

Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought

## MONEY AND POWER IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

This groundbreaking study of coinage in early medieval England is the first to take account of the very significant additions to the corpus of southern English coins discovered in recent years, and to situate this evidence within the wider historical context of Anglo-Saxon England and its continental neighbours. Its nine chapters integrate historical and numismatic research to explore who made early medieval coinage, who used it and why. The currency emerges as a significant resource accessible across society, and, through analysis of its production, circulation and use, the author shows that control over coinage could be a major asset. This control was guided as much by ideology as by economics and embraced several levels of power, from kings down to individual craftsmen. Thematic in approach, this innovative book offers an engaging, wide-ranging account of Anglo-Saxon coinage as a unique and revealing gauge for the interaction of society, economy and government.

RORY NAISMITH is a Junior Research Fellow at Clare College, Cambridge, working in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at the University of Cambridge, and the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



## Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series

General Editor:

#### ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK

Professor of Medieval History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Sidney Sussex College

Advisory Editors:

CHRISTINE CARPENTER

Professor of Medieval English History, University of Cambridge

JONATHAN SHEPARD

The series Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought was inaugurated by G.G. Coulton in 1921; Professor Rosamond McKitterick now acts as General Editor of the Fourth Series, with Professor Christine Carpenter and Dr Jonathan Shepard as Advisory Editors. The series brings together outstanding work by medieval scholars over a wide range of human endeavour extending from political economy to the history of ideas.

A list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/medievallifeandthought



# MONEY AND POWER IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The Southern English Kingdoms 757-865

RORY NAISMITH

Clare College, Cambridge





### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107006621

© Rory Naismith 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

#### First published 2012

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data Naismith, Rory.

Money and power in Anglo-Saxon England : the southern English kingdoms, 757–865 / Rory Naismith.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought : fourth series ; 80) Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-I-I07-00662-I (hardback)

Coins, Anglo-Saxon–England, Southern.
 Coinage–England, Southern–History–To 1500.
 Great Britain–History–Anglo-Saxon period, 449–1066.

4. Anglo-Saxons–Kings and rulers. 5. Coins, Anglo-Saxon.
6. Mints–England–History–To 1500. 7. Numismatics–England. I. Title.

CJ2490.N35 2011 737.4942—dc23 2011026076

ISBN 978-1-107-00662-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables, and other factual information given in this work is correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.



## CONTENTS

Li	st of figures	page viii
Li	st of maps	xii
List of tables Acknowledgements		xiii
		xiv
Li	st of abbreviations	xvi
Ι	INTRODUCTION	I
	Coinage in southern England and its neighbours 757–865	4
	The historical setting: Mercia, Wessex and the vikings	9
2	MONEY IN ITS POLITICAL CONTEXT	13
	Kings, states and power in England and its neighbours	16
	Royal resources	23
	Land and warriors	29
	Towns and trade	32
	Conclusion	36
	Coinage as a royal resource: the Roman legacy	37
	Emperors, kings and minting	39
	Minting profits	41
3	LOOKING AT COINAGE: ICONOGRAPHY	
	AND INSCRIPTIONS	47
	Coins, kings and propaganda	47
	'Portraits'	53
	Offa, novus Constantinus?	54
	After Offa	64
	Archiepiscopal portraits	67
	Crosses and other religious iconography	69
	Inscriptions	72
	Numismatic titulature	79
	Conclusion	84



