

# The *Agnus Dei* pennies of King Æthelred the Unready

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*in memory of Mark Blackburn*

## ABSTRACT

Specimens of the several substantive coin-types issued in the name of King Æthelred the Unready (978–1016) survive in their thousands, especially (and for good historical reasons) in Scandinavia; but very few specimens are recorded of his highly distinctive *Agnus Dei* type. In a checklist of recorded specimens published in 2007 (*ASE* 36, pp. 215–20), details were given of seventeen coins; and the type was set in the context of the English response to the viking invasion of England in 1009, led by Thorkel the Tall. A further four specimens came to light in 2008–10, one in England and three in Denmark. An updated checklist of the enlarged corpus of *Agnus Dei* coins is here accompanied by a complete set of illustrations; and the opportunity is taken to review some of the historical and numismatic matters raised by this remarkable type.

The silver pennies of the *Agnus Dei* type, struck in the name of King Æthelred the Unready (978–1016), probably in the autumn of the year 1009, are among the most interesting coins in the Anglo-Saxon series: remarkable for their distinctive design (the Lamb of God on the obverse, and a dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, on the reverse); for the intriguing distribution of the places or mints where the surviving coins were struck; and for their great rarity. Forty years ago, in 1971, the count stood at eleven recorded specimens of the *Agnus Dei* type.<sup>1</sup> When a checklist was prepared in 2007, the number of recorded specimens had risen by five to sixteen; and it seemed wonderful that a seventeenth specimen, found in Scandinavia, should come to light towards the end of the year, just in time for it to be included in the publication.<sup>2</sup> In 2008 an eighteenth specimen was found in south-eastern England, and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This new find – only the third from

<sup>1</sup> The pioneering study of the *Agnus Dei* coinage, written by Michael Dolley, c. 1960, was never published, but survives as a substantial typescript among his papers in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Dolley archive, no. 667). The starting-point for modern discussion of the type is M. Dolley, 'The Nummular Brooch from Sulgrave', *England before the Norman Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemons and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 333–49, at 338–41.

<sup>2</sup> S. Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids of 1006–7 and 1009–12', *ASE* 36 (2007), 151–220, at 190–201 (discussion) and 215–20 (checklist), with further references.



Figure 6: The *Agnes Dei* penny in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

England – seemed significant enough in itself to justify the preparation of a revised checklist, to be accompanied by illustrations of all of the recorded specimens. Whilst gathering images of the other coins, in June 2010, we learnt from Jens Christian Moesgaard, of the National Museum, Copenhagen, of two more specimens which had been found recently in Denmark; and in October 2010 we heard of another, also from Denmark. The augmented and illustrated checklist of twenty-one *Agnus Dei* pennies is accompanied here by a review of the type in its various contexts.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE FOUR NEW SPECIMENS

The first of the new specimens is of the Salisbury mint, by the moneyer Sæwine; further details are given in the revised checklist below (no. 6). It was found by Mr Craig Carter in October 2008, in the parish of Thornwood

<sup>3</sup> This paper originated in the spring of 2010 as an act of collaboration between one of the co-authors (SDK) and Mark Blackburn. Mark's illness worsened later that year, and he died on 1 September 2011. SDK is most grateful to Rory Naismith for helping in the summer of 2010 to make up Plates I–VI, and for taking over the role of co-author after Mark's death. We have drawn on notes and comments made by Mark in 2010–11; but responsibility for the text as published must rest with ourselves. We dedicate the paper to Mark in the knowledge that he was especially glad to have been able to acquire an *Agnus Dei* penny for the Fitzwilliam Museum in 2009 (as it happened, one thousand years after the coins were issued). We are very grateful to Stewart Lyon, who had discussed the type with Mark, for sharing his own thoughts on the matter. We also acknowledge warmly our debt to Mr Bob Naismith for his skilful drawing of the Fitzwilliam specimen in its imaginary flattened state. Obligations incurred in connection with the Sulgrave and Bicester brooches, and when gathering images for the plates, are expressed below (p. 203 n. 100, and p. 205, n. 105).

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Common, near Epping in Essex. Mr Carter sold it to Spink, and it was soon acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> Although itself in a good state of preservation, the coin had been bent double;<sup>5</sup> any attempt to unbend and flatten the coin might lead to disaster, and since the bending was probably deliberate it was decided (after careful cleaning) that it was best to respect the state in which it had been found. The drawing above (Fig. 6), made by Mr Bob Naismith from photographs of the original, is intended to show how the obverse and reverse sides of the coin would look were it possible to see the coin in its pristine state. The moneyer Sæwine is known to have been active at Salisbury during the currency of King Æthelred's *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* types;<sup>6</sup> and it is appropriate that he should now be seen to have struck *Agnus Dei* pennies as well (see Table 8).

Of the three new specimens from Denmark, the first (no. 21) was found in 2008 at Meløse Gammeltoft, in the parish of Lille Lyngby, in the northern part of Zealand. The coin is badly damaged, lacking the greater part of its outer rim, with consequent loss of the reverse inscription naming moneyer and mint; among recorded specimens, it can be associated with those minted at Salisbury, Hereford and Stafford (see further below). The second (no. 18), of the Stamford mint, was found in 2009, at Vindeby, on Lolland (the large island which lies to the south of Fyn and Zealand). The moneyer Æscwig is, like Sæwine of Salisbury, new for the *Agnus Dei* type, but is known to have been

<sup>4</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1-2009. Purchased with financial support from the MLA/V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the Headley Trust, the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mr and Mrs John Porteous, and the Grierson Fund. We are grateful to Mr Carter for information about the location of the find.

<sup>5</sup> The practice of deliberately bending coins was known later in the Middle Ages as 'the English custom', and may have been either a votive, devotional act associated with the voluntary discard of a coin (R. Kelleher, 'The "English Custom": Folding Coins in Medieval England', *Treasure Hunting Magazine* (April 2010), 79–82, 'Interpreting Single Finds in Medieval England – the Secondary Lives of Coins', *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009*, ed. N. Holmes, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 2011) II, 1492–9), or one of several processes for checking purity. Whatever the case, the custom would appear to have enjoyed increased popularity in the late tenth and eleventh centuries: see M. Archibald, 'Pecking and Bending: the Evidence of British Finds', *Sigtuna Papers: Proceedings of the Sigtuna Symposium on Viking-Age Coinage*, ed. K. Jonsson and B. Malmer, Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis n.s. 6 (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 11–24, at 20–1; and C. Kilger, 'Silver Handling Traditions during the Viking Age – Some Observations and Thoughts on the Phenomenon of Pecking and Bending?', *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), pp. 449–65.

<sup>6</sup> K. Jonsson and G. van der Meer, 'Mints and Moneyers, c. 973–1066', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage in Memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, ed. K. Jonsson, Numismatiska Meddelanden 35 (Stockholm, 1990) pp. 49–136, at 97. See also C. E. Blunt and C. S. S. Lyon, 'Some Notes on the Mints of Wilton and Salisbury', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. Jonsson, pp. 25–34, at 32.

Table 8: Mints and moneyers of the *Agnus Dei* type

	King Æthelred							King Cnut					
	<i>First Small Cross</i>	<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Benediction Hand</i>	<i>Crux (etc.)</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross</i>	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Agnus Dei</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>	<i>Quatrefoil</i>	<i>Pointed Helmet</i>	<i>Short Cross</i>
<b>MALMESBURY</b> , Ealdred			•		•	•	•	•					
<b>SALISBURY</b> ( <i>ex Wilton</i> ), Goldus							/	•	•	•	•	•	•
<b>SALISBURY</b> , Sæwine								•	•	•			
<b>HEREFORD</b> , Æthelwig								•	•	•	•	•	•
<b>STAFFORD</b> , Ælfwold					•			•	•	•			
<b>DERBY</b> , Blacaman								•	•		•		
<b>LEICESTER</b> , Ælfric								•	•	•			
— — —, Æthelwig									•	•	•	•	•
<b>NORTHAMPTON</b> , Wulfnoth									•	•			
<b>NOTTINGHAM</b> , Oswold					•				•	•	•	•	
<b>STAMFORD</b> , Æscwig					•			•	•	•			
— — —, Æthelwine									•	•			
— — —, Swertgar					•			•	•	•			

active at Stamford during the currency of Æthelred’s *Crux*, *Long Cross*, *Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* types, so his appearance in *Agnus Dei* is also entirely appropriate (Table 8). The third (no. 4) came into view when consigned for auction in December 2010, from a large collection of coins formed in Denmark before the Second World War. It was struck by the moneyer Ealdred of Malmesbury, and is the fourth recorded specimen from the same pair of dies.

In their different ways, all four of the ‘new’ coins thus fit neatly into the patterns suggested by the other seventeen specimens. The three new specimens with legible inscriptions are from mints previously represented for the type, although two of them add to the number of moneyers at each place known to have struck *Agnus Dei* pennies. It seems, on the face of it, as if the range of known minting-places is representative of the original output. One of the four new specimens was found in southern England, and the three others are from Scandinavia, again extending a pattern. The fact that all three of the new *Agnus Dei* pennies from Denmark were pierced (one of them still with its attached loop) is also of interest, adding to the high proportion of surviving *Agnus Dei* pennies which were mounted in this way.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 206–8.

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THE CORPUS OF AGNUS DEI PENNIES

Details and images of all twenty-one surviving specimens of the type, and a mule combining an obverse die of *Agnus Dei* type with a reverse of the *Last Small Cross* type (from Stamford), have been gathered together in the Appendix and on Plates I–VI. The table above (8) is a modified and updated version of the table originally published for the type by Michael Dolley, in 1971, and is intended simply to show at what mints and across what range of types the recorded moneyers were active. Twenty of the twenty-one recorded specimens can be attributed to nine different mints, leaving one coin of uncertain identity (no. 21). Six of the recorded specimens were issued from two mints in Wiltshire (Malmesbury and Salisbury).<sup>8</sup> One was issued from the mint in the county town of Herefordshire, and another from the mint in the county town of Staffordshire, both in western Mercia. Eleven of the recorded specimens (and the mule) are from four of the so-called ‘Five Boroughs’ (Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford), thus not including Lincoln but with Stamford perhaps representing Lincolnshire. One is from another county town in the south-eastern midlands (Northampton).

The relative chronology of King Æthelred’s ‘main’ types, from *First Small Cross* (c. 978–9) and *First Hand* (c. 979–85) to *Last Small Cross* (c. 1009–16), is well established; and it accords well with the evidence, set out in Table 8, showing in which other types the moneyers of *Agnus Dei* were active. Some of the *Agnus Dei* moneyers can be seen already to have been active in a type known to have been current in the 990s (*Cruz*), and others remained active in the early 1030s (*Short Cross*). Given Sæwine, at Salisbury, and Wulfnoth, at Northampton, the natural position for the *Agnus Dei* type is between *Helmet* (c. 1003–9) and *Last Small Cross* (c. 1009–16); which is indeed the appropriate position as indicated by the existence of a ‘mule’ (Appendix, below, p. 217, with Plate VIa) combining an *Agnus Dei* obverse with a *Last Small Cross* reverse.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Charles Warne (*Ancient Dorset: the Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish Antiquities of the County, Including the Early Coinage* (Bournemouth, 1872), p. 328) apparently cited an *Agnus Dei* penny of Wareham by the moneyer Ælfgar, but Michael Dolley (‘An Alleged *Agnus Dei* Penny of the Wareham Mint’, *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 412–14) gave good reasons to believe that this is an erroneous reference to a *Cruz* penny.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Mules’ are coins which combine an obverse of one type with the reverse of another normally discrete type. In the context of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England mules are of considerable importance in determining the order of types, as they normally feature dies of consecutive issues (R. H. M. Dolley, ‘The Coins’, *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 349–72, at 366; P. Seaby, ‘The Sequence of Late Anglo-Saxon Coin Types’, *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 111–46, at 119–20). Typically, the obverse is of the old type and the reverse of the new, since dies in the lower (obverse) position tended to last significantly longer – though mules ‘the wrong way round’ (i.e. old reverse, new obverse)

Hence the date, *c.* 1009, for *Agnus Dei*, and hence in turn the suggested association between the iconography of the coin type and the arrival of Thorkel's army in August 1009.

What is in many ways more striking than the spread of mints within the *Agnus Dei* type is the *absence* of so many mints normally well represented in the 'substantive' types of Æthelred's reign. The fact remains that large parts of the country are not represented by *Agnus Dei* pennies, among them central Wessex (including Winchester), London and the south-east (including Canterbury), East Anglia, and the north (York). Perhaps this might change, as further specimens come to light; perhaps not. For the time being, the four specimens which can now be added to the corpus only strengthen what was known before, confirming the singular interest of the *Agnus Dei* type in all its particulars.

#### ASPECTS OF THE *AGNUS DEI* COINAGE

##### *Iconography*

There is nothing unfamiliar about the Lamb of God, as a symbol of Christ, or about the Holy Dove, as a symbol of the Holy Spirit.<sup>10</sup> The obvious allusions are to the opening chapter of the Gospel of St John ('Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world', John I.29; 'I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him', John I.32), and to the Revelation of St John, wherein the Lamb opens the book before the Day of Judgement (Rev. V.6–7, etc.). In the case of the Lamb, the familiarity was owed no less to the chanting of the *Agnus Dei* in the Roman Mass, at the Fraction: 'Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us . . . Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, grant us peace'. In his homily on the nativity of St John the Baptist, published as part of the first series of 'Catholic Homilies', and in his homily on the Lord's Epiphany, published as part of the second series, both written in the early 990s, Ælfric of Cerne reflects at some length on the Lamb of God, and on the Holy Dove as Holy Spirit;<sup>11</sup> and such references could be multiplied without

might also sometimes occur (R. H. M. Dolley, 'A Mythical *Second Hand/First Hand* Mule of Æthelræd II', *NCirc* 74 (1966), 236; cf. J. D. Brand, *Periodic Change of Type in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Periods* (Rochester, 1984), p. 24).

<sup>10</sup> G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols. (London, 1972) II, 117–21. Also below, p. 204.

<sup>11</sup> *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series / Text*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997), pp. 379–87, and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series / Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 19–28, with M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS ss 18 (Oxford, 2000), pp. 200–9 and 363–70; see also *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1844–6) I, 350–64, and II, 36–53.

