

THE ST EDMUND COINAGE IN THE LIGHT OF A PARCEL FROM A HOARD OF ST EDMUND PENNIES

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THE Scandinavian rulers in the Southern Danelaw struck their distinctive coinage in the name of St Edmund, king and martyr, for some twenty years from c.895, continuing probably until Edward the Elder's recovery of the region in 917/18.¹ The old kingdom of the East Angles, ruled over by Edmund between 854 and his death at Viking hands in 869, appears to have been under Viking control during the 870s and under the direct rule of King Guthrum following the settlement there of his Danish army in 880. While East Anglia may have been the core of Guthrum's territory, his authority also extended over areas of eastern Mercia that had been settled by sections of his army based at Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton and elsewhere, but probably not the Five Boroughs which may have been settled by another part of the Viking army in 877.² Within a few years of the Danish settlement coins were being produced locally in the Danelaw emulating the contemporary coinage of Wessex and English Mercia. Some of these were struck in the name of Guthrum, but the great majority merely copied Alfred's name. Many of the reverse legends are also copied from Anglo-Saxon prototypes, but some thirty of the names that occur on the Two-Line imitations appear to be those of moneyers actually operating in the Danelaw.³ More work is required to determine the location and chronology of the various imitative issues – London Monogram, Two-Line, *Ohsnaforda*, etc. – but there can be no doubt that even in this early phase the Danelaw coinage was already substantial.⁴

No successor to Guthrum can be identified following his death in 890, from either the written sources or the coinage – rare coins name an Earl Sitric and a King Halfdan, and the one surviving specimen of the York king Guthfrith (c.883–95) appears to have been struck in the Five Boroughs but not further south.⁵ When a distinctive independent coinage was introduced for the Southern Danelaw in the mid-890s, somewhat surprisingly it took as its obverse inscription an invocation to the martyred East Anglian king Edmund, some early coins offering the full vocative form *SCE EADMVNDE REX* ('O Saint Edmund the King!'). To reinforce this message designs were adopted that were similar to those of the coinage struck in the latter part of the reign of Edmund, a large central A on the obverse and a simple cross, rather than Edmund's cross-and-four-pellets, on the reverse.⁶ There is considerable uncertainty about precisely where the coinage was struck. Although primarily an East Anglian issue, evidence from finds and from tracing moneyers into earlier and later coinages suggests that its production also extended into parts of eastern Mercia.⁷

¹ There is no comprehensive study of the St Edmund coinage, but the best survey is C.E. Blunt, 'The St Edmund Memorial coinage', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31.3 (1969), 234–54. On the date of introduction of the coinage see 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 p. 25.

² For a discussion of the division of the Danelaw and Guthrum's authority, see C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London and Rio Grande, 1992), pp. 3–34.

³ M. Blackburn, 'The earliest Anglo-Viking coinage of the Southern Danelaw (late 9th century)', *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, edited by I.A. Carradice (London, 1989), pp. 341–8.

⁴ M. Blackburn, 'Expansion and control: aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian minting south of the Humber', *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, edited by J. Graham-Campbell *et al.* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 125–42.

⁵ 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 pp. 18–20.

⁶ H.E. Pagan, 'The coinage of the East Anglian kingdom from 825 to 870', *BNJ* 52 (1982), 41–83.

⁷ 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), pp. 101–2.

The absence of any meaningful documentary evidence for the history of the East Anglian kingdom in the latter years of the ninth century makes any explanation for the introduction of a coinage of this character purely speculative, but some speculation is nonetheless permissible. One possibility, for instance, is that Guthrum's death in 890 may have led to some internal sub-division of the area of Viking settlement in Eastern England, and that as a consequence a local Danish king may have found himself ruling a territory smaller than that ruled by Guthrum and thus corresponding more exactly to the kingdom ruled by Edmund; we do not exactly know what the frontiers of Edmund's kingdom were, but if it covered Cambridgeshire as well as Norfolk and Suffolk, its frontiers may not have differed much from those of Viking East Anglia around 900, and a coinage of traditional East Anglian appearance might well have seemed appropriate. If such were its origins, the St Edmund coinage could have extended into eastern Mercia at a slightly later date. However, the new coinage was not simply one in the name of King Edmund, but a coinage which invoked him in his capacity as saint, and it may in consequence have had a somewhat wider appeal than it would if it merely addressed East Anglian nationalist sentiments.

In the ninth century it was quite unprecedented to replace the ruler's name with that of a saint, although occasionally a saint's name had appeared on the reverse to signify the mint. The only example of this in the Anglo-Saxon series had been at Rochester where in the 830s the name of St Andrew (SCS ANDREAS (APOSTOLVS)), to whom the cathedral was dedicated, appeared on episcopal issues, but the practice was more widespread on the Carolingian coinage where the name was customarily that of a saint to whom there was a prominent church or cult dedicated at the town where the coin was struck (e.g. SCI STEPHANI MONE for Dijon). As was pointed out long ago by Charles Keary,⁸ and has now been traced with greater precision by Veronica Smart,⁹ the moneyers' names that appear on the reverse of the coins are predominantly Continental Germanic. But, as Smart points out, the preceding Guthrum and imitative coinages had also had moneyers with Continental Germanic (i.e. Frankish) names,¹⁰ and any deliberate importation of such moneyers from the European continent must have begun before the inception of the St Edmund coinage. In the circumstances, it is possible that Carolingian practice to some extent inspired the St Edmund coinage, although if so its application was more radical as the name of St Edmund was used to indicate the authority responsible for the entire coinage. Nonetheless the principle that the saint named on the coins was normally one favoured by a local dedication or cult is relevant. Such is certainly the case with the St Peter coinage struck at York in the early tenth century and probably so for the St Martin coinage at Lincoln in the 920s.