## Contents

4	AUTHORITY AND MINTING I: THE KING	87
	Royal coinage in England before $\epsilon$ . 740	90
	The establishment of royal coinages in northwest	
	Europe <i>c.</i> 740– <i>c.</i> 770	96
	The development of royal coinage: the Mercian	
	regime 757–c. 825	100
	The development of royal coinage: the West Saxon	
	regime c. 825–65	106
	Case studies in royal coinage I: gold coinage	112
	Case studies in royal coinage II: the interstices of royal coinage	117
5	AUTHORITY AND MINTING II: MINTS,	
	DIE-CUTTERS AND MONEYERS	128
	Mint-towns	128
	Moneyers and die-cutters	132
	The moneyers of Anglo-Saxon England	142
	Origins and parallels	142
	Connections and positions	146
	Case studies in the role of moneyers I: favoured moneyers	150
	Case studies in the role of moneyers II: the	
	Anonymous coinage	153
	Kings, mints and moneyers	154
6	VALUE JUDGEMENTS: WEIGHT AND FINENESS	156
	Metal standards	157
	Silver sources	157
	Fineness	161
	Weight standards	168
	Offa's weight standards	171
	Offa, Charlemagne and the coin reforms of 792–4	175
	Metrology after 792/3	178
7	PRODUCTION OF COINAGE	181
	Coinage and recoinage	181
	The scale of minting	184
	The productivity of moneyers	192
	Contexts and comparisons	194
	Conclusion	196
8	THE CIRCULATION OF COINAGE	199
	English money, foreign money	203
	Global trends within southern England: 'monetary recession,	
	without geographical retreat'	209



## Contents

	A tale of two mints: Canterbury and Ipswich compared	211
	London	214
	Rochester and Southampton: the minor mints	216
	Coin-circulation and kings, moneyers and clergy	218
	The rate of loss: monetization and production compared	224
	The forces behind circulation	229
	The monetary economy of southern England	229
	Changes in the monetary economy	231
	Contexts of circulation: pottery and metalwork	239
	Contexts of circulation: Francia, Northumbria and Italy	244
	Conclusion	251
9	THE NATURE OF COIN-USE IN THE EARLY	
	MIDDLE AGES	252
	Background: Mauss, Pirenne, Grierson and after	252
	Coins and commerce?	259
	Gifts and coins	260
	Case study: payments in Anglo-Saxon charters	267
	Coinage and exchange in context	273
	Coinage, markets and peasants	276
	The problem of small change	284
	Conclusion: coinage in the economy	291
ΙO	CONCLUSION	293
Bibliography		296
Index		340



### **FIGURES**

Permission to reproduce the images in this volume was kindly given by the Trustees of the British Museum, the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Classical Numismatic Group (Lancaster, PA, and London), Dr Stewart Lyon and by another private collector, who wishes to remain anonymous. Figures are reproduced at  $\times 2$  life size.

2.I	Tremissis of Grimoald III, with Charlemagne (MEC, no. 1098	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	page 14
3. I	Examples of Offa's and Constantine's busts with diadem and	
	bareheaded (Chick 8a (British Museum); Chick 31c	
	(British Museum); and Fitzwilliam Museum)	56
3.2	Curly-haired busts of Offa and Lucius Verus (Chick 32a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum); and Fitzwilliam Museum)	57
3.3	Offa and Constantine with 'eyes to God' (Chick 51a	
	(British Museum); and British Museum)	59
3.4	Offa's Constantinian bust with vision of the cross (?)	
	(Chick 25b (Fitzwilliam Museum))	59
3.5	Busts of Cynethryth, Faustina Senior and Irene (Chick 140d	
	(Classical Numismatic Group); Fitzwilliam Museum; and	
	Fitzwilliam Museum)	63
3.6	Cross-and-Wedges busts of Coenwulf and Cuthred (Naismith	
	C28f (British Museum); and Naismith C31k (British Museum))	65
3.7	Portrait coins of Coenwulf and Æthelberht (Naismith C44.1a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum); Naismith C203b (Lyon collection);	
	and Naismith C212b (Lyon collection))	66
3.8	Facing busts of Pope Hadrian I and Archbishops Wulfred	
	and Ceolnoth (MEC, no. 1032 (Fitzwilliam Museum);	
	Naismith C46.2j (Lyon collection); and Naismith C154a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	67