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difficulty.<sup>12</sup> Yet if only to judge from surviving manuscripts and artifacts in stone, textile, metal and ivory, the *image* of the Lamb was relatively uncommon in Anglo-Saxon art until the late tenth century, from which period it is found more frequently and in contexts of various kinds.<sup>13</sup> It must be in part that this development was inspired by increasing, and then abiding, interest in or concern about the Apocalypse, as the millennium approached and once it had passed (combined with intense viking raids); but the combination of Lamb and Dove draws us at the same time towards Christ's sacrificial death, and towards the Holy Spirit as a symbol of peace. The *Agnus Dei* type was in fact the first of many coin-issues in western Europe to feature a depiction of the Lamb of God;<sup>14</sup> and it is the appearance of the Lamb and the Dove on King Æthelred's coinage, during the worst years of the viking invasions, which gives the *Agnus Dei* type its special interest and potential significance. In effect, the design invokes Christ as the Lamb of God, who in his innocence took upon himself, and thus takes away, the sins of the world; and it invokes the Holy Spirit, who came down upon Christ in the form of a dove, at his baptism, and is an enduring symbol of peace.

*Historical context*

More than any other coin-type of Æthelred's reign, *Agnus Dei* exudes a sense of the historical context from which it arose, in its case as a manifestation of the English response to the viking invasions in the early eleventh century. In 1005 a viking force which had been active in and around England for several years (since 991) had returned to its homeland in Scandinavia, driven away not so much by force of arms as by famine. Among its leaders, in the early 990s, were

<sup>12</sup> E.g. S 893 (*Roch* 32), a charter by which King Æthelred restored land at Bromley to the see of Rochester, in 998, was issued at Easter, and refers in that connection to the *uerus agnus*; S 925 (*Rumble* 28), by which Æthelred gave land in Winchester to Queen Ælfgifu, in 1012, also refers in its dating clause to Christ as the Lamb of God. Anglo-Saxon charters are cited here in accordance with the principles explained on the 'Kemble' website ([www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk](http://www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk)).

<sup>13</sup> Dolley, 'Nummular Brooch', pp. 336–8 and 341–4; L. Webster, 'Apocalypse Then: Anglo-Saxon Ivory Carving in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Aedificia Nova: Studies in honor of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. C. E. Karkov and H. Damico (Kalamazoo, MI, 2008), pp. 226–53, at 233–5, 240 and 253, and *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London, 2012), pp. 151 (Æthelswith ring), 197 (Durham), 201 (portable altar), 204 (ivories) and 206–7 (coinage, etc.), with *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066*, ed. J. Backhouse, *et al.* (London, 1984), nos. 75–6, 121, 124–5, 139; Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pp. 191–3; C. E. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), esp. pp. 86–7 (V&A reliquary cross, c. 1000), 160 and 165 (Brussels reliquary cross, c. 1000). See in general B. C. Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought* (Cambridge, 1997), esp. pp. 130–3 and 143–4.

<sup>14</sup> M. Dhénin, 'L'"agnus Dei": thème monétaire', *Le bestiaire des monnaies, des sceaux et des médailles* (Paris, 1974), pp. 163–77.

Olaf Tryggvason, Sven Forkbeard, Jostein, and Guthmund, son of 'Stegita'; but one imagines that its composition changed as the years passed, and that when leaders left others emerged from within the original body or came afresh from Scandinavia. Weeks or months after the departure of the viking fleet, in 1005, King Æthelred issued a charter confirming the foundation of Eynsham abbey, in Oxfordshire. The draftsman reflects in the proem on the suffering which had been inflicted by the vikings in his own days, which had brought the English 'almost to the point of extinction' – no doubt with particular reference to those who had been active between 991 and 1005.<sup>15</sup>

Soon after the royal assembly at which the Eynsham charter was issued, Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, died (16 November 1005). In his will, Archbishop Ælfric bequeathed his pectoral cross, a ring and a psalter to Archbishop Wulfstan, and a crucifix to Bishop Ælfheah.<sup>16</sup> These are likely to have been objects of intensely personal significance; indeed, at the risk of over-interpretation, it is as if Ælfric was acknowledging in this way the two of his episcopal colleagues who in his mind would take matters forward.<sup>17</sup> Archbishop Ælfric must himself have been closely involved in Wulfstan's appointment as bishop of London, in 996, and in Wulfstan's translation to York, in 1002; so if the fact that Wulfstan should have enjoyed Ælfric's special favour comes as no surprise, the distinctive role that he went on to play in affairs of Church and state, in the first and second decades of the eleventh century (and onwards into the early years of Cnut's reign), is a continuation of essentially the same story.<sup>18</sup> It is interesting, by analogy, that Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, should have been coupled in this way with Archbishop Wulfstan; and again one does not have to look far for an explanation. Ælfheah had succeeded Bishop Æthelwold in 984, and held office as bishop of Winchester for over twenty years, until his translation to Canterbury in 1006. He may not have been fully able to assert the interests of the Old Minster in the later 980s; but his attestations reflect his prominence among his episcopal colleagues from *c.* 990 onwards.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> S 911 (KCD 714), with S. Keynes, 'King Æthelred's Charter for Eynsham Abbey (1005)', *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter, *et al.* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 451–73, at 468–71.

<sup>16</sup> S 1488 (*Abing* 133).

<sup>17</sup> The particular significance of Ælfric's role in the nation's affairs, as archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1005, is pursued in S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas 975–1016*, AS Charters ss 3 (forthcoming).

<sup>18</sup> For Wulfstan, see Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', with references.

<sup>19</sup> For Ælfheah's attestations, see S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters c. 670–1066*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies 1 (Cambridge, 2002), Tables LXa (bishops, 978–99) and LXb (bishops, 1000–1016), also available on the 'Kemble' website (above, n. 12).



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Certainly there is reason to believe that sooner or later he became a key player in high circles. It was at Winchester, around Pentecost (4 June) 993, that King Æthelred convened the royal assembly at which, it seems, the death of Bishop Æthelwold, on 1 August 984, was recognized in retrospect as a turning point in Æthelred's reign, depriving the young king of precisely the guidance which his father had enjoyed; and it was on the same occasion that the decision was made to restore the privileges of Æthelwold's abbey at Abingdon.<sup>20</sup> This momentous gathering was followed, some time later in 993, or in 994, by the ceremonial re-dedication of the Old Minster; an event itself followed, on 10 September 996, by the ceremonial translation of Æthelwold's body from the grave where he had first been buried into the choir of the church, inaugurating the bishop's elevation into the ranks of the saints.<sup>21</sup> These developments must in turn form some part of the background against which King Æthelred was moved, in 997, to restore to the Old Minster a substantial holding of land in Wiltshire which is said to have formed part of its ancient endowment.<sup>22</sup> This was at the same time as the heyday of Wulfstan Cantor (Wulfstan of Winchester), who wrote his *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno* and his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* in the 990s, in close association with Ælfheah's work on the buildings, furnishings, and estates of his church, and also in close association with each other.<sup>23</sup> The example set at Winchester was soon followed at Canterbury, with B's *Vita S. Dunstani* (dedicated to Archbishop Ælfric), and at Ramsey, with Byrhtferth's

<sup>20</sup> S. Keynes, 'Re-Reading King Æthelred the Unready', *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250*, ed. D. Bates, et al. (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 77–97, at 90–3. The significance of the 'synodal council' held at Winchester in June 993, the circumstances behind the production of King Æthelred's diploma for Abingdon (S 876), and the inwardness of the connections between the diploma and the *Regularis Concordia*, are explored further in Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas 975–1016*.

<sup>21</sup> For the re-dedication in 993/4, see Wulfstan Cantor, *Epistola specialis ad Ælfegum episcopum*, in M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Stud. 4.ii (Oxford, 2003), pp. 372–96, at 390–2; for the translation of St Æthelwold, in 'the twelfth year after [his] death' (995–6, or 996), see Wulfstan Cantor's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, chs. 42–3, in *Wulfstan of Winchester: the Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), pp. 64–6, with his *Epistola specialis* (Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 395, note to lines 289–96).

<sup>22</sup> S 891 (KCD 698), with reference to fifty-five hides at Downton and forty-five at Ebbesbourne, Wilts. The significance of this charter, in connection with S 821 (A. R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Stud. 4.iii (Oxford, 2002), pp. 98–135 (no. V), at 105–9) is pursued further in Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas 975–1016*.

<sup>23</sup> *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. xiii–xxxix; Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 337–41; R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 824–5. In a forthcoming work Michael Wood draws attention to the fact that John Bale includes a *Vita Æthelwulphi regis* in his list of the works of Wulfstan Cantor (*Scriptorium Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus* (Basle, 1557), pp. 149–50). A 'Life of King Æthelwulf' might have been intended to provide a context for the cult of St Swithun; but alas, if it ever existed, it has not chanced to survive.

*Vita S. Oswaldi*.<sup>24</sup> There are many other ways in which one can see how the cults of saints, including these English saints of immediate impact and appeal, were being actively promoted in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. No doubt it was to some extent an instinctive and collective response in troublous times, which needed no encouragement or co-ordination; but the response was perhaps to a greater extent orchestrated by those discharging the responsibilities of high office and moving in high places. It would help to have a multiplicity of saints lined up so that their intercessions might be the more effective. Beyond that, and as before in the late eighth century (Alcuin) and in the late ninth century (Alfred), the English had to be seen in the late tenth century to have their house in order. The causes of divine displeasure needed to be identified, and amends made; and measures had to be taken to ensure that past wrongs were put right. The cultivation of saints was an important part of the same process; and it was in the combination of all of these forms of response that the English seem to have hoped to earn God's support in their continuing struggle against the viking invaders.

It is possible that by c. 1000 Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, had come to be regarded as the natural choice for translation to Canterbury when next it fell vacant. It is the case, however, that his role as archbishop, from his installation in 1006 to his death at Greenwich on 19 April 1012, is obscured behind the attention accorded quite rightly to Archbishop Wulfstan, and by the legends which developed around 'St Alphege' in the late eleventh century.<sup>25</sup> For reasons not hard to imagine, Ælfheah soon commissioned Adelard of Ghent to produce a work in commemoration of Archbishop Dunstan, which Adelard delivered in the form of twelve *lectiones*.<sup>26</sup> As archbishop, Ælfheah would have been, *ex officio*, a person able to exert considerable influence at the highest levels of Church and state, and one of those to whom others might turn for guidance in all matters. The English chronicler who reported the departure of the viking fleet in 1005 added ruefully that it 'let little time elapse before it came back'. His reference was of course to the 'great fleet' which arrived at Sandwich in 1006, after midsummer. By the end of the year the king and his councillors had decided that they had no choice but to pay tribute (*gafol*) to the viking army

<sup>24</sup> For 'B', see *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), pp. lxiv–lxxviii, esp. lxxiii–lxxiv; and for Byrhtferth, see *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), pp. xxviii–xxxix.

<sup>25</sup> N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 278–87 (Æthelred's archbishops), with *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. N. Brooks and S. Kelly, AS Charters 17–18 (forthcoming); A. R. Rumble, 'From Winchester to Canterbury: Ælfheah and Stigand – Bishops, Archbishops and Victims', *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: from Bede to Stigand*, ed. A. R. Rumble (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 165–82, at 165–73.

<sup>26</sup> *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. cxxv–cxxxv and 112–45.

(*here*); and in the following year a payment of 36,000 pounds was made. A year after that, in the summer of 1008, a royal assembly was convened at the instigation of Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury, and of Wulfstan, archbishop of York; so by edict of the king ‘all of the leading men (*optimates*) of the English’ were summoned to Enham, in Hampshire, at Pentecost (16 May). It is clear that the defence of the realm was at the top of the agenda; and while we can but guess who took the lead in the discussion, and how decisions were made, all of the leading men (*optimates*) are said to have sworn to observe what was decided, and it only remained for Archbishop Wulfstan to commit a record to writing.<sup>27</sup> The texts known to modern scholarship as *V Æthelred* and *VI Æthelred*, representing the programme formulated at Enham in May 1008, are the first in the series of royal law-codes attributed on stylistic and other grounds to Archbishop Wulfstan, and provide a clear view of the various aspects of the response to the continuing threat of viking invasion.<sup>28</sup> One should not forget, however, that the programme arose directly from the deliberations of the king and his leading men, conducted at a royal assembly, and that in the years from 1006 to 1011 Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury, would have been prominent among those most closely involved.

The ships built ‘over all England’ in 1008–9, evidently as a direct outcome of decisions made at Enham in June 1008, were assembled at Sandwich in the late spring or early summer of 1009 (probably soon after Easter on 17 April), ‘to stay there and protect this country from every invading army’. The chronicler describes how it soon came to pass that eighty of the ships were lost in a storm, and how the rest went back to London. It is hard to imagine what the English reaction might have been when they first heard tell of the arrival at Sandwich, in August 1009, of ‘the immense raiding army, which we called Thorkel’s army’, of their descent on Canterbury, and of their move thence to the Isle of Wight, presumably to the viking base or ‘sanctuary’ which had been established there in the 990s and from which they would be able to mount attacks inland. The king would appear at this stage to have been in the west country. A royal assembly was convened at Bath, in Somerset. One outcome of the deliberations of the king and his leading men, on this occasion, was an order for a remarkable three-day programme of public prayer and penitence, to be implemented on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Michaelmas

<sup>27</sup> *VI Æthelred* (Latin), Prologue, in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16) I, 247, and *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 334–5. The relationship between the vernacular texts *V Æthelred* and *VI Æthelred*, the Latin ‘paraphrase’ of *VI Æthelred* which precedes the vernacular version in BL Cotton Claudius A. iii, fols. 32r–35r, and the opening sections of an otherwise ‘lost’ code designated *X Æthelred*, is pursued further in Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas 975–1016*.

<sup>28</sup> Keynes, ‘An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids’, pp. 177–9, with references.

(Thursday 29 September).<sup>29</sup> The programme is set out in the text known as *VII Æthelred*; and like the texts from Enham in May 1008, it is in the style of Archbishop Wulfstan. One imagines, however, that as before Archbishop Wulfstan was entrusted with responsibility for formulating a record of what had just been decided by the king and his leading men, collectively, and that Archbishop Ælfheah, and others, would also have been involved. In mid-November 1009, after ravaging and burning for several weeks throughout Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire from its base on the Isle of Wight, the viking force returned eastwards to Kent, and from there made its way up the Thames estuary to establish winter quarters for 1009–10 somewhere on the river Thames (perhaps at Greenwich), mounting frequent attacks on the borough of London. One can imagine that the movements of ‘Thorkel’s army’ in the closing months of 1009 would have been seriously disruptive; but it is hard to achieve a more precise understanding of the matter.