Should we then be looking for one town with a dedication to St Edmund as the original and principal mint for the coinage? It is not rational to suppose that all or indeed any of the St Edmund coins were struck at the fledgling town of Bury St Edmunds¹¹ or at the various lesser places in East Anglia particularly associated with the saint, for this was a very substantial, economically significant, coinage that endured for two decades. But might there have been a significant cult of St Edmund at one of the principal towns such as Norwich, Thetford or Ipswich which time has obscured? Or is it more likely, as hinted above, that by the mid 890s the cult had built up such a head of steam across the region generally that it was politically astute for the local Danish king to associate his regime with it by putting the saint's name on his coins? In using his baptismal name on the coinage, Guthrum had already shown how significantly he regarded that Christian ceremony, and the ties that it gave him to King Alfred who had stood sponsor as his godfather. The strong Christian element in the designs and inscriptions on the contemporary regal coinage of Scandinavian York have also been seen as a sign that the Scandinavian rulers chose to publicise their adoption of Christianity as part of a political agenda to gain acceptance and respect among other European states.¹² This seems a plausible motive in the case of the St Edmund coinage too.

⁸ C.F. Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series* vol. I (London, 1887), p. 97.

⁹ V.J. Smart, 'The moneyers of St. Edmund', *Hikui* 11 (1985), 83–90.

¹⁰ V.J. Smart, 'Scandinavians, Celts, and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of moneyers' names', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 171–84, at pp. 176–7. For the imitative series see Blackburn, 'The earliest coinage', as in n. 3, pp. 345–6.

¹¹ The date of the translation of St Edmund's relics to Bury is unknown, though they were there by 942x951; Hart, *The Danelaw*, as in n. 2, p. 57.

¹² M. Blackburn, 'The coinage of Scandinavian York', *Anglo-Scandinavian York*, edited by R.A. Hall (Archaeology of York 8/4; York, forthcoming).

Phases of the coinage

Our knowledge of the series is distorted by the great Cuerdale hoard of 1840, which contained somewhere between 1,800 and 1,850 St Edmunds, all struck in the decade between c.895 and c.905, the currently accepted date for the Cuerdale hoard's deposit.¹³ This had the result that among the 590-odd coins of St Edmund type listed in the *British Museum Catalogue* at the end of the nineteenth century, only twelve were not from the Cuerdale hoard, and the British Museum collection remains extremely weak today in the post-Cuerdale phase of the coinage. The Cuerdale hoard does however provide an excellent representation of the earlier stages of the coinage, apparently commencing with coins by the moneyers Ansiger, Bosecin, Decemund, Sigemund and Wineger on which the inscription SCE EADMVND REX appears in its full form. The lettering on the obverse and reverse dies of these coins is particularly carefully engraved. Other moneyers' names occurring on coins dating from relatively early in the coinage include Abonel, Adalbert, Adradus, Chenapa, Grim and Odulf. It was not however possible to maintain for very long any consistent accuracy in the rendering of the names on the obverse and reverse dies for the coinage, and it looks as if by the time the Cuerdale hoard was deposited the coinage had already degenerated to the point that the names or collections of letters appearing on the coins' reverses no longer reliably identified the individuals responsible for the coins' production. This has long been recognised by scholars in relation to coins with reverse inscriptions that are actually meaningless, but future detailed study of the Cuerdale St Edmunds as a whole may well show that many of the coins with ostensible moneyers' names were not struck for the individuals in question. Thus, coins of crude style by the apparent moneyers 'Reart' and 'Sten' are connected by an obverse die-link, and it is relevant that Veronica Smart has found no good Continental Germanic origin for either name.¹⁴ Similarly, and more disturbingly, it does not necessarily follow that because some coins of a particular moneyer were actually struck by the moneyer concerned all coins with this moneyer's name are his own production. Coins of the moneyer Adalbert, for example, range from coins of good style on which his name is rendered as ADALBERT MONE or ADALBERT ME FEC(IT) to coins on which his name is given as AOLBRT or ODVLBER, and one must face the possibility that the coins with his name in a garbled form were simply imitated from Adalbert's real coins by a die-engraver employed by some quite different person. Signs of poor literacy are also to be found in other Scandinavian coinages, notably in the previous Two-line coinage of the Southern Danelaw, in the York Viking coinage prior to 927 and the Hiberno-Norse coinage of the late tenth and eleventh centuries. This seems to reflect a weakness in writing not merely among die-cutters but also within the administrations that oversaw these coinages. It does not follow, however, that the organisation of the coinage or its economic status was also flawed.

Evidence for the post-Cuerdale phases of the St Edmund series was first brought together by Christopher Blunt in a paper published to mark the eleven hundredth anniversary of Edmund's death in 869,¹⁵ and he retained his interest in this area of the coinage right up to his own death in 1987, adding a note of a new specimen to his card index as late as April in that year. Although in 1969 Blunt treated the post-Cuerdale St Edmund under a single heading, sufficient new material had come to light by the time of the publication in 1989 of Blunt, Stewart and Lyon's *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, that it was possible for the authors to distinguish a late, light-weight St Edmund series of smaller module with abbreviated inscriptions, represented in some numbers in the Morley St Peter hoard, deposited c.925, and evidently struck in the Southern Danelaw in the period leading up to the recovery of the region by Edward the Elder in 917/18.¹⁶ This appears to

¹³ M.M. Archibald, 'Dating Cuerdale: the evidence of the coins', *Viking Treasure from the North West. The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*, edited by J. Graham-Campbell (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 15–20.

¹⁴ Smart, 'The moneyers', as in n. 9, pp. 86 and 88, comments that 'Reart' may be a blundering of CG *Rather*, but it is otherwise unintelligible, and 'Sten' may be one of the very few Old Norse names present in this coinage.

¹⁵ Blunt, 'The St Edmund Memorial coinage' as in n. 1. Some of Blunt's research on this later phase of the St Edmund coinage was reflected in S.E. Rigold, 'Finds of St. Edmund Memorial and other Anglo-Saxon coins from excavations at Thetford', *BNJ* 29 (1958), 189–90, which also has a survey of the find evidence then known.