viii



## List of figures

3.9	Examples of the crosses on Offa's Light coinage (Chick 102a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum); Chick 10p (Fitzwilliam Museum); Chick	
	17b (British Museum); Chick 38b (British Museum); Chick 47b	
	(Lyon collection); and Chick 117a (British Museum))	71
3.10	Mint-name monograms from ninth-century England (Naismith	,
J	C46.2j (Lyon collection); Naismith C85a (Fitzwilliam Museum);	
	Naismith C105a (Fitzwilliam Museum); and Naismith R36a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	74
4.I	Coins of Eadbald of Kent and Aldfrith of Northumbria and	7 -
	of the Church (Fitzwilliam Museum; Fitzwilliam Museum;	
	and Fitzwilliam Museum)	92
4.2	Imagery of selected early pennies or <i>sceattas</i> (Fitzwilliam	)-
4.2	Museum; and Fitzwilliam Museum)	93
4.3	The first regular royal coinages of Eadberht of Northumbria,	93
4.3	Beonna of East Anglia, Pippin of Francia, Heaberht of Kent and	
	Offa (Fitzwilliam Museum; <i>MEC</i> , no. 1121B (Fitzwilliam	
	Museum); Fitzwilliam Museum; Chick 84a (British Museum);	
	and Chick 102a (Fitzwilliam Museum))	98
4.4	Offa's Light coinage, showing specimens from Canterbury,	90
7.7	London and East Anglia (Chick 10p (Fitzwilliam Museum);	
	Chick 91a (Fitzwilliam Museum); and Chick 177b	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	IOI
4.5	Offa's Heavy coinage, showing specimens from Canterbury,	101
4.7	London and East Anglia (Chick 212f (private collection);	
	Chick 220a (Fitzwilliam Museum); and Chick 258a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	102
4.6	The three-line coinages of 796–8 (Naismith L2b	102
4.0	(Fitzwilliam Museum); Naismith C4a (Fitzwilliam Museum);	
	and Naismith E2.1a (Fitzwilliam Museum))	103
4.7	Coins of Ceolwulf I with extended titulature and three-line	103
4.7	design (Naismith C49.3a (Fitzwilliam Museum); Naismith	
	R7.3a (British Museum); and Naismith E20.2j	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	105
4.8	The DOROB-C type of Ecgberht, and the Inscribed Cross	10)
4.0	type of Æthelwulf and Æthelberht (Naismith C85a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum); Naismith C146a (Fitzwilliam Museum);	
	Naismith C154a (Fitzwilliam Museum); and Naismith C167a	
	(Fitzwilliam Museum))	108
4.9	The Offa dinar and the Coenwulf mancus (Chick 1a	100
オ・ブ	(British Museum); and Naismith G2a (British Museum))	113
	(, and _ and _ and _ and)	3



## List of figures

4.10	Pennies of Æthelberht II, Eanred and Beorhtric (Chick 186a (British Museum); Naismith U1a (British Museum); and	
	Naismith W2a (British Museum))	119
4.11	Ecclesiastical coins of Archbishops Iænberht and Æthelheard,	
	and of Eadberht, bishop of London, and Beornmod, bishop of	
	Rochester (Chick 154a (Fitzwilliam Museum); Chick 248a	
	(British Museum); Chick 81c (Fitzwilliam Museum); and	
	Naismith R14.3a (Fitzwilliam Museum))	122
5. I	Thrymsas and sceattas in the names of probable moneyers	
	(British Museum; British Museum; Fitzwilliam Museum;	
	Fitzwilliam Museum; Fitzwilliam Museum; and	
	British Museum)	135
5.2	Specimens of the royal and archiepiscopal Anonymous	
	coinage (Naismith C56.2a (Fitzwilliam Museum); and	
	Naismith C57.2a (Fitzwilliam Museum))	136
5.3	Royal moneyer continuity at Canterbury	136
5.4	Archiepiscopal moneyer continuity at Canterbury	137
5.5	Moneyer continuity at Rochester	137
5.6	Moneyer continuity at London	137
5.7	Moneyer continuity at Ipswich	138
5.8	Moneyer continuity at Southampton/Winchester	138
6.1	Weights of all Offa's Light coinage	172
6.2	Weights of all Offa's Heavy coinage	172
6.3	Weights of all coins struck 792/3-c. 840 (to Offa's	
	Heavy standard)	173
6.4	Weights of Carolingian denarii of Pippin II, Carloman and	
	Charlemagne, struck c. 755–93/4	175
6.5	Weights of Carolingian denarii of Charlemagne, struck 793/4-814	177
6.6	Weights of the Inscribed Cross coinage c. 854-c. 864	179
7. I	Estimated output in dies per annum at Canterbury	188
7.2	Estimated output in dies per annum at London	189
7.3	Estimated output in dies per annum at Rochester	189
7.4	Estimated output in dies per annum at Ipswich	190
8.1	Regional representation of finds of pennies minted at Ipswich	212
8.2	Representation of different mints within all finds	
	from East Anglia	212
8.3	Regional representation of finds of pennies minted	
	at Canterbury	213
8.4	Representation of different mints within all finds from Kent	213
8.5	Regional representation of finds of pennies minted at London	215
8.6	Regional representation of finds of pennies minted at Rochester	216