The further movements of the viking army in 1010 and 1011 can be followed on the ground in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>30</sup> Those responsible for the production of Æthelred’s charters seem to have responded in their own way to the crisis, to judge from the occurrence in charters of 1011 and 1012 of pictorial invocations in which the standard chrismon was modified in such a way that it served as a symbol for both ‘Christ’ and ‘peace’, in much the same spirit as the *Agnus Dei* coin-type.<sup>31</sup> Yet the worst was now to come. In September 1011 Archbishop Ælfheah was taken captive at Canterbury, and on 19 April 1012 he met his death at Greenwich. The anonymous chronicler who put together the ‘main’ account of Æthelred’s reign, perhaps soon after Cnut’s conquest of England, reflects the dismay and the despair which must have been felt by many. ‘He was then a captive who before was head of the English people and of Christendom (*heafod Angelkynnes and Cristendomes*)’ (1011); the army (at Greenwich) became ‘greatly incensed against the bishop because he would not promise them any money but forbade that anything should be paid for him . . . and (they) shamefully put him to death there . . . and his holy blood fell on the ground, and so he sent his holy soul to God’s kingdom’ (1012). Many years later, Archbishop Lanfranc felt he should question his predeces-

<sup>29</sup> For *VII Æthelred*, and its possible connection with the *Agnus Dei* coinage, see Dolley, ‘Nummular Brooch’, p. 344; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’ 978–1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 217–19; Keynes, ‘An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Vikings Raids’, pp. 179–89 (*VII Æthelred*) and 190–201 (coinage); and the further references given in the Appendix, below, pp. 210–11.

<sup>30</sup> A series of maps showing the course of the viking invasions during Æthelred’s reign, based necessarily on the information given by the chronicler, is available on the ‘Kemble’ website (above, n. 12).

<sup>31</sup> Keynes, ‘An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids’, pp. 201–3, with references.

sor's credentials for martyrdom (since Ælfheah had not died for professing the name of Christ), and was treated by Anselm to an ingenious explanation.<sup>32</sup> For the English, in the spring of 1012, it was probably enough that Ælfheah had refused to allow that any payment be made to the viking army for his freedom, and that he had taken it upon himself to face his captors. After all the tribulations of the past twenty years, his stand might have seemed to them to be an act of extraordinary courage; indeed, one by which in imitation of Christ their own archbishop had offered himself to God in atonement for the sins of the English people and for the good of Christendom.

The *Agnus Dei* coinage, belonging somewhere within the context of the transition from the *Helmet* to the *Last Small Cross* type, c. 1009, adds an additional dimension to our perception of the English response to the viking invasions. On the generally accepted understanding of the chronology of King Æthelred's successive coin-types, the withdrawal of the *Helmet* type and its replacement by another substantive type might already have been under consideration, if not under way. The provisions which emanated from the royal assembly at Enham, in May 1008, represent the wider context. One possibility in 1009 is that the arrival of Thorkel's army in August prompted those in charge of the coinage to implement a recoinage that was becoming due, or was already overdue, and that they rushed into a highly charged and thus rather complex design (*Agnus Dei*), intended from the outset to be a 'substantive' type of wide scope, large scale and prolonged duration, but for which the dies in the event proved too difficult to produce, leading quickly to its abandonment and reversion to a 'Small Cross' type, representing an earlier and more simple design.<sup>33</sup> A second possibility is that those in charge might already have had it in mind in 1009 to replace *Helmet* with a wholly innovative design, represented by *Agnus Dei*, and that difficulties of production, or indeed the crisis of August/September, prompted second thoughts, leading to the rapid abandonment of *Agnus Dei* and its replacement by the more conventional *Last Small Cross* type.<sup>34</sup> In either or both of these two cases, it might have seemed better, on reflection, to retain the king's portrait on the obverse, coupled with a reverse design harking back

<sup>32</sup> Eadmer, *Vita S. Anselmi*, ch. 30, in *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Eadmer, ed. R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1972), pp. 50–4. The text of a sermon given by Archbishop Rowan Williams at St Alphege's Church, Greenwich, 19 April 2012, and published on the archiepiscopal website ([www.archbishopofcanterbury.org](http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org)), accessed 20 April 2012, makes the case in a different way.

<sup>33</sup> Dolley, 'The *Agnus Dei* Pennies of Æthelred II' [c. 1960], and 'Nummular Brooch', esp. p. 339 (abortive); see also P. Stafford, 'Historical Implications of the Regional Production of Dies under Æthelred II', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 35–51, at 48–9.

<sup>34</sup> S. Lyon, 'Minting in Winchester: an Introduction and Statistical Analysis', *The Winchester Mint and Coins and Related Finds from the Excavations of 1961–71*, ed. M. Biddle, Winchester Stud. 8 (Oxford, 2012), pp. 3–54, at 11.

to King Edgar's 'Reform' type of c. 973–5. A third possibility is that a 'Small Cross' design was already in the collective mind for the upcoming recoinage (in the spirit of the call for the 'improvement of the coinage', made at Enham in 1008),<sup>35</sup> whether as a respectful reference to Edgar or as a reverential reference to Edward the Martyr,<sup>36</sup> but that the dire emergency of August/September 1009 (occurring when the recoinage was under way, or at least under consideration) prompted the issue of a 'special' type, as a powerful symbolic expression of the nation's mood at a time of great crisis, in much the same way as it prompted the three-day programme of prayer. The *Agnus Dei* type was minted from dies supplied for whatever reason to no more than a limited number of mints, and was of intentionally short duration. Once the gesture had been made, the issue of *Agnus Dei* pennies was discontinued and *Last Small Cross* pennies went into full-scale production.<sup>37</sup>

*The making of the 'Agnus Dei' coinage*

The crux therefore is whether *Agnus Dei* represents a 'substantive' type curtailed for some reason soon after its inception, or a deliberately brief and, in some sense, 'special' issue associated with the traumatic conditions of 1009. The merits of these interpretations can only be judged with reference to the extant *Agnus Dei* pennies, supplemented by comparisons with the rest of Æthelred's coinage.

Whatever else it may have been, the *Agnus Dei* coinage was complex, and – for a type of such limited scale – of surprising significance in the long-term development of the currency. It introduced several innovations besides its unique iconography, and certainly replicates some of the features otherwise associated with 'substantive' (or '*renovatio*') types. In some localities there are even signs that the output of *Agnus Dei* was considerable, despite remaining minute on a national scale. Some moneyers received multiple sets of dies, and at Salisbury, Leicester and Stamford more than one moneyer partook in the new coinage. This pattern of production could, it has been argued, indicate the first steps towards a full-scale recoinage.<sup>38</sup> The weights of surviving coins are

<sup>35</sup> See below, p. 198.

<sup>36</sup> For retrospective attitudes to Edgar and to Edward, see S. Keynes, 'Edgar, *rex admirabilis*', *Edgar, King of the English 959–75: New Interpretations*, ed. D. Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 3–58, at 3–4, and 'The Cult of Edward the Martyr during the Reign of King Æthelred the Unready', *Gender and Historiography: Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. J. L. Nelson and S. Reynolds (London, 2012), pp. 115–25.

<sup>37</sup> For *Agnus Dei* as a 'special' type, see I. Stewart, 'Coinage and Recoinage after Edgar's Reform', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. Jonsson, pp. 457–85, at 477; Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 219, and 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pp. 190–201.

<sup>38</sup> R. H. M. Dolley and T. Talvio, 'The Twelfth of the *Agnus Dei* Pennies of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 131–3, at 133, and 'A Thirteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 49 (1979),

*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*

still more suggestive. Only six of the twenty-one extant specimens are complete and undamaged (nos. 8, 15, 3, 12, 14, 6), and their respective weights (1.82, 1.81, 1.76, 1.76, 1.76, 1.52g) imply a 'target' weight in the vicinity of 1.8g. Four other coins with slight loss of weight due to being chipped or pierced (nos. 10, 9, 4, 20) also indicate a high standard (1.64, 1.59, 1.53, 1.50g). It would be imprudent to speculate about the precise weight intended for the new coinage, which may have varied at different locations; but clearly the weight of fresh *Agnus Dei* pennies stood significantly above the standards used later in the *Helmet* issue, which by its final stages was generally being struck to a standard of about 1.3g or less.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, the earliest *Last Small Cross* pennies appear to have been struck initially at standards of around 1.60–1.75g,<sup>40</sup> declining progressively in steps during the rest of the issue, estimated at Lincoln to have been *c.* 1.65g, *c.* 1.45g, *c.* 1.35g, *c.* 1.25g and *c.* 1.15g.<sup>41</sup> This pattern of higher weight standards at the outset of an issue, followed by progressive reductions either nationally or regionally, is common in the late Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>42</sup> The sudden rise in weight seen with *Agnus Dei* would therefore be consistent with a recoinage on the model of earlier issues, or with the proposition that they belong at the very beginning of the cycle of weight standards associated with the *Last Small Cross* type.

The *Agnus Dei* coinage also presents innovations in details of the obverse and reverse inscriptions, which add to the impression that careful thought was devoted even to the minutiae of its design. Previous types, from the time of Edgar's reform of the coinage *c.* 973 onwards, had styled the king *rex Anglorum*

122–5, at 125; see also I. Leimus, 'A Fourteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny of Æthelred II', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. Jonsson, pp. 157–63, at 161. The evidence for moneys using multiple dies is exiguous. Only one moneyer, Ælfric at Leicester, is definitely known from multiple *Agnus Dei* dies (nos. 11–12, from the same obverse but different reverse dies); while Æthelwine at Stamford apparently used different obverse dies for his regular *Agnus Dei* penny (no. 19) and for a mule with a *Last Small Cross* reverse. However, one of these could have been borrowed from another moneyer, and conceivably the obverse of no. 19 was the same as that of Æscwig used for no. 18.

<sup>39</sup> H. B. A. Petersson, 'Coins and Weights, Late Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Mints, *c.* 973–1066', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. Jonsson, pp. 207–433, Tables 1–107, I, and VII.

<sup>40</sup> S. Lyon, 'Die-Cutting Styles in the *Last Small Cross* Issue of *c.* 1009–1017 and some Problematic East Anglian Dies and Die-Links', *BNJ* 68 (1998), 21–41, at 21.

<sup>41</sup> M. Blackburn, 'Do Cnut the Great's First Coins as King of Denmark Date from before 1018?', *Sigtuna Papers*, ed. Jonsson and Malmer, pp. 55–68, at 65.

<sup>42</sup> C. S. S. Lyon, 'Variations in Currency in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Mints, Dies and Currency. Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, ed. R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 101–20; M. Blackburn and S. Lyon, 'Regional Die-Production in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* Issue', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 223–72, at 253–6; Petersson, 'Coins and Weights', pp. 219–23; Blackburn, 'Cnut the Great's First Coins', pp. 65–6; D. M. Metcalf, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds, c.973–1086* (London, 1998), pp. 56–66.

in the obverse inscription. In all cases, the last word was contracted, generally to ANG, ANGL, ANGLO or ANGLØ, where Ø represents a standard (manuscript) form of abbreviation for *-orum*. Four of the twenty legible *Agnus Dei* coins were struck from four obverse dies with contracted forms of the ethnic (nos. 5–7, 14); but the other sixteen, representing nine dies, give the full reading ANGLORVM (nos. 1–4, 8–13, 15–20), and are virtually the only pennies of Æthelred to do so, as *Last Small Cross* generally reverts to contracted forms. Another new custom introduced with the *Agnus Dei* type achieved much greater acceptance: a move away from abbreviations for *moneta(rius)* in the reverse inscription.<sup>43</sup> Appearing sporadically since the ninth century, abbreviations for *moneta(rius)* had become a standard feature of reverse inscriptions in the coinage of c. 973 and after.<sup>44</sup> They had taken various forms, sometimes MON but during Æthelred's reign more usually MO, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O or M<sup>o</sup>Ø. Yet no form of *moneta(rius)* appears on the *Agnus Dei* pennies. Among the twenty legible specimens, twelve have no word between the moneyer's name and the mint-name (permitting very full forms of both names) (nos. 9–20); the other eight have in this position the Old English preposition ON (meaning 'in' or 'at') (nos. 1–8). This last feature caught on, and became widespread in *Last Small Cross*;<sup>45</sup> by the end of Cnut's reign it had replaced *moneta* entirely, and indeed remained standard until well after 1066. This move towards the vernacular in reverse inscriptions seems to have been maintained in the *Last Small Cross* type, in which London and Winchester came to be referred to more often as LVNDENE and PIN(T)CESTRE rather than LVNDONIA and PINTONIA.<sup>46</sup>

A close relationship between the *Agnus Dei* type and the earliest phase of *Last Small Cross* has also been suggested for the complex arrangements

<sup>43</sup> This change was noted (in the context of the *Last Small Cross* type) by C. A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland* (Helsinki, 1921), pp. 26–30.

<sup>44</sup> The earlier history is discussed in B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'Moneta and *Mot* on Anglo-Saxon Coins', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 27–42. Earlier specimens suggest that *moneta* was the intended meaning, but at least one *Last Small Cross* coin of Æthelred II carries the reverse inscription EDPINE MTR ON LVNDEN (Hildebrand 2477; cf. Stewart, 'Moneta and *Mot*', p. 42), suggesting that the expanded vernacular cognate was *mynetere*, 'moneyer'.

<sup>45</sup> Lyon, 'Die-Cutting Styles', pp. 22–7. The die-cutters Lyon attributes to Winchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Ipswich and Norfolk all used ON; those attributed to London, Canterbury, Rochester, Lincoln and York used MO or MON. A similar pattern may be observed in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type: Blackburn and Lyon, 'Regional Die-Production', pp. 228–46.

<sup>46</sup> Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, pp. 26–31. It should be noted that on earlier types the mint-names rarely extend beyond about four letters, and so it is possible that this change had begun earlier. The combination of Latin on the obverse and English on the reverse suggests that there may be an analogy to be drawn here with the use of both languages in royal diplomas, and more generally in the way documents in Latin and documents in English functioned together from the early ninth century onwards.



behind die-production and distribution. Most of the successive types issued after the reform of *c.* 973 were ‘substantive’ and ‘national’ in the sense that they were adopted throughout the kingdom; and in many cases, unity within a particular type extends to the smallest details of design, implying a single source for the making and distribution of dies. However, numismatists have long identified stylistic variations within many types – *Agnus Dei* among them – which suggest that a number of different agencies might have been involved in the manufacture and supply of dies to moneyers active at a particular selection of mints.<sup>47</sup> Whether these variations signify that dies were produced by craftsmen at several distinct local workshops (deviating independently from a pattern supplied by a central office of some kind), or that several agencies were operating separately at a single central location, is a matter of interpretation.<sup>48</sup> A style which is restricted to a single mint is probably a local product, while one associated with a particular region is typically taken to be the work of a local die-cutting workshop presumed to have been located at the leading local mint-town (hence designations such as ‘Gloucester style’, ‘Exeter style’ or similar), whereas more widespread styles are presumed to be associated with the centres that emerged as ‘national’ leaders (Winchester and especially London). In the reign of Æthelred II, and early in that of Cnut, arrangements for die-distribution rarely remained static for long: ‘regional’ or ‘local’ styles emerged and vanished in quick succession, abrogating supply of mints formerly looking to ‘national’ centres; the latter might thenceforth become more localized in scope. Such was the case in the *Reform* type itself (*c.* 973–9), and sporadically thereafter: in *Second Hand*, *Crux*, *Long Cross* and *Helmet*, distribution was more unified at the outset of the new type, but broke down as time went by.

