (Anglo-Saxon), BMC Byz (Byzantine), BMC RE (Roman Empire), BMC Vand (Vandals,

Ostrogoths and Lombards)

BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

bt bought c. circa

Carol. Carolingian

CCC Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

CG Continental Germanic

CMH Cambridge Medieval History, see Bibliography
CNI Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, see Bibliography

Cohen 1880–92, see Bibliography

coll. collection d. died

DAN Dark Age Numismatics, see Grierson 1979a in Bibliography

dep. deposited, deposed

described described

DO Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington

DOC Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue, see Bibliography

ed. editor(s) edn edition

emp. emperor, empress

Eng. English

ex from (used in describing coin pedigrees)

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Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn

Frontmatter

More information

xx Abbreviations

ex. exergue fd found

FM Fitzwilliam Museum

Fr. French gram(s)

G Gariel 1883-4, see Bibliography

Germ. German gr. grain(s) illus. illustrated incl. Italian k. king l.

LRBC Late Roman Bronze Coinage, see Hill et al. 1960 in Bibliography
MAA Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge

Merovingian

MG Morrison and Grunthal 1967, see Bibliography

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

MG hoard Inventory of coin hoards in MG, pp. 339ff.

MIB Moneta Imperii Byzantini, see Hahn 1973–81 in Bibliography

mm millimetre(s)
obv. obverse
OE Old English
ON Old Norse

P Prou 1892a (Les monnaies mérovingiennes) or 1896a (Les monnaies carolingien-

nes), see Bibliography, as the context requires

PG Philip Grierson collection

pl(s). plate(s)

PLRE Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A. H. M. Jones and others

(Cambridge, 1971-)

prov. provenance P.-V. Procès-Verbaux

QC Queens' College, Cambridge

r. right
ref(s). reference(s)
repr. reprint(ed)
rev. reverse

RIC Roman Imperial Coinage, see Bibliography

SCBI Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles

SG specific gravity

var. variety
w. with
wt weight



NOTE ON SPELLING

The spelling of proper names is a problem in all historical works that cover, as this volume does, a number of countries and a long period of time. The simplistic counsel, that one should use 'original' forms and, in the case of place-names, the current spelling in the country where the places are situated, is often impossible to follow. For early medieval times names usually survive only as Latinized forms in a wide variety of spellings, and for modern times there are countries with two or more official forms of place-names of which none corresponds to those normally used in English. We have therefore adopted the commonsense solution of using whatever form and spelling is most familiar in accepted English usage, preferring Antwerp to Antwerpen or Anvers, Louis to Ludwig or Lodovico, Odo to Eudes, Milan to Milano, though it has to be recognized that such usages can change. A century ago one would have written Lewis and Mayence instead of Louis and Mainz.

Anglo-Saxon proper names are a special problem, partly because although they are usually preserved in the vernacular they may be spelled in several different ways, partly because such diphthongs and letter combinations as α , ea, α , cg and ht have largely disappeared from modern English usage. No completely consistent solution is possible. We have in general followed the spellings of Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England (even if this involves both Ecgfrith and Egbert), but Athel- has been retained throughout, even for Athel- has ome spellings consistently used on the coins (Coenwulf, Ludica) have been preferred to those of the manuscript sources.

In a few cases we have allowed ourselves liberties. There seemed no point in retaining the customary final s, which is not now pronounced, in Marseilles and Lyons, when its omission gives the correct French spelling. We have followed the example of the Cambridge Medieval History in using Lothar and Rudolf for kings in Germany and the Middle Kingdom, Lothaire and Raoul for kings of France. We have used Dorestad instead of the modern Dutch Duurstede since it is the normal form on the coins. Cross-references are given in the index where users in other countries are likely to be confused, especially where different initial letters are involved (e.g. Ugo/Hugh).

Problems of spelling and terminology can also affect coin names. It has seemed simplest to use 'penny' for the coins with which English-speaking readers are most familiar, i.e. those struck by the Anglo-Saxons and Northmen, but 'denier' for the Carolingian *denarius* save in Italy, where it seemed unreasonable not to employ 'denaro'. The halfpenny has, in accordance with the written usage of the time, been termed an 'obol' on the Continent, but with the customary English spelling instead of Fr. obole or It. obolo.

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