## List of figures

8.7	Regional representation of finds of pennies minted at	
	Southampton/Winchester	217
8.8	Losses per annum based on date of production	227
8.9	Single-finds per annum adjusted for probable time in circulation	228
8.10	Approximate number of known southern English	
	hoards per decade	233
8.11	Loss rate of single-finds of Northumbrian coins	248
9.1	Rate of loss per decade in later Anglo-Saxon England	257



## MAPS

1.1 Mints probably active in England 757–865	page 8
8.1 Monetary regions of England	203

xii



## **TABLES**

7.1	Output of marvidual moneyers	page 193
8.1	Representation of local or friendly mints within	
	independent kingdoms	205
8.2	Finds of Carolingian and related silver coins in England	206
8.3	Southern English finds of Northumbrian coins	207
8.4	Number and percentage of finds per region per period	211
8.5	Finds of the coinage of Cynethryth arranged by region	219
8.6	Regional distribution of finds of coins of certain moneyers	221
8.7	Regional distribution of finds of ecclesiastical coins	224
8.8	Totals of single- and stray-finds	226
8.9	Estimated rate of loss after production	227

xiii



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a privilege and a pleasure to work with so many kind, learned and congenial colleagues in the studies of which this book and its companion volume The Coinage of Southern England 796-865 (British Numismatic Society Special Publication 8) are the culmination. Medieval coinage and its interpretation have fascinated me since childhood, but my interest in them became serious only as a student at the University of Cambridge, where since 2002 I have split my time between the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, and the Fitzwilliam Museum's Department of Coins and Medals. Simon Keynes from the former and Mark Blackburn from the latter have been models of all that supervisors should be: guides, supporters and counsellors as well as fast friends. I also owe a collective debt of thanks to the members of both departments. In particular, Martin Allen at the Fitzwilliam generously shared his expertise on the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds and later medieval English numismatics; Jonathan Jarrett, Adi Popescu and Elina Screen also stand out for help in a range of ways. In Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Richard Dance read and commented on parts of the draft, and Rosalind Love and Paul Russell helped me with other specific points.

The doctoral research which lies behind this book was conducted at Trinity College, Cambridge, with the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council. I would like to thank Michael Metcalf and Fiona Edmonds for their role as examiners of the Ph.D. which resulted from it. Both provided valuable comments which have helped pave the way towards publication. I am also grateful to Gareth Williams for many years of helpful discussion and assistance at the British Museum. A Junior Research Fellowship at Clare College, Cambridge, has given me the opportunity to update and complete this volume for publication while working in a supportive and stimulating environment. Thanks are also due to Rosamond McKitterick for her efficiency,

xiv



## Acknowledgements

suggestions and general advice as series editor, and to the team assembled by Cambridge University Press to see this volume through to completion, particularly Jo Bottrill, Christopher Feeney, Elizabeth Friend-Smith and Chloe Howell. Their thoroughness and expertise have improved the work immensely. I was lucky enough at various times to discuss this work as it developed with many others, some of whom kindly read portions of successive drafts or allowed me access to unpublished work of their own; these include Alex Burghart, Fiona Edmonds, Anna Gannon, Stewart Lyon, Neil Middleton, George Molyneaux, Hugh Pagan, Levi Roach, Elina Screen, Ben Snook, Lord Stewartby and Gareth Williams. Any errors which remain are, of course, my own.