Arrangements in the *Last Small Cross* type are of particular significance in consideration of *Agnus Dei*. In *Last Small Cross*, along with Cnut’s first (*Quatrefoil*) type, die-production reach a zenith of complexity and regionalization: what Michael Dolley saw, in an important preliminary study of 1958, as

<sup>47</sup> Early studies of the phenomenon include R. H. M. Dolley, ‘The Regional Distribution of Dies in the West Country *c.* 1017–1023’, *NCirc* 1956, 321–5 and 373–4, and *Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelred II*, *Antikvariskt Arkiv* 9 (Stockholm, 1958); I. Stewart, ‘The Small Crux Issue of Æthelred II’, *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 509–17.

<sup>48</sup> For discussion, see Blackburn and Lyon, ‘Regional Die-Production’, pp. 223–4; K. Jonsson, *The New Era: the Reformation of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis n.s.* 1 (Stockholm, 1987); C. S. S. Lyon, ‘Die-Cutting Styles in the *Last Small Cross* Issue of *c.* 1009–1017 and some Problematic East Anglian Dies and Die-Links’, *BNJ* 68 (1998), 21–41; Blackburn, ‘Cnut the Great’s First Coins’; M. Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 115–16; and Lyon, ‘Minting in Winchester’, pp. 10–12.

‘deliberate decentralization in the face of the great Danish attacks’.<sup>49</sup> Dolley identified nine ‘schools’ of *Last Small Cross* die-cutting, based primarily on bust style,<sup>50</sup> a more elaborate classification into twenty regional styles, attributed to ten different centres, was put forward forty years later by Stewart Lyon, making greater use of metrology and epigraphy.<sup>51</sup> He suggested that at first only *three* of Dolley’s ‘schools’ were active south of the Humber: ‘Southern B’/‘Winchester’, ‘Southwestern’/‘Exeter’, and ‘Western’/‘Gloucester’, and further that between them they shared the initial supply of dies to most of the kingdom.<sup>52</sup> Interestingly London – by the early eleventh century normally a major source of dies – seems to have played no part in die-production during the initial phase of the *Last Small Cross* type; instead, its moneyers looked to the ‘Gloucester’ die-cutter. Before too long, however, London apparently began to produce dies of its own, as did other centres.<sup>53</sup>

Although far less evidence is available, there are indications that dies for the *Agnus Dei* pennies were supplied from between two and four die-cutting centres which may correspond to those active at the outset of *Last Small Cross*. Significant if not necessarily diagnostic features are: the form of the obverse inscription (*rex Anglorum* in full, or contracted), and the form of the reverse inscription (use or non-use of the copulative *on*), as mentioned above; the shape of the tablet placed at the front feet of the lamb (parallelogram or trapezoid); the inscription on the tablet (an abbreviation for *Agnus Dei*, or *alpha* and *omega*, or nothing); and, more subjectively, the form of the lettering. Over forty years ago (on the basis of eleven specimens), Michael Dolley suggested that the dies for the *Agnus Dei* coinage were produced at and distributed from three regional centres: London (for Derby, Malmesbury, Northampton,

<sup>49</sup> Dolley, *Some Reflections*, p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 10–40.

<sup>51</sup> Lyon, ‘Die-Cutting Styles’, pp. 22–7.

<sup>52</sup> The ‘**Winchester**’ die-cutter took responsibility for early dies sent to mints in Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, the west Midlands, the east Midlands, East Anglia, Kent and Sussex. The ‘**Exeter**’ die-cutter supplied mints in Devonshire, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, the west Midlands, the east Midlands and East Anglia. The ‘**Gloucester**’ die-cutter sent dies to west Mercian towns from Bristol to Chester, and took some responsibility for supplying Bath, Cricklade, Oxford and Wallingford, as well as London and perhaps Colchester. See Lyon, ‘Die-Cutting Styles’, pp. 21–2. It should be noted that the specific ‘regional’ origins or associations of these styles are better gauged from their more localized distribution, relative to other styles, later in the *Last Small Cross* type. The methodology behind these fluctuating regional distributions is laid out in Blackburn and Lyon, ‘Regional Die Production’, pp. 260–3: ‘early’ dies of ‘London C’ style in *Quatrefoil*, for example, are much more restricted in distribution than ‘middle’ and ‘late’, while ‘early’ ‘Gloucester’ dies are more widespread than ‘late’.

<sup>53</sup> Lyon, ‘Die-Cutting Styles’, pp. 21–2, supplemented by Stafford, ‘Historical Implications’, p. 49 (citing Lyon, with suggested connection to viking raids).

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Stafford); Winchester (for Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford); and Chester (for Hereford).<sup>54</sup> In 2007 (on the basis of seventeen specimens), one of the co-authors of the present paper proposed that the dies might have been produced by just two agencies, operating on what might be regarded as a more recognizably 'regional' basis: one for mints in Wessex (Malmesbury, Salisbury) and Mercia (Hereford, Stafford), and another for mints in the 'Danelaw' (Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, Northampton, and probably Derby).<sup>55</sup> Close analysis of the twenty-one specimens known in 2010 suggested to Mark Blackburn a division of the coins into three principal groups, each based on several criteria and representing a different die-cutting centre also active in the earliest phase of *Last Small Cross*, with one coin which might represent the work of a fourth centre:<sup>56</sup>

*Group A ('Winchester')*

*Features:* Small lettering, often smudgy or untidy; obverse ANGLORVM except on no. 14 (ANGLOR); no punctuation before and after inscription except on 20; tablet parallelogram (1–4, 9–10, 14) or trapezoid (11–12, 13, 15–17, 18, 19, 20, mule); tablet inscription: A/G (9–10, 14), AG/N (1–4, 13, 20, mule) or AG/NV (11–12, 18, 19) or blank (15–17); reverse inscription without conjunction except 1–4 (ON).

*Mints:* Malmesbury, Derby, Leicester, Northampton, Nottingham and Stamford.

*Dies and coins:* 10 obverse and 11 reverse – (nos. 1–4), (9–10), (11–12, but different rev. dies), 13, 14, (15–17), 18, 19, 20, mule.

<sup>54</sup> Dolley, 'Nummular Brooch', pp. 338–9.

<sup>55</sup> Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pp. 195–8, esp. nn. 206–8. **Agency 1**, for Malmesbury, Salisbury, Hereford and Stafford (Wessex and Mercia): obverse – tablet a parallelogram, with *agnus dei* (Malmesbury) or alpha/omega (Salisbury, Hereford, Stafford); reverse – vernacular copulative for moneyer and mint, unifying the group. **Agency 2**, for Leicester, Northampton, Nottingham and Stamford (Danelaw): obverse – tablet a trapezoid, with *agnus dei* or left blank; rev – no copulative between moneyer and mint. The dies produced for the specimens minted at Derby stand apart, with parallelogram with *agnus dei* (cf. Agency 1) and no copulative between moneyer and mint (cf. Agency 2). For the obverse inscription, the full reading *rex Anglorum* was intended to be the norm. Agency 1 did not achieve consistency: for Salisbury and Hereford, the reading is *Anglo* or *Anglor*, and the remaining space was filled with pellets. Agency 2 achieved better results, except in the case of the dies for Northampton (*Anglor*). It may be worth adding that, as far as the coinage is concerned, in the period before c. 973 Derby is more closely aligned with Chester and Mercia than it is with the Danelaw. Its intermediate position in *Agnus Dei* could reflect a continuation of the same tradition.

<sup>56</sup> The authors here draw upon notes made by Mark Blackburn during the preparation of an earlier draft of this paper.

*Group B ('Exeter')*

*Features:* Larger lettering; obverse ANGLO (no. 5) or ANGLOR (6); pellet or pellets before and after inscription; tablet parallelogram with double border and on one or both sides; tablet inscription A/w (5, 6 and 21); reverse inscription with ON.

*Mints:* Salisbury and uncertain mint.

*Dies and coins:* 3 obverse and 3 reverse – nos. 5, 6, 21.

*Group C ('Gloucester')*

*Features:* Large, crude lettering, with cross-barred A; distinctive rendering of the lamb and dove, with strong strokes, flecked decoration on the bodies and five tail feathers on the dove (normally four); obverse AGLO[R] (*sic*); pellets after inscription; tablet rectangle, the bottom line running into the inscription; tablet inscription A/w; reverse inscription with ON; crosses in the field flanking the dove.

*Mint:* Hereford.

*Dies and coins:* 1 obverse and 1 reverse – no. 7.

*Group D ('uncertain')*

*Features:* Small neat lettering with pellets before and after; well-modelled lamb and dove, with finely pelleted halo, tablet and wing feathers, well-defined cross-head to standard, and wave pattern at the base of the dove's tail; obverse ANGLORVM; pellet before and after inscription; tablet parallelogram; tablet inscription A:/w (?); reverse inscription with ON.

*Mint:* Stafford.

*Dies and coins:* 1 obverse and 1 reverse – no. 8.

Letter-forms in the inscriptions provide the best evidence linking these groups to their counterparts in the early phase of *Last Small Cross*. The small, often untidy lettering of Group A is paralleled on some early 'Winchester A' coins of *Last Small Cross*;<sup>57</sup> certain early 'Exeter A' dies have slightly enlarged, well-spaced lettering similar to that of *Agnus Dei* Group B;<sup>58</sup> and a clear parallel to the bold and ill-formed letters of Group C is offered by 'Gloucester'-style pennies of *Last Small Cross* type.<sup>59</sup> Group D is altogether more refined, and for

<sup>57</sup> E.g. SCBI 7 1084, 1093; SCBI 51 367, 389–90. The attribution of the *Agnus Dei* dies used by the Danelaw mints to the Winchester die-cutter is given in Lyon, 'Minting in Winchester', p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. SCBI 7 1085, 1101; SCBI 50 1200. It seems that smaller lettering was also used on many early Exeter A style coins, but that is not the style found on the *Agnus Dei* dies.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. SCBI 50 1365, 1389, and Lyon, 'Die-Cutting Styles', pl. 1, 14–15.

this and other reasons may well belong to a different centre, or alternatively to a very early phase of the 'Winchester' (Group A) die-cutter's work.<sup>60</sup>

The groupings advanced by Dolley, Keynes and Blackburn must all remain conjectural, and perhaps there are simply too few specimens to enable a confident judgement as to what features might be diagnostic and what might not.<sup>61</sup> It is important also to stress that there was a high degree of consistency *between* the postulated die-cutters, suggesting that each of them had access to a model for the design – whether a coin, a die, or a drawing – which was not far removed from the original source. As three of Blackburn's four presumed die-cutting agencies used only the tablet inscription A/W, on a parallelogram-shaped tablet, and ON in the reverse inscription, these were most likely features of the putative model. The greater variation seen within Group A might simply be a result of its more plentiful survival, allowing a fuller perspective of how the complex new design evolved in the work of a single – and perhaps more prolific – craftsman or workshop; or a result of more complex underlying developments.

Equally problematic is the question of what organization might lie behind the arrangements characterizing die-distribution in the *Agnus Dei* type. It was suggested by Michael Dolley, in 1958, that there might be a connection (in *Last Small Cross*) between the area served by each 'regional' die-cutting centre and the areas controlled by the ealdormen known to have been in office during the closing years of Æthelred's reign.<sup>62</sup> Subsequent work on regional variations in die-cutting has often been explained in terms of political changes among the ealdormen, or in terms of disruption occasioned by viking invasions.<sup>63</sup> It is important, of course, to pursue such possibilities, and at certain times explanations of this sort may well be accurate; but the permutations of die-cutting style and inter-mint movements of moneyers and dies also hint at entirely independent mechanisms, beyond the remit of ealdormen or shire authorities. It is worth recalling that law-codes of the tenth and eleventh centuries which make reference to the coinage always do so solely with reference to the king and the moneyers: no other authority is said to have any involvement.<sup>64</sup> The

<sup>60</sup> This last point was suggested to Dr Blackburn by Stewart Lyon, who kindly assisted with discussion of the lettering styles within *Agnus Dei* and *Last Small Cross*. Lyon particularly drew attention to the sharply angled form of *wyn* on the reverse of no. 8, paralleled on other 'Winchester' dies of *Agnus Dei* and *Last Small Cross* but not elsewhere.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Metcalf, *Atlas*, p. 129.

<sup>62</sup> Above, n. 47.

<sup>63</sup> See especially Stafford, 'Historical Implications'; Jonsson, *New Era*, pp. 185–8, reviewed by D. M. Metcalf, 'Were Ealdormen Exercising Independent Control over the Coinage in Mid-Tenth-Century England?', *BNJ* 57 (1987), 24–33.

<sup>64</sup> R. Naismith, 'Prelude to Reform: Tenth-Century English Coinage in Perspective', *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in Honour of Mark Blackburn*, ed. M. Allen, R. Naismith and E. Screen (forthcoming).

arrangements which existed for the production of royal diplomas in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries might provide some sort of analogy; and in general one should bear in mind that the structures of secular administration during the same period (and at other times) were often *ad hoc*, and are anyway far from clear.<sup>65</sup> In other words, when attempting to contextualize or explain the unusual nature of the *Agnus Dei* type, one must keep an open mind and critically consider the numismatic data within their historical setting.

*A 'special' type?*

These points add up to the conclusion that the *Agnus Dei* coinage was exceptional for more than its unique iconography. It introduced several innovations in numismatic inscriptions, as well as a high new weight standard, implying the inception of a new coinage. If Mark Blackburn's stylistic interpretation is accepted, it would seem at the same time to have *anticipated* the unusual arrangements for die-distribution prevailing at the beginning of *Last Small Cross*, when viking incursions may have hampered production and distribution of dies in the east and southeast. The *Agnus Dei* type was, in short, the product of a concatenation of most unusual historical circumstances, and consequently resists the imposition of any straightforward explanation. One should perhaps hesitate before describing the *Agnus Dei* coinage as an 'experimental' type, or as a 'substantive' type which failed to take hold and was soon cancelled because of its unfamiliar, difficult or unorthodox design.<sup>66</sup> It seems improbable, considering the broader artistic and literary context, that the Lamb of God and the Holy Dove were in any way unfamiliar, or might have been regarded as in any way unacceptable, to the English: their appearance on the coinage instead suggests a new and dramatic turn in numismatic 'propaganda', taking the form of a desperate appeal to God for peace.