¹⁶ Blunt, Stewart and Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, as in n. 7, pp. 100–2. The Morley St Peter hoard has been recognised as having two distinct elements, one assembled c.905 and the other c.925 (*ibid.*, pp. 248–9). The St Edmunds belong mainly to the latter group.

have been preceded by a 'transitional' or 'intermediate' phase in the coinage, represented by specimens on which the reduction of flan size and shortening of inscriptions was only partially complete, but the evidence for this phase was sketchy. Apart from the Cuerdale and Morley St Peter finds, the hoard evidence for the St Edmund coinage was very weak, with just a few specimens occurring in hoards mainly found in north-west England and Ireland, far away from the Southern Danelaw. Blunt had written up two small parcels of coins,¹⁷ one allegedly from the Thames containing two St Edmunds – one from the Cuerdale phase and one from the 'transitional' phase – together with three imitative Edward the Elder coins and one Swordless St Peter deposited c. 910. The other was a group of just three coins found in Suffolk, all 'transitional' St Edmunds, one of which had three annulets on the obverse and an annulet motif in each quarter of the reverse. This is the most distinctive variety among the 'transitional' series, and it is known now from at least six specimens.¹⁸

Two significant hoards of St Edmund coins from the post-Cuerdale phase appeared on the market in 1993 and 1995. Regrettably neither hoard had been declared to the authorities by the finders, and information about them has had to be gleaned from groups of coins recorded in the trade. The earlier hoard, evidenced by a parcel of forty-four coins that appeared on the London market in 1993, will be described in detail below, but it is convenient first to say something about the second hoard, which appeared in 1995 and was published the following year.

Manningtree hoard, c. 1995

Information about this hoard is scanty, having been gleaned second or third hand from several different sources. Two separate parcels recorded in September and November 1995 had originally contained some twenty-two coins, although only twelve were still available to be recorded and illustrated.¹⁹ The majority of coins in both parcels were broken fragments, and they evidently derive from the same hoard. Parcel A had been acquired from someone in Suffolk, and were said to have been found widely scattered in a field, although its location was not given. Parcel B was said to have been found 'near Colchester', Essex, on a field that had been metal-detected by a number of different people. In 1996 the hoard was published as having been found near Colchester, Essex and containing 22+ St Edmund pennies. Subsequently, Michael Bonser heard via contacts among metal-detector users that the site was near Manningtree, Essex, which is only some ten kilometres from Colchester and lies close to the Suffolk border. He was told about a group of some seventy coins, apparently additional to the two parcels recorded previously, but like them the further group consisted mostly of broken or fragmentary pieces. These were all said to have been St Edmund pennies except for one that was a St Peter coin from York.

This find might now be summarised:

Manningtree, near, Essex, c. 1995.

c. 90+ AR pennies

Dep. c. 915

All said to be St Edmund coins, except for one St Peter coin of York (presumably the Swordless type of c. 905–19).

Most coins broken or fragmentary. Twelve coins recorded and illustrated in *NC* 156 (1996), 289–91.

Disp. Ten fragments deposited at the Fitzwilliam Museum, remainder dispersed in trade.

In the sample of twelve coins, one belonged to the Cuerdale phase of the coinage (no. 1, moneyer Ansiger) and the remaining eleven were later varieties. Among the latter only one had a recognisable moneyer's name (no. 2, Adrad) and one may have had a double obverse inscription (no. 4), while the rest had inscriptions that were either unintelligible or too fragmentary to read. Among the twelve coins there was one pair struck from the same dies.

¹⁷ Lord Stewartby (ed.), 'Four tenth-century notes: unfinished work of C.E. Blunt', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 33–40, at pp. 34–6.

¹⁸ There are two reverse variants within the group. The 'Suffolk' parcel coin and another from the same obverse die, a single find from Burnham Market, Norfolk now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1784–2001), have stems attached to the annulets pointing to the centre of the coin. Four other specimens discussed in Blunt's 'Four tenth-century notes', as in n. 17, pp. 35–6, have simple annulets in the reverse quarters, and the specimen cited there from *NC* Circ Dec. 1994, no. 7884, had been found at Thetford (per M.J. Bonser; EMC 2001.0718).

¹⁹ M. Blackburn, 'A hoard of late St Edmund coins from near Colchester', *NC* 156 (1996), 289–91.

'Baldwin' hoard, c.1993

A parcel of forty-four St Edmund coins appeared on the London market in 1993. It was acquired by A.H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd, who immediately made it available for study. Through the good offices of Peter Mitchell the coins were temporarily deposited at the Fitzwilliam Museum to be photographed and weighed.²⁰ They are described in the Catalogue at the end of this article and illustrated on Plates 1–2. There is no information at all about the location or circumstances of their discovery, although they quite clearly come from a hoard and one which is most likely to have been found in East Anglia or the East Midlands. Only two of the coins belong to the Cuerdale phase, nos 25 (moneyer Husca) and 36 (moneyer Odulbert), although both have corrupt legends and one is rather light (1.28 g) suggesting that they were produced during the latter part of the phase. The remaining forty-two coins post-date the Cuerdale hoard. Characteristically they have shorter legends, thicker lettering and no pellets or other decoration around the central motif. No coins of the transitional annulet variety are present. The obverse inscriptions have Edmund's name regularly contracted to SC EADM, SC EADN, SC EADNI or shorter but nonetheless literate forms, while only a minority (five coins or 12 per cent) have blundered obverse inscriptions. With the reverses it is harder to say what proportion has unintelligible legends since, as with the Cuerdale phase coins, it is often difficult to identify the Continental Germanic names that lay behind the inscriptions. A significant number of coins in the parcel have forms that appear to reflect genuine names, e.g. Acitneus, Alefred, Ansica, Badi, Bosecn, Inga?, Ofbert, Otelber, Rodulf and Teter, but there are others which are more puzzling – Azesten, Cerbeat, Cibvino, Iovicis – or frankly meaningless. Between a third and a half of the reverse inscriptions fall into the puzzling or meaningless category. Several of the more plausible names, e.g. Acitneus, Inga?, Ofbert and Rodulf, are names that are not found on coins from the Cuerdale hoard, and these may well represent new moneyers who really existed. At the same time it is disconcerting that some of the coins with meaningless reverse inscriptions are just as carefully engraved as those with apparently meaningful inscriptions, and it is not clear what weight should be placed on the veracity of the inscriptions as a whole. In this context, we should record that although it had previously occurred both to Blunt and to one of the present authors (H.P.) that the obverse inscription NVRIT CVI, found here on coin 31, might have been intended as a rendering of NORDVVIC CIVITAS, i.e. Norwich, the inscription now seems more likely to be just another meaningless collection of letters.