Tres digiti scribunt et totum corpus laborat ('three fingers write but the whole body labours') were the words used by at least one medieval scribe to bemoan the toll which writing took on him. Advances in technology have spread the burden to more than three fingers, but the labour which goes into preparing a book remains considerable. This work has been made into a pleasure through the encouragement and companionship of my wife Brittany and my family; for this I owe them special thanks.



ASC

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-00662-1 - Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms 757–865 Rory Naismith Frontmatter More information

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, cited from C. Plummer, ed., Two

	of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9),
	and The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation, trans.
	D. Whitelock, with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London,
	1961) (which provides a corrected chronology)
ASE	Anglo-Saxon England
ASPR	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. van
	K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, 1931–42)
ASSAH	Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History
BCS	Cartilarium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to
	Anglo-Saxon History, ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols. (London,
	1885–99)
BEASE	M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg, eds., The Blackwell
	Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1999)
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)
BNJ	British Numismatic Journal
BSFN	Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
Chick	D. Chick, The Coinage of Offa and His Contemporaries
	(London, 2010)
DOC	P. Grierson and M. Hendy, Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton
	Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, 5 vols. in 9
	(Washington, DC, 1966–99)
EcHR	Economic History Review
EHD	D.Whitelock (trans.), English Historical Documents, vol. I, c. 500-
	1042, 2nd edn (London, 1979) [cited by document number]
EHR	English Historical Review
	0

xvi



## List of abbreviations

EMC Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds, Fitzwilliam

Museum, Cambridge (www-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.

ac.uk/emc/)

EME Early Medieval Europe

FEMA C. Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and

the Mediterranean, 400–800 (Oxford, 2005)

HE Bede, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, ed. B. Colgrave

and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)

JEcH Journal of Economic History

MEC P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, Medieval European

Coinage I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)

(Cambridge, 1986)

MGH Capit. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Capitularia. Legum sec-

tio II, Capitularia regum Francorum, ed. A. Boretius and

V. Krause, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1883–98)

Conc. Concilia. Legum sectio III, Concilia II.i-ii (Concilia aevi

Karolini), ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover and Leipzig,

1906–8)

Epist. Epistolae III-VIII (Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi

I–VI) (Hanover, 1892–1939)

Epp. sel. Epistolae selectae I (Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und

Lullus), ed. M. Tangl (Berlin, 1916)

Poet. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, ed. E. Dümmler, L. Traube,

P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, 4 vols. (Hanover,

1881–99)

Naismith R. Naismith, The Coinage of Southern England 796-865

(London, 2011)

NC Numismatic Chronicle

NCAH XIV A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby, eds.,

The New Cambridge Ancient History XIV: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600 (Cambridge, 2000)

NCMH I P. Fouracre, ed., The New Cambridge Medieval History I,

c. 500–c. 700 (Cambridge, 2005)

NCMH II R. McKitterick, ed., The New Cambridge Medieval

History II, c. 700-c. 900 (Cambridge, 1995)

NCMH III T. Reuter, ed., The New Cambridge Medieval History III,

c. 900–c. 1024 (Cambridge, 1999)

NUMIS Numismatic Information System, Geldmuseum, Utrecht

(www.geldmuseum.nl/museum/content/dutch-coin-

finds)

OLD P. G.W. Glare et al., eds., Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford,

1968-82)

xvii



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-00662-1 - Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms 757-865 Rory Naismith Frontmatter More information

## List of abbreviations

xviii