The abandonment in *Agnus Dei* of iconographical norms and other features which had held sway since c. 973, and which would hold sway thereafter until the twelfth century, is so extraordinary, and yet so apt in the context of the conditions which prevailed in the late summer and autumn of 1009 (as outlined above), that some special significance is (in our view) difficult to deny. The limited and temporary nature of its production fits persuasively into such a context, even if the motivation behind the arrangements and details of their implementation remain debatable. As a rule the tenth- and eleventh-century English were not inclined towards explicit commemorative coin-issues like

<sup>65</sup> The matter is discussed further by S. Keynes, 'History and Coinage in the Reign of King Æthelred the Unready' (Howard Linacre Memorial Lecture 2007), forthcoming in the *British Numismatic Journal*.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. R. H. M. Dolley, 'A Notable Gift of Anglo-Saxon Coins by the Pilgrim Trust', *Brit. Museum Quarterly* 20 (1956), 66–71, at 70; Stewart, 'Coinage and Recoinage', pp. 477–9.

their classical or modern counterparts.<sup>67</sup> ‘Special’ Anglo-Saxon issues (which might be defined as those of limited extent or duration connected with a specific person, place or event of unusual importance), when they may be argued to occur, had no set form or standard set of characteristics. In many ways they are essentially adaptations of the regular currency. Recourse to the very few other ‘special’ issues of the later Anglo-Saxon period therefore provides some support for reading the *Agnus Dei* coinage as just that: a ‘special’ issue closely related to but still subtly distinct from the general contemporary coinage.

The *Agnus Dei* pennies manifestly belonged within the realm of the regular currency, unlike (for example) the silver ‘offering pieces’ of Alfred the Great, intended for almsgiving,<sup>68</sup> or the pseudo-medallion large silver pieces issued at Lund under the Danish king Sven Estrithson (1047–74), which might also have served as donative pieces.<sup>69</sup> The *Agnus Dei* coins were produced to a specified weight standard, bearing the names of king, mint and moneyer, and entered circulation within England and its neighbours. They should be placed instead alongside the type issued in the name of Egbert as king of the Mercians (829–30), prominently naming its mint-place as LVNDONIA CIVIT[as],<sup>70</sup> King Alfred’s famous ‘London monogram’ type, issued c. 880,<sup>71</sup> the unique penny of Hywel Dda (d. 950)<sup>72</sup> and the gold coinages of the tenth and eleventh centuries,<sup>73</sup> all of which adapted existing monetary norms for a short time or for a particular purpose. Many years later, in the early eleventh century, memories of most of these coinages and the circumstances of their production must

<sup>67</sup> R. Naismith, *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: the Southern English Kingdoms 757–865* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 48.

<sup>68</sup> R. H. M. Dolley, ‘The So-Called Piedforts of Alfred the Great’, *NC* 6 14 (1954), 76–92.

<sup>69</sup> J. Steen Jensen, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, vol. 10: *the Nordic Countries* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>70</sup> R. Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England 796–865*, 2 vols. (London, 2011), no. L30a, and *Money and Power*, p. 48.

<sup>71</sup> M. Blackburn, ‘The London Mint in the Reign of Alfred’, *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), pp. 105–23, at 120–2. Unpublished further research into this coinage by Dr Blackburn is summarized in R. Naismith, ‘London and its Mint c. 880–1066: a Preliminary Survey’, *BNJ* (forthcoming).

<sup>72</sup> C. E. Blunt, ‘The Cabinet of the Marquess of Ailesbury and the Penny of Hywel Dda’, *BNJ* 52 (1982), 117–22.

<sup>73</sup> Three such coins are known (one each of Edward the Elder, Æthelred II and Edward the Confessor), and one of several vivid sources for the ‘special’ use of such pieces is the will of King Eadred (S 1515 (*WinchNM* 17)). The coins are described and discussed in M. Blackburn, ‘Gold in England during the “Age of Silver”’, *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (Walnut Creek, CA, 2007), pp. 55–98, at 64–7 and 86–7 (nos. B6–8); on their use see also R. Naismith, ‘Payments for Land and Privilege in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASE* 41 (forthcoming).

have been dim to say the least, but they nevertheless point towards a tradition of issues ‘special’ in their appearance or context fitting within the bounds of current practice. In other words, a ‘special’ issue need not depart completely from a place in broader numismatic developments. The *Agnus Dei* type might therefore be seen as a deliberate and highly contrived modification of what had become, by 1009, an increasingly settled feature of the English currency: successive, if not rigidly regular, recoinages.<sup>74</sup> Recoinages would presumably have generated income for the king and his moneyers, but they also – and perhaps more importantly, at least in 1009 – served as a powerful, general statement of firm faith and good government.<sup>75</sup> An affirmation of this sort was never more needed than in the dark days ‘when the great army came to this country’.<sup>76</sup> Coinage and its renewal were, at least as far as contemporary law-codes and homilies put it, integral to the general wellbeing of society: ‘improvement of the coinage’ (*feos bot*) stood side by side with ‘improvement of peace’ (*frides bot*) in the words of *V/VI Æthelred* (1008) and in Cnut’s laws,<sup>77</sup> and also in an associated exhortatory composition apparently intended for delivery to a royal audience.<sup>78</sup>

In this context, it should be in no way surprising that a ‘special’ coin-issue embodying a deep wish for divine support should carry some of the hallmarks of a recoinage. Yet there is no disputing that *Agnus Dei* failed to attain the status of a regular Æthelredian coin-type: as stated above, it was produced at a very limited number of mint-places, mostly of slight to middling significance;

<sup>74</sup> Some element of flexibility in the organization and timing of recoinages (in contrast to Michael Dolley’s more rigid ‘sexennial thesis’) has been highlighted by P. Grierson, ‘Numismatics and the Historian’, *NC* 2 (1962), i–xiv, at viii–xiv; C. S. S. Lyon, ‘Historical Problems of Anglo-Saxon Coinage – (4) the Viking Age’, *BNJ* 39 (1970), 193–204, at 199–200; Brand, *Periodic Change of Type*; and Stewart, ‘Coinage and Recoinage’.

<sup>75</sup> Naismith, *Money and Power*, pp. 41–6; E. M. Screen, ‘Anglo-Saxon Law and Numismatics: a Reassessment in the Light of Patrick Wormald’s *The Making of English Law*’, *BNJ* 77 (2007), 150–72, at 156–7.

<sup>76</sup> *VII Æthelred*, prologue (*Gesetze*, ed. Liebermann, I, 262).

<sup>77</sup> *V Æthelred*, ch. 26.1; *VI Æthelred*, ch. 31, 32.1–2; *II Cnut*, ch. 8 (*Gesetze*, ed. Liebermann, I, 242–3, 254–5 and 314–15). Cf. Naismith, *Money and Power*, pp. 156–7.

<sup>78</sup> *Larspell*, in *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. A. Napier (Berlin, 1883), pp. 266–74 (no. L). It is discussed in detail in J. T. Lionarons, ‘Napier Homily L: Wulfstan’s Eschatology at the Close of his Career’, *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. M. Townend (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 413–28. On its royal setting and links to *VI Æthelred* on coinage, see K. Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 23 (Bern, 1950), pp. 249–61. Jost believed the royal audience would have been Edward the Confessor, but a more probable interpretation of the text as a product of the year 1018 (intended for Cnut at the council of Oxford 1018) is put forward in Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 335 and 463; cf. P. Stafford, ‘The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises’, *ASE* 10 (1982), 173–90, at 186–7; and *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 39–41.



and so few specimens survive (relative to other types of Æthelred's reign) that it must have been issued in comparatively small quantity, quite probably during a very short period.<sup>79</sup> In numismatic terms it was probably not a free-standing entity, but rather the head of a new coinage (*Last Small Cross*), itself intended either to recall the good order associated with Edgar 'the Peaceable' or to evoke the tragic death of Edward the Martyr (or both).<sup>80</sup> Appeals to stability and authority were thus not restricted to the *Agnus Dei* type, even if the focus was to shift radically in the subsequent coinage. Again, what appears to be crucial is the highly-charged atmosphere in which the *Agnus Dei* coinage was produced. If it does belong to the same manifestation of religious fervour evidenced by *VII Æthelred*, then it may well have formed part of a similar set of short-term measures. The fasting, processing and almsgiving laid down by this edict were all to take place over a set period of three days running up to Michaelmas. Production of the *Agnus Dei* coinage may have been circumscribed in a similar way, perhaps based on key dates in the Christian calendar, even if one can hardly say exactly how long its period of currency was, or if it was afterwards 'demonetized' as other types may have been.<sup>81</sup> Its absence from many English mints, including major centres and even those thought to have been responsible for issuing the dies, could be a reflection of this limited duration: that is to say, dies were made and sent out on as large a scale as possible within a brief time, beginning (as was often the case in late-tenth- and eleventh-century England) with smaller and more distant mint-places, and probably never reached the leading mints at all. There is good evidence for this practice from other late Anglo-Saxon coin-types: several issues which were for whatever reason quickly aborted present a surprisingly peripheral pattern of distribution.<sup>82</sup> The rare *BMC* type xiv of Edward the Confessor (c. 1065), for example, is known only from a few minor mints in Kent and the west

<sup>79</sup> Stewart Lyon has suggested to the authors that Malmesbury's output during the period of *Last Small Cross* may have consisted entirely of *Agnus Dei* pennies, as none of the former but four of the latter are known from the mint. This would support the proposition that *Agnus Dei* essentially constituted the earliest phase of the new *Last Small Cross* type. All of the Malmesbury *Agnus Dei* pennies, however, are from the same pair of dies, which could have been all that were ever issued. The privileged survival of coins from a single pair of dies could be explained by other factors besides substantial output. Discovery of coins from different dies or moneys would strengthen the case.

<sup>80</sup> See above, pp. 187–8.

<sup>81</sup> Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', p. 199.

<sup>82</sup> It should be noted that this was not universally the case. A type modelled on *Last Small Cross* but displaying Æthelred II with a helmet (similar to Cnut's later *Helmet* type of c. 1023–9) was apparently essayed at London towards the end of the reign: one specimen survives, now in the University Museum, Bergen (SCBI 65 1096). For discussion, see Lyon, 'Historical Problems (4)', pp. 200–1.

midlands.<sup>83</sup> Within Æthelred's reign, a partial parallel is found in the mostly western mints represented in *Intermediate Small Cross* (c. 997), with a slightly wider spread among those using obverse dies of this type in conjunction with *Crux* reverses. These either never received the reverses, or did not use them after the new reverse type was discontinued. Interestingly, the surviving sample of *Intermediate Small Cross/Crux* is dominated by Winchester, Exeter and London, which may have served as centres of production and/or distribution.<sup>84</sup> Some other minor types of the same reign enjoyed a rather different distribution. *Second Hand* is famously absent from Lincoln and virtually so from York, but was as plentiful as other 'substantive' types at some southern and eastern mints (especially London),<sup>85</sup> while *Benediction Hand* is known in significantly smaller but still considerable quantity from twenty-two mints spread across England, albeit with the conspicuous absence of the southwest, Lincoln and York.<sup>86</sup> The *Hand* types in particular and Æthelred's coinage as a whole smack of a system still taking shape; one in which practice was flexible, and capable of being adapted to changing needs and conditions, not always of a purely economic or administrative nature. Under the straitened circumstances of summer or autumn 1009, the distribution of mints found in the *Agnus Dei* type might reflect the limits reached during a short period by the three or so die-cutting centres then at work, deliberately reaching out first to lesser mints and perhaps not able to provide a reliable chain of supply to East Anglia, London or the southeast.

The *Agnus Dei* coinage can, therefore, be explained as in a sense both a 'special' issue of circumscribed scope and duration, and a 'substantive' type.

<sup>83</sup> B. H. I. H. Stewart and C. E. Blunt, 'The Droitwich Mint and *BMC* Type XIV of Edward the Confessor', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 52–7, at 55–7.

<sup>84</sup> Obverse dies of *Intermediate Small Cross* were only subtly different from those of *Crux*, so may have been acceptable for combination with *Crux* reverses. Closely related is the slightly later *Transitional Crux* type, associated with south-central mints. See R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'An *Intermediate Small Cross* Issue of Æthelræd II and some Late Varieties of the *Crux* Type', *BNJ* 28 (1956), 75–87; R. H. M. Dolley, 'Some Further Remarks on the *Transitional Crux* Issue of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 259–64; B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'Notes on the *Intermediate Small Cross* and *Transitional Crux* Types of Ethelred II', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 16–24, 'Coinage and Recoinage', p. 476; and K. Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards and Late Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Stockholm, 1987), pp. 106–14

<sup>85</sup> On the *Hand* types in general, see especially Stewart, 'Coinage and Recoinage', pp. 471–4; Brand, *Periodic Change*, pp. 18–25; and M. Blackburn, 'Æthelred's Coinage and the Payment of Tribute', *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. G. Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 156–69, at 158–62.

<sup>86</sup> The *Benediction Hand* type specifically is discussed in R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'The Transition between the "Hand of Providence" and "Crux" Types of Æthelræd II', *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis I*, ed. N. L. Rasmuson (Stockholm, 1961), pp. 173–86; Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, pp. 99–103; and K. Bornholdt-Collins and E. Screen, 'New Moneyers in Æthelred II's *Benediction Hand* Type', *BNJ* 77 (2007), 270–6.

### *The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*

It embodied the spirit if not the substance of a *renovatio*, and was probably intended at the same time as a monetary counterpart to other measures instituted by the king, acting no doubt under the guidance of Archbishop Ælfheah, Archbishop Wulfstan and his other councillors, in extremely testing times.<sup>87</sup> Quite possibly it was never meant to be a full recoinage, but rather a unique and – so the English must have hoped – propitious opening to one.

#### *The 'Agnus Dei' type in England*

The twenty-one *Agnus Dei* coins (and one mule) so far recorded have mostly come to light outside England: eighteen of them belong to finds from Scandinavia or other lands around the Baltic; one first surfaced in northern France; and only three come from within England. Twelve finds, all from the Northern lands, come from hoards, six certainly or probably from single-finds, and four from uncertain contexts. One coin (no. 1) is anomalous in having first been acquired by a British collector at Boulogne-sur-Mer (départ. Pas-de-Calais) in northeastern France around 1840. This is a surprising, if not unprecedented, provenance for a late Anglo-Saxon coin,<sup>88</sup> although there is no guarantee that it was actually found locally.<sup>89</sup> The distribution of these finds can be summarized in tabular form (Table 9).

It should be noted how few coins have been found within England, all of them as single-finds. One (no. 6) was found by a metal-detectorist in Essex; another (no. 20) was found by a detectorist at an unknown location in southern England; and a third (no. 9) came to light, under unclear circumstances but probably as a single-find, among a nineteenth-century collection of other

<sup>87</sup> Wulfstan's involvement in the institution of the *Agnus Dei* type was suggested by Michael Dolley ('Nummular Brooch', pp. 344–5) and endorsed by others (e.g., Stafford, 'Historical Implications', p. 48), though Wulfstan should to some extent be seen as the mouthpiece for a larger political and religious establishment: above, pp. 000.