The forty-two post-Cuerdale coins in this parcel provide us with the largest single group from this phase of the coinage, and it is instructive to compare them with elements of the Cuerdale, Manningtree and Morley St Peter hoards. Some comparisons have already been made in order to show that this parcel did not come from the same hoard as Parcels A and B of the Manningtree find.²¹ Apart from their very different physical condition – all the coins in the 'Baldwin' parcel are whole and sound, while the Manningtree coins were mostly chipped or broken – there are statistical differences in the proportion of coins with corrupt legends or an unbarred A as the central obverse motif (Table 1), which show that they are drawn from different samples of the St Edmund coinage. The Morley St Peter hoard also has a slightly higher proportion of unbarred A coins and coins with irregular obverse inscriptions, although not as high as the Manningtree group. It is tempting to assume that these differences reflect chronological changes in the coinage, but they could indicate that the hoards contained coins from different mints in varying proportions.

It is instructive to study the weights of the coins in this parcel and to compare them with those from the Cuerdale and Morley St Peter hoard (Table 2; Figs 1–3); unfortunately the

²⁰ We are immensely grateful to Mr Mitchell for recognising the importance of this group and taking steps to ensure that it would be properly recorded and published. A brief notice of the hoard was published by the present authors in 'Coin Hoards 1996', *NC* 156 (1996), 289, no. 128.

²¹ Blackburn, 'A hoard of late St Edmund coins', as in n. 19, p. 291.

TABLE 1. Comparison of design features and inscriptions on post-Cuerdale coins

	<i>'Baldwin'</i> <i>Hoard</i>	<i>Manningtree</i> <i>Hoard</i>	<i>Morley St Peter</i> <i>Hoard</i>
<i>Central motif:</i>			
Chevron-barred A	40 (95%)	6 (60%)	17 (89%)
Unbarred A	2 (5%)	4 (40%)	2 (11%)
<i>Obverse legend:</i>			
+SC ...	39 (93%)	5 (50%)	14 (74%)
... CS+ (retro.)	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	1 (5%)
Other	3 (7%)	2 (20%)	4 (21%)

Source: Morley St Peter hoard – *SCBI East Anglia*

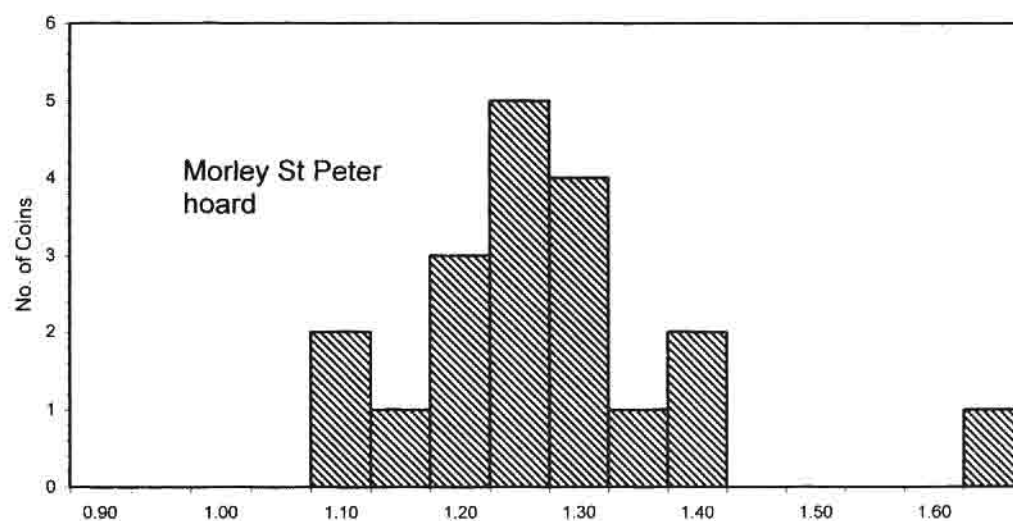
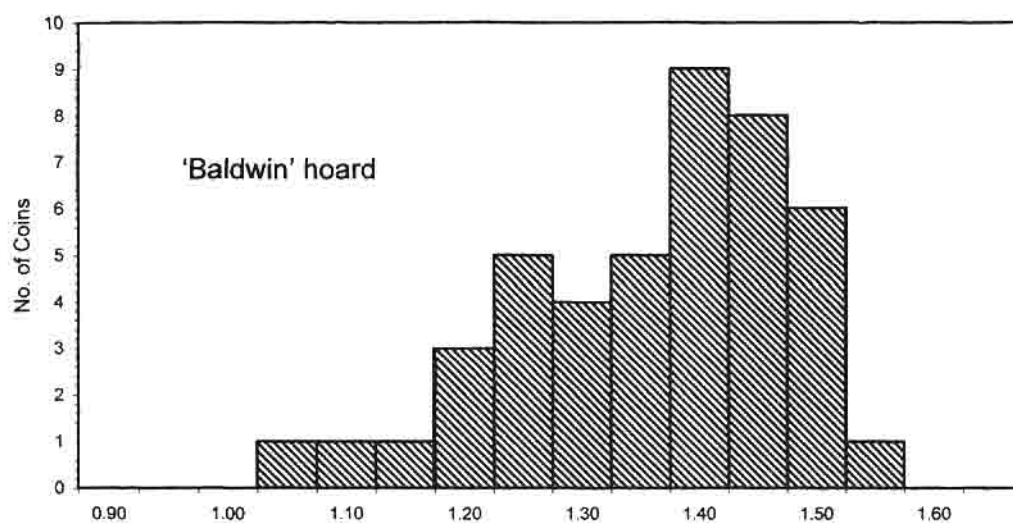
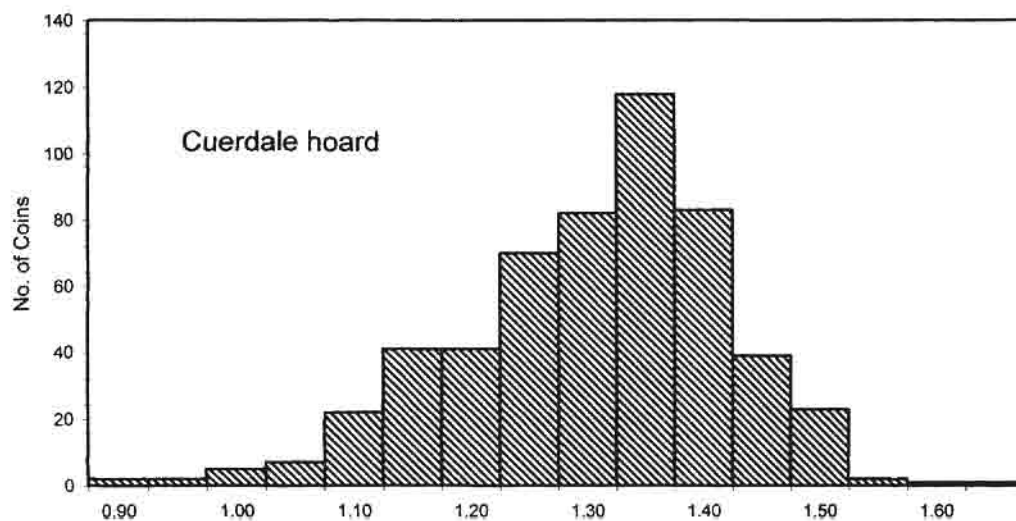
Manningtree coins are too damaged and the metal too corroded for their weights to be meaningful. This shows, somewhat surprisingly, that the average weight of the coins in the 'Baldwin' parcel (1.38 g) is significantly higher than that of the Cuerdale hoard (1.33 g), and the histograms equally show a distinct shift in the modal weight. The Cuerdale distribution is based on a large sample of 539 coins in the British Museum, and it is not unduly influenced by the presence of a number of particularly illiterate, light-weight coins.²² Blunt had demonstrated that the ninety-three coins of the best style have a modal weight that is similar to that of the group as a whole.²³ By contrast, the coins in the Morley St Peter hoard have a lower average weight (1.29 g), and a lower modal weight. These figures seem to imply that after the Cuerdale phase there was a slight increase in the weight standard to which the St Edmund coins were struck, followed by a decline towards the end of the issue. However, we should be wary of relying on this evidence alone, for we do not know how representative these hoards were. Heavier coins could have been specially selected for the 'Baldwin' Hoard to an extent sufficient to move the modal and average weights. The Morley St Peter hoard, on the other hand, was assembled several years after St Edmund coins had gone out of production, having been replaced by an imitative coinage based on Edward the Elder's London Portrait issue, and the heavier St Edmund coins may well have been culled from circulation by the operation of Gresham's Law. However, this should not have occurred during the currency of the imitative Portrait coins, for they were struck to a higher standard than the later St Edmunds (Table 2).²⁴ Unfortunately, single-finds in undamaged condition are too few to provide independent verification of this pattern. We can at least say that during the transitional phase and perhaps beyond, St Edmund coins were struck to a standard no lower than that in the Cuerdale phase, and they may indeed represent a modest increase in weight.