<sup>88</sup> Early- and mid-tenth-century hoards containing English coins are known from Normandy, Brittany and Haute-Vienne: T. Cardon, J. C. Moesgaard, R. Prot and P. Schiesser, 'Le premier trésor monétaire de type viking en France', *Revue numismatique* 164 (2008), 21–40; R. H. M. Dolley and J. Yvon, 'A Group of Tenth-Century Coins Found at Mont-Saint-Michel', *BNJ* 40 (1971), 1–16; J. Perrier, 'A propos du trésor monétaire médiéval du Dorat', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 108 (1981), 185–6. Small numbers of English coins from as late as the time of Æthelred II were also found in the large late or post-Carolingian hoards from Rennes (c. 915–23), Fécamp (c. 975–80) and Le Puy (early eleventh century) (F. Dumas-Dubourg, *Le trésor de Fécamp et le monnayage en France occidentale pendant la seconde moitié du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1971), p. 60; and J. Duplessy, *Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France, I: 751–1223* (Paris, 1985), pp. 62–4, 103–5 and 106–7 (nos. 137, 267 and 274)), as well as individually: for two pennies of Æthelred (*Long Cross* and *Helmet* types) found in central France see D. Buthod-Ruffier, J. C. Moesgaard and P. Schiesser, 'Deux monnaies anglaises de l'an mille trouvées en Bourgogne', *Cabier numismatique* 185 (September 2010), 25–7.

<sup>89</sup> Michael Dolley ('*Agnus Dei* Pennies', p. 113) noted that Boulogne was in the nineteenth century a haven for British fugitives and exiles, one of whom could have brought the coin to France and subsequently sold it on.

Table 9: Finds of *Agnus Dei* pennies

<i>Location</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Single-find</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>
England		3 (nos. 6, 9?, 20)	
France?			1 (no. 1)
<i>Northern lands</i>			
Denmark	2 (nos. 11, 15)	3 (nos. 17, 18, 21)	1 (no. 4)
Norway	1 (no. 10)		
Sweden	2 (nos. 2, 7)		
Gotland	3 (nos. 8, 14, 16)		1 (mule)
Baltic lands	4 (nos. 5, 12, 13, 19)		
Uncertain			1 (no. 3)

coins and antiquities (not all of them Anglo-Saxon) from Gracechurch Street, London, in what was the heart of the late Anglo-Saxon city.<sup>90</sup> These three English finds, though far from numerous, are significant for demonstrating that the type did indeed circulate within England, and even in the southeast, where single-finds are comparatively plentiful but the type itself appears never to have been minted.<sup>91</sup> Despite its circumscribed production and limited economic impact, there should be no question about the type being initiated with a view to circulation within England.<sup>92</sup>

Whether it was intended for any special function within England is more difficult to determine. As emphasized above, the *Agnus Dei* type stayed well within the bounds of what could be called coinage, and in several respects *Agnus Dei* pennies were treated in much the same way as other late Anglo-Saxon pennies. At least once an *Agnus Dei* obverse die was muled with a *Last Small Cross* reverse; the resultant coin was also cut to provide two halfpennies, and another penny (no. 16) was apparently cut down to a farthing. Both cut coins were, however, found in Scandinavia, and there is no way to ascertain if they were cut before or after leaving England.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, coin-designs were examined closely and pennies changed hands in intricate webs of religious, official and personalized payments as well as straightforward commerce.<sup>94</sup> In other words, special purposes for a special coinage are not inconceivable. The unique design and historical context might have particularly commended *Agnus Dei*

<sup>90</sup> Michael Dolley (*ibid.*, pp. 107–12) considered the provenance of this coin in great detail, concluding that no certainty was possible, but that a single-find was perhaps most likely.

<sup>91</sup> For the distribution of single-finds see Metcalf, *Atlas*; and R. Naismith, 'The English Monetary Economy, c. 973–1100: the Contribution of Single-Finds', *EconHR* (forthcoming).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Metcalf, *Atlas*, p. 129.

<sup>93</sup> In England halfpennies and farthings were probably made at the point of production (Metcalf, *Atlas*, pp. 76–81), and it is more likely than not that this was the case with the *Agnus Dei* pennies; but there is no way to tell for certain.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Naismith, *Money and Power*, pp. 252–92.

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pennies to devotional uses, not least the almsgiving laid down in *VII Æthelred*, and one of the surviving specimens (no. 6) seems to have been deliberately bent before deposition: an act which may have carried religious significance.<sup>95</sup> Suggestive though these points may be, they fall a long way short of confirmation that the *Agnus Dei* pennies, although special in themselves, regularly enjoyed any 'special' use within England; and certainly one should not imagine, for example, that the alms laid down by *VII Æthelred* would have been paid all over the country in *Agnus Dei* coins.

Even if the verdict on how *Agnus Dei* pennies were used in Æthelred's kingdom must remain open, they formed part of a surge of interest in the Lamb of God, the Holy Dove, and associated imagery. The general artistic dimensions of this development have already been alluded to,<sup>96</sup> but further attention should be devoted to a specific connection which would appear to exist between the *Agnus Dei* coinage and three nummular brooches, one of which can be dated by its archaeological context to the early eleventh century, and all of which, in their design and method of manufacture, were conceivably the products of a single mind or workshop (see Plate VI*o*). The first of these brooches was found *c.* 1970 in excavations at Castle Hill, Sulgrave, Northants., and remains in private ownership. Michael Dolley and others have noted its obvious parallels with the Lamb of God on the *Agnus Dei* coin-type, and they need not be stressed again here.<sup>97</sup> The site on which the brooch was found belonged to a high-status secular habitation of late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman date, now located beneath a mound lying in the shadow of the village church. This circular earthwork conceals the remains of a hall-like structure some 80 feet in length, first erected at some point towards the end of the tenth century, along with various ancillary buildings.<sup>98</sup> The lead excavator, Brian Davison, saw the complex as 'evidently the residence of a fairly wealthy thegn':<sup>99</sup> a rare and significant archaeological find most deserving of further investigation.<sup>100</sup> Importantly, the brooch was found deposited in the same

<sup>95</sup> See above, n. 5.

<sup>96</sup> See above, pp. 180–1.

<sup>97</sup> Dolley, 'Nummular Brooch', pp. 333–6; E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 116 (no. 113); Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pp. 200–1.

<sup>98</sup> B. Davison, 'Excavations at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, 1968', *ArchJ* 125 (1968), 305–7; 'Excavations at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, 1960–76', *ArchJ* 134 (1977), 105–14. For the wider context, see H. Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012).

<sup>99</sup> B. Davison, 'Sulgrave', *CA* 2 (1969), 19–22, at 20.

<sup>100</sup> The authors would like to extend their thanks to Brian Davison, Sheila Davison, Colin Wootton, Clare Pollak and Richard Ivens for their kindness and hospitality shown to both authors during a most instructive visit to Sulgrave in October 2011.

phase of activity as a *Long Cross* penny of Æthelred II, at a time when the hall was being expanded considerably and an adjacent wooden outbuilding was replaced with one in stone, within which the brooch was found.<sup>101</sup>

The second nummular brooch was found *c.* 2000 at Bicester, Oxon, about 15 miles as the crow flies from Sulgrave. This probably displays the Lamb of God's counterpart, found on the reverse of the coinage: the Holy Dove. The manner of representation is, however, quite different from that of the *Agnus Dei* pennies. In place of the elegant dove soaring across the field of the coin, one sees a rather plump and bulbous specimen apparently either alighting or about to take off, turning towards the viewer and raising one wing.<sup>102</sup> However, both the 'soaring' Holy Dove, with its wings outspread in flight and often resembling an eagle,<sup>103</sup> and the 'alighting' Holy Dove with its wing or wings bent and its feet lowered, can be paralleled extensively in contemporary manuscripts and other sources.<sup>104</sup> Surrounding the example on the Bicester brooch is a crude,

<sup>101</sup> On this and another coin found at Sulgrave, see M. Blackburn, 'Wærin: a Northampton Moneyer for Edgar', *NC* 139 (1979), 217–19.

<sup>102</sup> Webster, 'Apocalypse Then', p. 240 n.; and Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pp. 199–200.

<sup>103</sup> For the 'soaring' dove in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see T. H. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1992), pp. 297, 335, 433 and 451; *Golden Age*, ed. Backhouse *et al.*, no. 61; and E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London, 1976), figs. 85 and 316. This form of Holy Dove was favoured in representations of the baptism of Christ (recalling the words of Matthew III.16, Mark I.10, Luke III.22 and John I.32), and can be paralleled in several manuscripts and sculptural representations from France and Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries: H. Schmidt and M. Schmidt, *Die vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst. Ein Führer zum Verständnis der Tier-, Engel- und Mariensymbolik* (Munich, 1982), pp. 110–14; and *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum and G. Bandmann, 8 vols. (Freiburg, 1968–76), IV, cols. 250–2.

<sup>104</sup> For the 'alighting' dove see Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pp. 147, 281 and 329. The most interesting example, found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6401 (Anglo-Saxon artist at Fleury, s. x/xi), 159r, reproduced in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 95, shows the Holy Dove as part of a representation of the Trinity, in which Christ takes the form of the Lamb, while God is flanked by alpha and omega, the Lamb and Dove enclosed in roundels, closely recalling the combination of iconography found on the *Agnus Dei* pennies and the Sulgrave and Bicester brooches (for the artistic context of the manuscript see F. Wormald, 'The "Winchester School" before St Æthelwold', *England before the Conquest*, ed. Clemons and Hughes, pp. 305–13, at 311–13). Numismatic parallels can be found on Danish coins of Magnus the Good (1042–7) minted at Lund (P. C. Hauberg, 'Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146', *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter* 6th ser., 5 (Copenhagen, 1900), pl. VII, 16), and on early Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins and brooches (A. Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage (Sixth to Eighth Centuries)* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 107–14; and M. Prou, *Les monnaies mérovingiennes* (Paris, 1892), no. 1051). On the background of the dove, especially in this form, see *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol, 15 vols. (Paris, 1907–53) III.2, cols. 2198–231. Cf. Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation*.

nonsensical pseudo-legend. The brooch is seemingly without any secure or dated context, but is of remarkably similar construction to that from Sulgrave; it too remains in private ownership, and awaits formal publication.<sup>105</sup> The third brooch came to light in the course of the famous excavations at Winchester, where (like many other Anglo-Saxon coins and objects) it was found in earth redeposited in a thirteenth-century house.<sup>106</sup> It is noticeably cruder in style and more spartan in ornamentation than the Sulgrave and Bicester brooches, for which reason Michael Dolley and Melinda Mays suggested it may belong somewhat later than that from Sulgrave; yet its design still unmistakably portrays the Lamb of God, as a spindly quadruped walking left with a cross-tipped banner behind.<sup>107</sup>

Considerable significance attaches to the unusual method of manufacture common to all three brooches. The Sulgrave brooch is made from a 'paper-thin disk of bronze', which would have been over 50mm in diameter, into which the nummular design has been impressed from behind (presumably using an embossed die of some kind); this disk was then folded over a slightly more substantial backplate, in the form of a circular bronze disc, to produce a brooch about 45mm in diameter, though since the diameter of the nummular design is 8mm less than diameter of the finished brooch, it may be that the intention had been to produce a coin-like brooch about 37mm in diameter. The Bicester brooch was made in essentially the same way (its design impressed from behind into a thin metallic disk, itself wrapped over a more substantial metallic disk serving as a base); but in this case, the component parts had been prepared more carefully, using a base-plate of the same dimensions as the nummular design, to produce a brooch about 37mm in diameter. Kevin Leahy has noted that an apparently similar method was used to produce the Winchester brooch.<sup>108</sup> In other words, all three brooches were made in the same way, in contrast to the bulk of Anglo-Saxon nummular brooches, which were cast.<sup>109</sup> The Sulgrave and Bicester brooches are also of approximately

<sup>105</sup> For our knowledge of the Bicester brooch, we are indebted to Leslie Webster, and to Alan Rogers of Bicester.

<sup>106</sup> R. H. M. Dolley and M. Mays, 'Nummular Brooches', *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, ed. M. Biddle, 2 vols., Winchester Stud. 7 (Oxford, 1990) II, 632–5, at 633–5 (no. 2007). A fragment of a similar brooch is presented as no. 2005: it may also have shown a lamb, but too little survives to inspire confidence.

<sup>107</sup> K. Leahy, 'Anglo-Saxon Coin Brooches', *Coinage and History*, ed. Williams and Cook, pp. 267–85, at 273 and 285 (no. 12).

<sup>108</sup> Leahy, 'Anglo-Saxon Coin Brooches', p. 280.

<sup>109</sup> One further parallel (first noted by Dolley and Mays) should be mentioned, in the form of a thin piece of pewter now in the Ashmolean Museum which once probably formed the outer, decorative component of a similar brooch: D. A. Hinton, *A Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700–1100, in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford,

the same size: twice that of a silver penny. The Winchester brooch, at 22mm in diameter, is somewhat smaller, but only slightly larger than a single penny. The value of these brooches, individually and in combination, as evidence of the apparent extension of the *Agnus Dei* iconography from the coin-type to a nummular brooch, can hardly be overstated. Around the time of the likely issue of the *Agnus Dei* type, images of very similar appearance were sparking the imagination of at least one English craftsman and adorning the breasts of at least three of the king's subjects.

*Circulation and influence in Scandinavia*

Within England the *Agnus Dei* coin-type therefore hardly stood alone as a manifestation of artistic interest in the Lamb of God and associated imagery, but it also enjoyed a prolific monetary afterlife in the homelands of the raiders who so troubled England under Æthelred II.<sup>110</sup> Aside from the fact of discovery in Scandinavia and neighbouring territories, peck-marks on four of the surviving coins (nos. 3, 5, 14, mule) are suggestive of some period of circulation in a Viking context.<sup>111</sup> A stronger sign of specific interest in the *Agnus Dei* pennies is the secondary treatment to which half of the surviving specimens were subjected. No fewer than ten *Agnus Dei* pennies (all of them found in Scandinavia or the Baltic) have been pierced (nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21), sometimes with the accompanying loop or ring still intact. These acts of secondary treatment indicate an intention to wear the coins for ornamentation. In six cases (nos. 2, 5, 8, 18, 19, 21) the orientation of the piercing suggests that the reverse was the face intended for display, only once the obverse (no. 4); for three specimens it is unclear which face was primarily intended for display (nos. 7, 13, 17).<sup>112</sup> Four coins have the silver loop mounting still attached (nos.