Coins of the later phase are generally regarded as having been struck on smaller flans than Cuerdale coins, but in fact the difference is small, about five per cent on average. Table 3 indicates that the diameters of Cuerdale coins are most commonly 19mm with a smaller proportion measuring 18mm and few reaching 20 mm. The forty-two post-Cuerdale coins in the 'Baldwin' parcel rarely reach 19 mm, but are usually 18 mm or 17 mm in diameter. The coins in the Manningtree and Morley St Peter hoards show a similar pattern, though the latter has a lower proportion of 17 mm coins. There is thus some overlap between the diameters of coins from the two phases. A more sensitive criterion is the diameter of the obverse inner circle, measured from the centre of the line that forms the circle. On Cuerdale coins this is normally between 8.5 and 10 mm. By contrast on the post-Cuerdale coins in the 'Baldwin' hoard and the Manningtree hoard the circles measure between 7 mm and 8.5 mm. The Morley St Peter hoard has a some-

²² Anyway, the most blundered and light-weight group (*BMC* 659–92) were excluded from the analysis.

²³ Blunt, 'The St Edmund Memorial coinage', as in n. 1, p. 250.

²⁴ The Imitative Portrait series is the subject of a detailed study by Timothy Clough in *SCBI East Anglia*, pp. 4–45.



Figs 1-3.

TABLE 2. Weight distributions of St Edmund pennies and the East Anglian Imitative Portrait type

Range (g)	Cuerdale Hoard	'Baldwin' Hoard	Morley St Peter Hoard	East Anglian Portrait type
0.90-0.94	2			
0.95-0.99	2			3
1.00-1.04	5			4
1.05-1.09	7	1		10
1.10-1.14	22	1	2	10
1.15-1.19	41	1	1	15
1.20-1.24	41	3	3	43
1.25-1.29	70	5	5	76
1.30-1.34	82	4	4	136
1.35-1.39	118	5	1	172
1.40-1.44	83	9	2	113
1.45-1.49	39	8		44
1.50-1.54	23	6		13
1.55-1.59	2	1		4
1.60-1.64	1			5
1.65-1.69	1		1	5
No. of coins	539	44	19	658
Average wt	1.33 g	1.38 g	1.29 g	1.35 g

Source: Cuerdale hoard – *British Museum Catalogue*; East Anglian Portrait type – *SCBI East Anglia*, p. 43 (five coins outside the range not plotted)

what wider range, with four coins measuring more than 8.5 mm. The 'transitional' period variety with annulets on the obverse and reverse has diameters that conform to the Cuerdale coins. The smaller central area on the later coins reinforces the impression that the coins themselves are noticeably smaller. In fact the marginal band carrying the inscription is sometimes wider on later coins than on Cuerdale coins, but the use of heavier, thicker epigraphy results in more abbreviated legends.