1974), pp. 67–8 (no. 39). It bears a left-facing bust and an inscription naming King Edgar, though Dolley believed it to date from the eleventh century (Dolley and Mays, 'Nummular Brooches', p. 635): an intriguing complement to the esteem in which Edgar came to be held at that time (see above, n. 36). On other brooches, see Leahy, 'Anglo-Saxon Coin Brooches'; and, for alternative traditions of coin-brooches, see M. M. Archibald, 'Pseudo-Kufic Base-Metal Coin Brooches from England', *Magister Monetæ: Studies in Honour of Jørgen Steen Jensen*, ed. M. Anderson, H. W. Horsnæs and J. C. Moesgaard (Copenhagen, 2007), pp. 127–38; and G. Williams, 'Coin Brooches of Edward the Confessor and William I', *BNJ* 71 (2001), 60–70.

<sup>110</sup> For general comments on Scandinavian and Baltic finds see B. Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ. Deutsche und angelsächsische Mittelaltermünzen in einer Schrift des Magisters Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Erbstein aus dem Jahre 1828', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. Jonsson, pp. 137–56, at 148–50.

<sup>111</sup> Archibald, 'Pecking and Bending'; and Kilger, 'Silver Handling Traditions'. Less diagnostic scratches (which could have occurred after deposition or during recovery) are present on four coins: nos. 10, 17, 18, 20.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Leimus, 'Fourteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny', p. 160.



2, 7, 13, 21), and two of these also retain their rings. Both (nos. 2, 7) stem from the 1865 Johannishus (Blekinge, Sweden) hoard (*dep.* after 1120), which was notable for including sixty-one English, German, Scandinavian, Islamic and Byzantine coins (among them a Swedish imitation of the *Agnus Dei* type) mounted either individually or in fourteen chains of two or more coins.<sup>113</sup> The rings attached to the Johannishus coins, as well as the loops adhering to nos. 13 and 21, are of a form common in Scandinavia and eastern Europe in the eleventh century which had evolved out of more diverse practices earlier in the Middle Ages.<sup>114</sup> Piercing coins for use as jewellery was not especially unusual in Viking-age Scandinavia, and so the fact that *Agnus Dei* pennies received such treatment should occasion no special comment. Yet the high proportion of pierced coins remains notable: the most one can say is that when they were available, the rare and distinctive *Agnus Dei* coins seem to have lent themselves to decorative purposes.<sup>115</sup>

The *Agnus Dei* type also – and potentially more significantly – provoked a number of imitations in eleventh-century Scandinavia. Probably the earliest of these are anonymous imitations associated by Brita Malmer with either Lund or Sigtuna in Sweden, at least some of them probably issued in or after the 1020s.<sup>116</sup> The bulk of these present garbled legends which offer no reliable

<sup>113</sup> K. Jonsson *et al.*, *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suevia reperti sunt; Catalogue of Coins from the 9th–11th Centuries Found in Sweden. 4. Blekinge. 1. Bräkne-Hoby–Sölvesborg* (Stockholm, 2010), pp. 62–175 (no. 5), with some of the chains illustrated on pl. 16–17. The hoard also contained over 4,000 coins which had not been pierced or mounted. The Johannishus specimens should be considered in the same context as the necklace of mounted English coins from the earlier (*dep.* c. 1050) Åspinge (Skåne, Sweden) hoard: J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: a Select Catalogue* (London, 1980), pp. 45–6 and 226 (no. 156), with J. Graham-Campbell and D. Kidd, *The Vikings* (London, 1980), pl. 55 (showing obverses).

<sup>114</sup> M. Blackburn, ‘The Loops as a Guide to How and When the Coins Were Acquired’, *The Hoen Hoard: a Viking Gold Treasure of the Ninth Century*, ed. S. H. Fuglesang and D. M. Wilson, *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia XIV* (Rome, 2006), pp. 181–99, esp. 187 (mounts of ‘Type III’); cf. A. Belyakov, ‘The Coins and Monetary Pendants from the Barrows near Pleshkovo Village (Late Viking Age)’, *Sigtuna Papers*, ed. Jonsson and Malmer, pp. 35–42. One should not rule out the possibility of some coins having been pierced in England before being taken abroad, but quite different methods of mounting coins as brooches prevailed in England during the tenth and eleventh centuries: Archibald, ‘Pseudo-Kufic Base-Metal Brooches’; Leahy, ‘Anglo-Saxon Coin Brooches’; and Williams, ‘Coin Brooches’.

<sup>115</sup> See further Dolley and Talvio, ‘Thirteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny’, p. 124; Leimus, ‘Fourteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny’, p. 160; Keynes, ‘An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids’, p. 200, and references there cited.

<sup>116</sup> B. Malmer, *Den svenska Mynthistorien: Vikingatiden ca 995–1030* (Stockholm, 2010), pp. 60 and 272, and ‘A Note on the Coinage of Sigtuna at the Time of Anund Jacob’, *Festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist*, ed. U. Ehrensärd, *Numismatiska Meddelanden 37* (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 259–62. One of the *Agnus Dei* obverse dies was combined with a reverse modelled on Cnut’s *Helmet* type (c. 1023–9).

clue to what mint or moneyer's work might have provided a model. However, one pair of dies bear clearly literate inscriptions which reveal that at least one Christian Swedish die-cutter was well aware of the significance of the design he was adopting: ANGNVS DEI ANO replaces the king's name and title, with the moneyer's name Beorn on the reverse.<sup>117</sup>

Further south, the mint-town of Lund – now in Sweden, but in the Middle Ages under Danish rule – issued a string of coin-types modelled on the English *Agnus Dei* coinage over the course of the eleventh century. The earliest of these belong to the reign of Cnut, and more were struck during the reign of his son Harthacnut (1035–42), as well as his successors Magnus the Good, Sven Estrithson and Erik I Evergood (1095–1103).<sup>118</sup> Types with a bird that may be a dove (and no lamb) were also issued from time to time.<sup>119</sup> As at Sigtuna, the *Agnus Dei* types made by the moneyers of Lund (and occasionally other Danish mints) were decidedly rare: designs based on other English coin-types and Byzantine issues enjoyed greater popularity, and both existed alongside designs of local origin. Pennies with the Lamb of God or Holy Dove were thus always unusual. Even so, the influence of the *Agnus Dei* design in Denmark was long lived, and, in a kingdom where Christian belief and culture were still taking hold, it was evidently understood in the same devotional terms as on the English coins which had originally provided the inspiration.<sup>120</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

King Edgar did not 'reform' the coinage in 973, once and for all. At about that time, those in the king's service who were responsible for the coinage devised the practices which gave the English a uniform and improved system of coinage. One must suppose that the same people remained responsible for the coinage through the reign of Edward the Martyr, and into the reign of Æthelred the Unready; and that as the years passed practices continued to be

<sup>117</sup> B. Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020*, Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis n. s. 9 (Stockholm, 1997), pp. 229, 430–1 and 546–7. Malmer's literate dies are numbered 551 (obverse) and 1651 (reverse), and are known from four surviving specimens.

<sup>118</sup> Hauberg, 'Myntforhold og Udmyntninger', *Det Kongelige Danske*, pp. 47–8, pl. II, 6, IV, 4–6, VII, 15, VIII, 17, X, 60–1 (the only coins belonging to Slagelse rather than Lund) and XII, 3. For early Danish amulets featuring the lamb, see A. Pedersen, 'Religiøse symboler i vikingetidens arkæologiske materiale', *Kristendommen i Danmark før 1050: Et symposium i Roskilde den 5.–7. februar 2003*, ed. N. Lund (Roskilde, 2004), pp. 60–74, at 71.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* pl. VII, 16 (?) and VIII, 18.

<sup>120</sup> See also J. Steen Jensen, *Tusindtallets Danske Mønter fra den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling: Danish Coins from the 11th Century in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals* (Copenhagen, 1995), pp. 58–9, and I. H. Garipzanov, 'Religious Symbolism on Early Christian Scandinavian Coins', *Viator* 42 (2011), 35–53, at 36–7.

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refined, modified, and developed, in response to changing economic, political and other circumstances. The *Agnus Dei* coin-type is first and foremost a product of this system, suggesting how practices might be adapted under special circumstances. It represents at the same time a compelling expression of feelings occasioned by the arrival of 'Thorkel's army' at Sandwich in the high summer of 1009. It was arguably a 'special' type issued at the start of a new coinage, never in itself intended to form a substantive type in its own right, in the sense of one issued throughout the country over a period of several years. In our view, the *Agnus Dei* type offers an extraordinary insight into the way in which a flexible monetary system was brought into the service of those who needed desperately to secure divine support for a kingdom under intensive attack. For this reason, one can but hope that more information on it may be forthcoming, in the form of fresh examples still lurking in the soil. The eleven specimens discussed as a group by Michael Dolley, in 1971, were found and recorded in the nineteenth century (nos. 1–2, 7–11, 14–16, 19). Between 1971 and 2007 the tally rose from eleven to sixteen, with 'new' specimens reported in 1977 (no. 12, found in 1895), 1979 (no. 13, found in 1974), 1990 (no. 5, found in 1982), 1997 (no. 20, found in that same year), and 1999 (no. 17, found in 1998), and duly welcomed each time by publications announcing their number in a slowly extending order of appearance. Since 2007, the recorded tally has risen further from 16 to 21, with one first reported in that year (no. 3), and now four more reported here (nos. 4, 6, 18, 21). It is a pleasant thought that pennies of King Æthelred's *Agnus Dei* type are on a roll. With ever increasing use of metal detectors, and ongoing excavation, further specimens of the type will surely come to light, and in five or ten years another review of the evidence might be required. The five 'new' specimens which have surfaced within the past five years have done little to disturb and much to strengthen impressions which had been formed on the basis of the sixteen specimens recorded before 2007; but the prospect remains that further finds of single specimens, or, dare one suggest, the discovery of a hoard of *Agnus Dei* pennies, large or small, will require some significant modification to our understanding of the type, or indeed might blow it apart.

APPENDIX

A CHECKLIST OF THE *AGNUS DEI* PENNIES

The twenty-one recorded specimens of King Æthelred's *Agnus Dei* type are listed below, together with the solitary *Agnus Dei* / *Last Small Cross* mule. All are illustrated at double life-size in Plates I–VI. The information is derived from published and unpublished sources, and from photographs kindly supplied by: the Department of Coins of Medals, British Museum (Gareth Williams); the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (Jens Christian Moesgaard, Gitte Tarnow Ingwardson, Jørgen Steen Jensen); the Royal Coin Cabinet, National Museum of Economy, Stockholm (Eva Wiséhn, Kenneth Jonsson); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Wolfgang Hielscher); the Estonian History Museum, Tallinn (Ivar Leimus); the Institute of History, Tallinn University (Mauri Kiudsoo); the University Museum, Bergen (Elina Screen); and the Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

CNS: *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt*, 9 vols. (Stockholm, 1975–)

Dolley, R. H. M., 'The *Agnus Dei* Pennies of Æthelræd II' (unpublished typescript held in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Dolley archive no. 667), c. 1960)

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*Description of the ‘Agnus Dei’ type*

BMC Type x; Hildebrand Type G; North 776; Spink 1156

*Obverse.* **†ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM** or similar (or with abbreviated ethnic), beginning at 3 o’clock; surrounding the Lamb of God, haloed, facing right, with a cross-headed staff/banner behind; a beaded tablet at its feet, bearing an inscription for *Agnus*, or the letters alpha and omega; the Lamb’s head and halo reaching to the edge of the coin, breaking the inscription.

*Reverse.* Moneyer and mint inscription, beginning at 1 o’clock; surrounding the Holy Dove flying upwards, with head and beak, and also wings and tail, reaching to the edge of the coin.

I WESSEX (WILTSHIRE)

1. **MALMESBURY**, Ealdred

*Obv.* **†ÆÐELRÆD R[...]**LORVM *Rev.* **†ÆALDRÆD O[.]**ALDMES

Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed **ÆG N**

Weight: 1.70g (chipped). Die-axis: 270°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 2–4.

*Location.* London, British Museum (1909-7-9-7); ex Rashleigh (Sotheby 21 June 1909), lot 298; ex Sainthill (Sotheby 27 April 1870), lot 188; bought in Boulogne (c. 1840) (for earliest details on provenance see Lindsay, *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, pp. 131–2; Sainthill, *Olla Podrida* I, 214, and *Numismatic, and Other Crumbs*, p. 128; cf. Dolley, ‘*Agnus Dei* Pennies’, p. 113).

*Image:* Lindsay, *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, pl. 6; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, g; Plate I, no. 1.

2. **MALMESBURY**, Ealdred

*Obv.* †ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †EALDR-ED O[.] M·ALDMES

Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed ΛΓ Ν

Weight: 2.40g (pierced twice, with loop and ring). Die-axis: 270°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 1, 3 and 4.

*Location:* Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet (Hildebrand 3086; CNS 4.1.5.3604), from Johannishus (Blekinge, Sweden) hoard 1866.

*Image:* Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, h; CNS 4.1 pl. 15; Plate I, no. 2, with Plate VI (b).

3. **MALMESBURY**, Ealdred

*Obv.* †ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †EALDR-ED ON M·ALDMES

Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed ΛΓ Ν

Weight: 1.76g (pecked). Die-axis: 0°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 1, 2 and 4.

*Location:* Private collection (USA); bt from Spink & Son Ltd, 2007; found 'somewhere in Scandinavia'.

*Image:* Gooch, 'Seventeenth *Agnus Dei* Penny of Aethelred II'; Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', p. 220 (enlarged); Plate I, no. 3.

4. **MALMESBURY**, Ealdred

*Obv.* †ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †EALDR-ED ON M·ALDMES

Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed ΛΓ Ν

Weight: 1.53g (pierced). Die-axis: 0°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 1–3.

*Location:* Private collection; from Bruun Rasmusson sale 816, 4 December 2010, lot 5316; from a collection formed by Emil Gjerløff (1858–1932), consigned for sale by the collector's great-granddaughter; probably found in Denmark.

*Image:* Plate I, no. 4.

5. **SALISBURY**, Goldus

*Obv.* †[.]ÐELR/ED REX ANGLO· *Rev.* †GOLD:VS ON :SE:REBY

Tablet: parallelogram (with double border above and on left), inscribed Λ Ω

Weight: 1.35g (pierced, with copper rivet, and pecked). Die-axis: 270°.

*Location:* Tallinn, Estonian History Museum, from Kose (Estonia) hoard 1982.

*Image:* Leimus, 'A Fourteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny', p. 159; SCBI Estonia 365; EMC 1051.0365; Plate II, no. 5.

*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*

6. **SALISBURY**, Sæwine  
*Obv.* **†ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOR.** *Rev.* **†Σ/EPINE. ON ΣER. EBURI**  
Tablet: parallelogram with double border, inscribed **Λ Ω**  
Weight: 1.52g (edge bent). Die-axis: 270°.  
*Location:* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1-2009); from Spink & Son Ltd, 2008; found by Mr Craig Carter while searching with a metal-detector in October 2008, in the parish of Thornwood Common, near Epping, Essex.  
*Image:* Plate II, no. 6, with Plate VI (c).