Within the 'Baldwin' parcel there are six groups of die-duplicates involving sixteen coins (nos 1-5; 21-3; 27-8; 34-5; 38-9; 41-2) and one case of a reverse die-link (no. 29 linked to 27 and 28). The forty-two post-Cuerdale coins are struck from thirty-two obverse and thirty-one reverse dies. From this we can estimate the number of reverse dies that were originally used to strike this restricted phase of the coinage (i.e. that phase of post-Cuerdale coinage represented in the 'Baldwin' parcel) to be c. 107 dies. However, this is only the central estimate, and because it is based on a small sample there is a wide range of between 59 and 207 dies implied by the 95% confidence interval.²⁵ Within the group there are groups of three and five die-duplicates, which may have come more recently from the mint and remained together. If the five coins reading *Acitneus* (nos 1-5) were some of the latest in the hoard, it is interesting that they are also among the heaviest (1.44 g-1.48 g).

Nature of the Currency

The 'Baldwin' and Manningtree hoards provide us with the first substantial hoards deposited within the Southern Danelaw during the currency of the St Edmund coinage. Although important information about the finds is lacking because of the finders' failure to declare them, and it is particularly unfortunate that we have no idea where the 'Baldwin' hoard was found, in assessing the evidence for their compositions we can take some comfort from the similarities between the two

²⁵ These calculations rely on the formulae recommended in W. Esty, 'Estimation of the size of a coinage: a survey and comparison of methods', *NC* 146 (1986), 185-215 (nos J1, H5 and C2). The central point would imply that about 40% of this narrow phase of coinage was struck from the surviving reverse dies.

TABLE 3. Diameters of St Edmund coins

<i>Diameter</i>	<i>Cuerdale Hoard</i>	<i>'Baldwin' Hoard</i>	<i>Manningtree Hoard</i>	<i>Morley St Peter Hoard</i>
Flan size (mm):				
17	—	15	2	2
18	4	26	4	15
19	16	1	—	2
20	3	—	—	
Inner Circle (mm):				
7	—	4	4	1
7.5	—	9	—	5
8	—	22	2	8
8.5	6	7	3	1
9	3	—	—	3
9.5	9	—	—	1
10	4	—	—	—
10.5	1	—	—	—

Source: Cuerdale hoard (23 coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum)

finds. Both apparently consisted almost exclusively of St Edmund coins – with just one York St Peter out of some ninety coins in the Manningtree hoard. Among the St Edmunds in both hoards coins of the later phase dominated, with just two Cuerdale period coins out of forty-four present in the 'Baldwin' hoard and one out of a sample of twelve in the Manningtree hoard.

The coins in the 'Baldwin' hoard appear to be earlier than those in the Morley St Peter hoard, to judge from their higher weights and the greater regularity in their inscriptions. They may also be earlier than the Manningtree coins, which have a substantially higher proportion of corrupt inscriptions and obverses with the central A unbarred, although as already indicated this could be a result of the coins being drawn from a different region within the Danelaw. The proportion of coins with smaller inner circles, less than 8 mm, is also higher in Manningtree, although the sample is small. In neither group were any coins of the 'transitional' variety with annulets in the design present, and while this may not be significant in the case of the twelve coins studied from Manningtree, it probably is for the 'Baldwin' Parcel. Within the post-Cuerdale period of *c.*905–*c.*918, it would be reasonable to date the 'Baldwin' hoard *c.*910–15 and place the Manningtree hoard probably a little later.

The most striking feature implied by these finds is the uniformity of the currency they represent. The Scandinavians in their homelands were used to operating a bullion or 'money-weight' economy, and in the Danelaw there are ample signs that from the Vikings' earliest settlement until at least the 920s bullion continued to play some role alongside a developing coin economy.²⁶ These two hoards testify to the strength of that coin economy, for not only have 'foreign' coins from Anglo-Saxon England or from Carolingian Francia been excluded, but so too largely have the issues of the neighbouring Scandinavian kingdom of York. In neither hoard was there evidence of pecking (i.e. nicks in their surface to test the silver) such as was present in the 1984 Ashdon (Essex) hoard deposited *c.*895,²⁷ although admittedly the fragmentary condition of the Manningtree coins would have made this difficult to see.

It follows that all the features of a well-managed monetary economy are evident from these two hoards. However, the fact that the coins are predominantly from the later phase of the coinage requires some explanation. Had these been struck to a lighter standard than the Cuerdale coins one could have argued that the earlier issues had been driven out of circulation by the operation of

²⁶ Blackburn, 'Expansion and control', as in n. 4, pp. 128–35; J. Graham-Campbell, 'The dual economy of the Danelaw', *BNJ* 71 (2001), 49–59, at pp. 52–9.

²⁷ Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) hoard', as in n. 1, pp. 23–4.

Gresham's Law ('Bad money drives out good'), but the coins in the 'Baldwin' parcel are struck on a weight standard similar to or higher than that of the Cuerdale coins. We do not, of course, know the fineness of the coins, and it is possible that the later series had a lower silver content, although this is not evident from the coins themselves. The apparent increase in weight standard could suggest that there had been a reform in the coinage which might have involved the withdrawal of the earlier coins, but the designs are really too similar for a recoinage to have been implemented in practice and this can reasonably be ruled out. A more probable explanation is simply that the turnover of the currency during the early tenth century was so high that the most recent coins soon came to dominate the local currency. This would imply exceptionally high levels of 'wastage', essentially export, from the currency and sustained mint output fuelled by the reminting of imported coinage and bullion. East Anglia was one of the wealthiest and agriculturally most productive regions of England supporting a thriving trade, and the fact that St Edmund coins have occurred in finds widely spread in other parts of the Viking world – northern England, Ireland and Scandinavia – shows that they were used in international payments. They have rarely been found in areas under Anglo-Saxon control or in Francia, but that is as one would expect since their monetary systems operated on different weight standards and would have required the St Edmund coins to be reminted. If one takes the latest possible date for the 'Baldwin' hoard as c.915, it would imply that within ten years the Cuerdale issues had fallen from representing one hundred per cent of the currency to less than ten per cent. This suggests a half-life of the currency (the time taken to decline to half the original value) of two-and-a-half to three years. In mid tenth-century England Michael Metcalf has argued that a half-life of ten to fifteen years was normal, although varying from region to region.²⁸ The most easterly hoard of the group he considered, that from Tetney (Lincs.), shows a level of wastage that is comparable with the St Edmund hoards, for of its 394 coins, deposited c.963, less than twelve per cent date from before 955. One would like to have further hoard evidence from the Southern Danelaw to support this interpretation, but if correct it implies there was a remarkably strong economy there under Scandinavian rule in the early tenth century. The evidence of single finds points in the same direction, for St Edmund pennies are more plentiful as finds than coins of Edward the Elder or those of Scandinavian York, and interestingly, among the St Edmunds, coins of the later phase outnumber those the Cuerdale period.²⁹

The forty-four coins in the 'Baldwin' Parcel have added considerably to our knowledge of the coinage, and potentially of the economy, of the Danelaw during this shadowy period of its history, yet there is still much that we do not understand. Further progress can be expected as new finds are discovered, but there is also considerable potential in a more detailed and systematic study of the St Edmund coinage generally.

²⁸ D.M. Metcalf, 'The monetary history of England in the tenth century viewed in the perspective of the eleventh century', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 133–57, at p. 149.

²⁹ The *Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds from the British Isles* (www.medievalcoins.org) currently records fifty-seven finds of St Edmund coins, compared with thirty finds of coins of Edward the Elder and only eleven of the Swordless St Peter coinage of York.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE 'BALDWIN' PARCEL

All the coins are illustrated on Pls 1–2. Save where otherwise indicated, the letter S appears on the coins as if it has fallen on its face. In a few instances it is retrograde or reversed as well.

No.	Obv. legend	Obv. design	Rev. legend	Weight (g)	Die-axis	Diam./Inner circ. (mm)
1.	+SCEAIDI	Chevroned A	+ACITNEVS (S upright)	1.48	170°	18/8
2.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.47	0°	18/8
3.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.46	0°	18/8
4.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.44	0°	18/8
5.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.44	0°	18/8
6.	+SCVCLC (S reversed on face, first and second C square, second C and L retrograde)	Chevroned A	+ADOIN	1.23	250°	18/7.5
7.	+SCEAIDN The reverse inscription evidently reflects the Old English name Ælfræd; cf. a Cuerdale coin reading +ELOFROED RN (<i>BMC</i> 386).	Chevroned A	+ALEFRED	1.51	270°	19/8
8.	+SC[]NRT (N retrograde)	Unbarred A	+AMRDVO	1.54	270°	18/8
9.	+SCEAIDN	Chevroned A	+A-NS-ICA	1.52	170°	18/8
10.	+SCEADN Cf. coin in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CM.1.268–1990), ex Blunt, ex Glendining sale 25 May 1972, lot 724, with inscriptions +SCEADN and +ANSICA (without pellets). Blunt noted the similarity in appearance between his coin of ANSICA and his example of coin 31 below (Stewartby (editor), 'Four tenth-century notes', as in n. 17, p. 36). Ansiger (<i>sic</i>) is a well-known moneyer in the Cuerdale St Edmund series, and his continued activity, or the memory of his past activity, is now evidenced in the post-Cuerdale period both by a single find from Hemmingstone, near Ipswich, Suffolk, with reverse inscription ANSIER retrograde ('Coin Register 1994', no. 185), and by these coins reading ANSICA.	Chevroned A	+ANSICA	1.29	170°	17/8
11.	+SCEADI It is not clear whether this is a blundered inscription, or has some relationship with the coins in the Cuerdale hoard reading ASTEN or STEN. The former Smart suggests could represent Old Norse <i>Hasteinn</i> .	Chevroned A	+AZESTEN	1.41	260°	18/8.5
12.	+SCEADI	Chevroned A	+BADI MOI	1.42	170°	18/8
13.	+SCEAIDM A number of other St Edmund coins of the post-Cuerdale period by an ostensible moneyer BADI are known, including <i>SCBI</i> Cambridge 458 (possibly a stray from the Dean, Cumberland, hoard of c. 1790), but these differ slightly in style and have crosses in the reverse inscription not found on the present coins 12 and 13. Smart equates the name with <i>CG Bado</i> , a name found on some Cuerdale coins.	Unbarred A	+BADI NOI	1.39	170°	17/7
14.	+SCEAIDM The letter L in the reverse inscription is upside down and may well be intended to represent a letter S (cf. coin in Morley St Peter hoard, <i>SCBI</i> East Anglia 11, with a similar letter in the reverse inscription BOSECIN). Bosecin, like Ansiger (above), is a well-known moneyer in the Cuerdale St Edmund series, but his continued activity, or the memory of	Chevroned A	+BOLECN	1.39	90°	17/8.5