II WESTERN MERCIA

7. **HEREFORD**, Æthelwig  
*Obv.* **†ÆÐELRÆD REX AGL-O[.]** (*sic*) *Rev.* **†ÆÐEL-FIG ON ·HERFO**  
Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed **Λ Ω**  
Weight: 2.21g (pierced, with loop and ring). Die-axis: 0°.  
Two crosses in reverse field, one either side of dove's tail.  
*Location:* Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet (Hildebrand 1332; *CNS* 4.1.5.3603), from the Johannishus (Blekinge, Sweden) hoard 1866.  
*Image:* Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, c; Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pl. IIIa (enlarged); Plate II, no. 7, with Plate VI (b).
8. **STAFFORD**, Ælfvold  
*Obv.* **†ÆÐEL-RÆD REX ANGLORVM** *Rev.* **†ALFFOL-D ON STÆFORÆ**  
Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed **Λ: Ω**  
Weight: 1.82g (pierced). Die-axis: 180°.  
*Location:* Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet (Hildebrand 3423); from the Nygård's (Västerhejde, Gotland) hoard 1874.  
*Image:* Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, n; Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids', pl. IIIb (enlarged); Plate II, no. 8.

III THE DANELAW

9. **DERBY**, Blacaman  
*Obv.* **†ÆÐELRED REX ANGLORVM** *Rev.* **†BLÆLAMÆN: DYREBY**  
Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed **Λ: E**  
Weight: 1.59g (chipped). Die-axis: 180°.  
Die-duplicate of no. 10. Talvio's suggestion, formerly reported in the EMC database, that the chip indicates the former presence of a loop for suspension, has been ruled out; the illustration of the coin in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue shows the coin complete.

*Location:* London, British Museum (1955-7-8-81); ex Lockett (6 June 1955), lot 713; ex Carlyon-Britton (17 November 1913), lot 527 (before being chipped, with details of find provenance); ex Hilton Price, ?single-find from London (?Gracechurch St), before 1899 (Grueber, 'A Rare Penny'; Dolley, 'Coin Hoards from the London Area', p. 44, 'Agnus Dei pennies', pp. 107–12).

*Image:* Grueber, 'A Rare Penny', p. 344; Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Pennies*, no. 43; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, b; Keynes, 'Vikings in England', p. 80; EMC 1964.0043; Plate III, no. 9.

10. **DERBY**, Blacaman

*Obv.* †ÆÐELRED REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †BLÆCMAAN: DYREBY

Tablet: parallelogram, inscribed Λ: Γ:

Weight: 1.64g (chipped, with surface scratching). Die-axis: 180°.

Die-duplicate of no. 9.

*Location:* Bergen University Museum; from the Nesbø (Bolsøy, Norway) hoard 1891.

*Image:* SCBI Norway 1095; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, a; Plate III, no. 10.

11. **LEICESTER**, Ælfric

*Obv.* †ÆÐ[... ]D REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †ÆLFRIE· LEHERÆ[... ]

Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ΛΓ NV

Weight: 1.60g (chipped). Die-axis: 270°.

Same obverse die as no. 12.

*Location:* Copenhagen, National Museum; from the Kelstrup (Zealand, Denmark) hoard 1859.

*Image:* SCBI Copenhagen 507; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, d; EMC 1007.0507; Plate III, no. 11.

12. **LEICESTER**, Ælfric

*Obv.* †ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †ÆLFRIE LEHERÆCESTR

Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ΛΓ NV

Weight: 1.76g. Die-axis: 90°.

Same obverse die as no. 11 (*pace* Dolley and Talvio).

*Location:* Tallinn, Institute of History of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, from the Naginshchina (Gdov, Russia) hoard 1895.

*Image:* Dolley and Talvio, 'The Twelfth of the *Agnus Dei* Pennies', p. 131 (enlarged); Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, e; SCBI Estonia 363; EMC 1051.0363; Plate III, no. 12.

13. **LEICESTER**, Æthelwig

*Obv.* †ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †ÆÐELFI LEHRÆCESTR

Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ΛΓ N

Weight: 1.76g (pierced, with loop; '838' written in ink on rev.). Die-axis: 0°.



*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*

*Location:* Tallinn, Estonian History Museum; from Maidla (Kullamma, Estonia) hoard 1974.

*Image:* Dolley and Talvio, 'A Thirteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny'; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, f; SCBI Estonia 364; EMC 1051.0364; Plate IV, no. 13.

14. **NORTHAMPTON**, Wulfnoth

*Obv.* †ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOR *Rev.* †FVLFN:OÐ HΛ·MTVN·

Tablet: parallelogram (or a bungled trapezoid), inscribed Λ·G:

Weight: 1.76g (pecked and cracked). Die-axis: not recorded.

*Location:* Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet (Hildebrand 1284); from Stale (Rone, Gotland) hoard 1838.

*Image:* Hildebrand, pl. 5; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, j; Plate IV, no. 14.

15. **NOTTINGHAM**, Oswold

*Obv.* †ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †OÐFOL:D SN·:TILHΛM

Tablet: trapezoid, without inscription

Weight: 1.81g (pecked). Die-axis: 180°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 16 and 17.

*Location:* Copenhagen, National Museum; from Enner (Jutland, Denmark) hoard 1849.

*Image:* SCBI Copenhagen 1107; Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, k; EMC 1007.1107; Plate IV, no. 15.

16. **NOTTINGHAM**, Oswold

*Obv.* †Æ[...] *Rev.* [...]ILHΛM

Weight: 0.43g (cut farthing). Die-axis: 0°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 15 and 17.

*Location:* Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet (Hildebrand 1293), from Stale (Rone, Gotland) hoard 1838.

*Image:* Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', p. 147, l; Plate IV, no. 16.

17. **NOTTINGHAM**, Oswold

*Obv.* †ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* †OÐFOL:D SN·:TILHΛM

Tablet: trapezoid, without inscription

Weight: 1.59g (pierced, with rivet). Die-axis: 0°.

Die-duplicate of nos. 15 and 16.

*Location:* Copenhagen, National Museum; found by a metal-detectorist at Strøby (Zealand, Denmark), 1998.

*Image:* Moesgaard and Tornbjerg, 'A Sixteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny', pl. 34 (enlarged); Plate V, no. 17.

18. **STAMFORD**, Æscwig  
*Obv.* †ÆÐEL[...]ORVM *Rev.* †ÆSEFI-Γ S[...]DΛ  
Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ΛΓ NV  
Weight: 1.11g (fragment; pierced twice, with surface scratching). Die-axis: 270°. *Location:* Copenhagen, National Museum (FP 3886.1); found by a metal-detectorist at Vindeby, on the island of Lolland (Zealand, Denmark), April 2009. *Image:* Plate V, no. 18.
19. **STAMFORD**, Æthelwine  
*Obv.* †ÆÐELR/ED REX ἈNG[...]ORVM *Rev.* †ÆÐELFINE STἈNFORDἈ  
Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ἈΓ NV  
Weight: not recorded (pierced). Die-axis: 90°. Not from the same obverse die as the mule (below), but by the same moneyer at the same mint. *Location:* Unknown; from a Russian or Estonian hoard found before 1825. Drawn for Carl Friedrich Erbstein, *Numismatische Bruchstücke in Bezug auf sächsische Geschichte*, vol. 3 (Dresden, 1828), Plate II, no. 23. The only known copy of Erbstein in the UK, formerly in the British Museum, was reported by the British Library in June 2010 to have been destroyed during the bombing of London in the Second World War; a new image has been obtained from the copy of Erbstein in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. *Image:* *BNJ* 24 (1945), 95; Kluge, ‘Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ’, p. 143, 1; Plate V, no. 19.
20. **STAMFORD**, Swertgar (Svartgeirr)  
*Obv.* †ÆÐELR/ED REX ἈNGLORVM:· *Rev.* †SPERTE:ἈR ST-ἈNFORD  
Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ΛΓ N?  
Weight: 1.50g (chipped). Die-axis: not recorded. *Location:* Private collection (USA); bt Spink 1997; found by a metal-detectorist in the south of England. *Image:* Spink & Son Ltd., 18 November 1997, lot 2197, with obverse reproduced on the back cover (said mistakenly in the catalogue entry to bear alpha/omega); EMC 1997.1002; Plate V, no. 20.

IV UNCERTAIN MINT

21. **MINT UNCERTAIN**, Moneyer uncertain  
*Obv.* [...]ELRED R[...]V[...] *Rev.* [...]D O? [...]  
Tablet: parallelogram (with double border above and to sides), inscribed Λ Ω  
Weight: 1.37g (pierced and looped; fragment). Die-axis: 90°. *Location:* Copenhagen, National Museum (FP 7807.2); found by a metal-detectorist at Meløse Gammeltoft, Lille Lyngby (Zealand, Denmark), 2008. *Image:* Plate VI, no. 21.

*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*

MULE (AGNUS DEI / LAST SMALL CROSS TYPES)

(a). **STAMFORD**, Æthelwine

*Obv.* [...]ÐELRÆD REX ANGL[...]. *Rev.* [...]FINE ON STÆ[...][*Last Small Cross type*]

Tablet: trapezoid, inscribed ΛΓ N

Weight: 0.76g (cut halfpenny). Die-axis: 0°.

Not from the same obverse die as no. 19, but by the same moneyer at the same mint; cf. Dolley and Talvio, 'The Twelfth of the *Agnus Dei* Pennies', p. 131.

*Location:* Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet (Hildebrand 3445).

*Image:* Hildebrand, pl. 5; *BNJ* 24 (1945), 97; Plate VI (a).



1. MALMESBURY, Ealdred  
London, British Museum.  
Obv.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{-}\text{Ð}\text{ELR}/\text{ED R}[\dots]\text{LORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{Λ}\text{LDR}\cdot\text{ED O}[\dots]\text{Λ}\text{LDMES}$



2. MALMESBURY, Ealdred  
Stockholm, Royal Collection (H 3086).  
Obv.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{-}\text{Ð}\text{ELR}/\text{ED REX } \text{Λ}\text{NGLORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{Λ}\text{LDR}\cdot\text{ED O}[\dots]\text{M}\cdot\text{Λ}\text{LDMES}$



3. MALMESBURY, Ealdred  
Private collection (USA).  
Obv.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{-}\text{Ð}\text{ELR}/\text{ED REX } \text{Λ}\text{NGLORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{Λ}\text{LDR}\cdot\text{ED ON M}\cdot\text{Λ}\text{LDMES}$



4. MALMESBURY, Ealdred  
Private collection.  
Obv.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{-}\text{Ð}\text{ELR}/\text{ED REX } \text{Λ}\text{NGLORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+}\text{Æ}\text{Λ}\text{LDR}\cdot\text{ED ON M}\cdot\text{Λ}\text{LDMES}$

Plate I: *Agnus Dei* pennies, nos. 1–4

*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*



5. **SALISBURY**, Goldus  
Tallinn, Estonian History Museum  
Obv. †[.]ÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR  
Rev. †GOLD:VS ON :SE:REBY



6. **SALISBURY**, Sæwine  
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.  
Obv. †ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR:  
Rev. †S/EPINE: ON S-ER:EBYRI



7. **HEREFORD**, Æthelwig  
Stockholm, Royal Collection (H 1332).  
Obv. †ÆÐELR/ED REX AGL-O[.]  
Rev. †ÆÐEL-FIG ON ·H-ERFO



8. **STAFFORD**, Ælfwold  
Stockholm, Royal Collection (H 3423).  
Obv. †ÆÐEL-R/ED REX ANGLORVM  
Rev. †ALFFOL-D ON ST-ÆFORA

Plate II: *Agnus Dei* pennies, nos. 5–8



9. **DERBY**, Blacaman  
London, British Museum.  
Obv. **†ÆDELRED REX ANGLORVM**  
Rev. **†BLÆCMAN :DYREBY**



10. **DERBY**, Blacaman  
Bergen, University Museum.  
Obv. **†ÆDELRED REX ANGLORVM**  
Rev. **†BLÆCMAN :DYREBY**



11. **LEICESTER**, Ælfric  
Copenhagen, Royal Collection.  
Obv. **†ÆÐ[...]D REX ANGLORVM**  
Rev. **†ÆLFRIC · LEHER[...]**



12. **LEICESTER**, Ælfric  
Tallinn, Institute of History.  
Obv. **†ÆDELRED REX ANGLORVM**  
Rev. **†ÆLFRIC LEHER**

Plate III: *Agnus Dei* pennies, nos. 9–12

*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*



13. **LEICESTER**, Æthelwig  
Tallinn, Estonian History Museum.  
Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM**  
Rev. **†ÆÐELFI LEHRÆCESTR**



14. **NORTHAMPTON**, Wulfnoth  
Stockholm, Royal Collection (H 1284).  
Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR**  
Rev. **†FVLFN:OÐ HÆ·MTVN·**



15. **NOTTINGHAM**, Oswald  
Copenhagen, Royal Collection.  
Obv. **†ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM**  
Rev. **†OVSFOL:D SN:TIAHΛM**



16. **NOTTINGHAM**, Oswald  
Stockholm, Royal Collection (H 1293).  
Obv. **†Æ[...]**  
Rev. **[...]IAHΛM**

Plate IV: *Agnus Dei* pennies, nos. 13–16



17. **NOTTINGHAM**, Oswold  
Copenhagen, Royal Collection.  
Obv.  $\text{+ÆÐELR/ED REX · ANGLORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+OƆƆOL:D SN·:TIAHΛM}$



18. **STAMFORD**, Æscwig  
Copenhagen, Royal Collection.  
Obv.  $\text{+ÆÐEL[...]ORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+ÆSƆƆI:G S[...]DΛ}$



19. **STAMFORD**, Æthelwine  
1828 drawing for Carl Friedrich Erbstein.  
Obv.  $\text{+ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM}$   
Rev.  $\text{+ÆÐELFINE STANFORDΛ}$



20. **STAMFORD**, Swertgar  
Private collection (USA).  
Obv.  $\text{+ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORVM·}$   
Rev.  $\text{+SƆƆERTG·AR ST·ANFORD}$

Plate V: *Agnus Dei* pennies, nos. 17–20



*The Agnus Dei pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*



21. uncertain mint and moneyer  
Copenhagen, National Museum.  
Obv. [...]ELRED R[...]V  
Rev. [...]D O? [...]



(a) An *Agnus Dei*/Last Small Cross mule.  
For details, see checklist M1.



(b) The two coins from the Johannishus hoard  
(checklist, nos 2 and 7), both pierced, with loop  
and ring attached.



(c) Nummular brooches found at Sulgrave, Northants. (*front and back, left*), Bicester, Oxon. (*centre*)  
and Winchester, Hants. (*right*)  
(*illustrated at actual size*)

Plate VI: *Agnus Dei* pennies, no. 21, and (a)–(c)