No.	Obv. legend	Obv. design	Rev. legend	Weight (g)	Die-axis	Diam./ Inner circ. (mm)
his past activity, is only evidenced in the post-Cuerdale series by this coin and by the Morley St Peter coin.						
15.	+SCEAIDM	Chevroned A	+CACCICD (reversed letters, second and fourth C square) or +DCICAC (retrograde, first and third C square)	1.08	90°	17/8
16.	+SCEADN	Chevroned A	+CECAIEI	1.33	250°	17/8
17.	+SCEA·:ID	Chevroned A	+CERBEAT	1.44	350°	18/7.5
18.	+SCEADN Cf. coin seen by Blunt in B.A. Seaby's stock in 1956 (now H.P.), with inscriptions +ICEADI and +CIRVINO (perhaps the specimen illustrated in Fountaine, pl. IX. 2, and Camden, pl. VIII.15).	Chevroned A	+CIBVINO	1.26	170°	18/8.5
19.	+SCEADNV	Chevroned A	+COSBEAC (second C square)	1.34	80°	18/8
20.	+SCECA'N (N retrograde) Possibly representing the Latin (hence Frankish) name Cristin, which is found on coins of Athelstan's H (NE I) type.	Chevroned A	+CRED·IN (C square, N retrograde)	1.46	250°	18/7.5
21.	+SCEADN	Chevroned A	+DA·TDOI	1.58	260°	17/7.5
22.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.50	0°	17/7.5
23.	Same obverse die Another specimen from the same dies was listed <i>NCirc</i> Sept. 1993, no. 6136, wt 1.37 g, and may well derive from the same hoard as the present parcel.		Same reverse die	1.41	270°	17/7.5
24.	+DVIVICIRO (C square) A coin in the Manningtree hoard reads +DVII[]IRO and []ERDNO[V]. These coins are also related to three from the Cuerdale hoard (<i>BMC</i> 388–90).	Unbarred A	+ERDVNOT (N retrograde)	1.40	180°	18/8
25.	+SCIAIIVIE Early variant, Cuerdale phase. Die-duplicate of <i>BMC</i> 438, ex Cuerdale hoard. Smart suggests the name is CG <i>Husca</i> .	Chevroned A	+HVSCAMMO	1.45	270°	18/9
26.	+SVIAC· Cf. <i>BMC</i> 572 (not from Cuerdale), P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton sale, 1913, lot 315(d), and two specimens from the Manningtree hoard (nos 7–8), all with reverse inscription +SIOACI (<i>sic</i>); the reverse inscription on the Carlyon-Britton specimen is described as being retrograde and must therefore have been similar to that on the present coin, but both the BM coin and the Carlyon-Britton coin were from a different obverse die reading +SCCDIO.	Chevroned A	+HCAOIS (S on its front reversed)	1.40	190°	17/7
27.	+SCEAIDI	Chevroned A	+HEARCI· (C square)	1.51	80°	17/8
28.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.33	260°	17/8

No.	Obv. legend	Obv. design	Rev. legend	Weight (g)	Die-axis	Diam./ Inner circ. (mm)
29.	+SCEADI	Chevroned A	Same reverse die	1.36	180°	18/8.5
30.	+SCCTICV (first C square).	Chevroned A	+HIAIVICE	1.13	350°	17/7
31.	+NVRITCVI	Chevroned A	+HOVICIS (C retrograde, S on its front reversed)	1.25	200°	18/7.5
<p>Die-duplicate of Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1.272-1990), ex Blunt, one of a parcel of three coins which Blunt, speaking in 1986, described as having been 'found some years ago in Suffolk with a metal detector' (Stewartby (ed.), 'Four tenth-century notes', as in n. 17, p. 35); and of a specimen in Pagan's possession, ex Glendining sale 4 March 1981, lot 75. In his remarks on his own specimen Blunt recorded the possibility that NVRIT might reflect the mint name Norwich and that CVI might be an abbreviated form of the word CIVITAS, but remarked that NVRIT was a less likely-looking form for Norwich than the NORDVICO which appears on a St Edmund coin already known (<i>SCBI Midlands Museums 100</i>, found at Northampton). It should be noted that the NORDVICO coin is of rather different appearance to the present one, and although that in itself is not decisive, one of the present authors (H.P.), from whom the suggestion that NVRIT might stand for Norwich originated at a time when only his own specimen with this reading was known, now feels that equation less likely in view of the failure of the present parcel to produce other coins with a potential Norwich obverse reading. Cf. 'Coin Register 1994', no. 187.</p>						
32.	+SCEADN	Chevroned A	+INbAMON (third letter uncertain)	1.38	270°	17/7.5
Possibly <i>Inga</i> , a name recorded in Athelstan's H (NE I) coinage.						
33.	+SCEADI	Chevroned A	+IPILVVA (L retrograde)	1.20	90°	18/7.5
34.	+SCEADN	Chevroned A	+OFBERT	1.49	0°	18/8
35.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.35	0°	17/8
36.	+SCEADIVNI (N retrograde)	Chevroned A	+ODVLBNRMI (N retrograde)	1.28	90°	18/9.5
<p>Early variant, Cuerdale phase. A die-duplicate of a single-find from Exton, Leics. weighing 1.28 g ('Coin Register 1996', no. 191). The moneyer Odulber (<i>CG Odalbert</i>) was well represented in the Cuerdale hoard (cf. <i>BMC 461-70</i>, especially 464-5).</p>						
37.	+SCEADIE	Chevroned A	+O-T-ELBER	1.22	270°	18/8
<p>Possibly the same moneyer as the last coin, <i>Odalbert</i>, but cf. a coin in Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1.271-1990), ex Blunt, with inscriptions +SCEAIDI and +COTOLBERT. Smart interprets that name as <i>CG Godalbert/Gotolbert</i>. The halfpenny with the moneyer's name reduced to OTBR (<i>SCBI East Anglia 1106</i>) may represent the same person.</p>						
38.	+SCEAIDI	Chevroned A	+REARTVO (first R retrograde)	1.49	80°	18/8.5
39.	Same obverse die		Same reverse die	1.16	0°	17/8.5
40.	+SCEAIDM	Chevroned A	+RE-ARTVO (first R retrograde)	1.34	80°	18/7.5
41.	+SCEADNI	Chevroned A	+RODVLF	1.50	350°	18/8

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv. legend</i>	<i>Obv. design</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>	<i>Die -axis</i>	<i>Diam./ Inner circ. (mm)</i>
42.	Same obverse die Cf. coin in British Museum, ex Glendining 16.5.1929, lot 11, ex Rome ('Vatican') hoard, with inscriptions +SCEADNV and +RODVL MOI. Smart interprets the name as CG <i>Hrodulf</i> .		Same reverse die	1.45	350°	18/8
43.	+SCEAIDN	Chevroned A	+SCEAD	1.29	170°	18/8
	Obverse legend repeated on reverse. This occurs on a number of post-Cuerdale coins such as <i>BMC</i> 107–8, one in the Morley St Peter hoard (<i>SCBI</i> East Anglia 17); possibly one in the Manningtree hoard (no. 4); and single finds from Oxborough, Norfolk (EMC 2001.1284); Foulton, Norfolk (EMC 1970.1880); and Thetford, Norfolk (<i>SCBI</i> East Anglia 1102).					
44.	+SCEAIDI	Chevroned A	+TETERM	1.41	280°	18/8.5
	Perhaps the same moneyer as Tedred (CG <i>Theored</i>) in the Cuerdale phase.					