

## THE COINS OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. OF YORK.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

**E**ANBALD II. was, prior to his elevation to the archiepiscopate, a priest of the Church of York. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records his consecration as archbishop under the year 796, immediately after the death of the first prelate of the name, and he is shown in the same source to have received the pallium in the following year, 797. Most of the later chroniclers follow these dates, and it may therefore be regarded as tolerably certain that they are correct. It is otherwise in respect to the year of Eanbald's death, for no record of this appears to be extant. The time historically estimated, however, ranges from A.D. 808 to 812.

In the year 797, Archbishop Eanbald II. is recorded as having actively participated in the restoration of the see of Canterbury, the dignity of which had been much impaired during the reign of King Offa of Mercia in order that the new primacy at Lichfield might be aggrandised. In this work of restitution, Eanbald was the collaborator of Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had appealed to Rome in the matter. The case was also presented to Cænwulf, the successor of Offa, and he was persuaded by the two prelates to refer the question to the Pope, with the result that the new archiepiscopal see of Lichfield was abolished.

In the year 798 the northern archbishop convened a great synod at Finchale in Durham, at which, amongst other things, was ordered the adoption of the confession of faith of the Five Councils as promulgated by Archbishop Theodore. These activities, in addition to the usual work of preaching and consecration, and especially his association with his brother Primate, indicate that Eanbald II. very actively

entered into the duties of his office, and they are quoted mainly to show that, as he so energetically discharged his ordinary functions he is unlikely to have been slow to exercise his special privileges. Amongst these latter must be numbered that of issuing money for his diocese in his own name, and for the profit of his office. This is important to the present discussion because, owing to the occurrence of two archbishops named Eanbald, one occupying the primacy at York immediately after the other, doubt arises as to which prelate struck the coins bearing the name of Eanbald. The late Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh considered that most of these stycas were issued by the first of the two archbishops in question, who was raised to the see of York in A.D. 780, but he tentatively placed those specimens which bear the name of the moneyer Eodwulf to the second Eanbald on account of their sharp and fresh appearance.<sup>1</sup> This explanation is not very convincing, because the accident of treasure trove generally accounts for the new condition of the coins which come down to us. That is to say, coins may be buried immediately after issue, although the types to which they belong may be current subsequently for a lengthy period. Such a hoard, therefore, when brought to light in our times, would present unworn specimens of the type. Lord Grantley, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1897, did not consider, at the time, that the stycas of Eanbald I. and II. could be separated. Other writers, for example Hawkins, the authors of the *British Museum Catalogue*, Anglo-Saxon series,<sup>2</sup> and Major Creeke<sup>3</sup> have placed all the stycas to Eanbald II., but without furnishing any particular reasons for so doing, except in the case of the first named, who based his opinion on the fact that all the types and moneyers appear also on the coins of King Eanred, during whose reign Archbishop Eanbald died. No satisfactory conclusion is, however, derivable from the types of the coins because the principal designs on those of Eanbald, for example, a circle of dots enclosing a pellet, a cross, or a pellet, occur also on the coins of the kings who held the throne during the time of Eanbald I., namely,

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, Second Series, vol. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, 1905.

Ælfwald I., A.D. 778-788, Osred II., A.D. 788-790, and Æthelred I., second regnal period, A.D. 790-796.

A considerable amount of evidence in favour of an attribution to Eanbald II. is, however, derivable from the moneyers' names on the coins under consideration, since all the four known, namely, Æthelred, Cynwulf, Eadwulf, and Edilveard are found on the stycas of Eanred, whilst none of the four appears on the money of the kings who reigned during the time of Eanbald I. On the coins of the moneyer Cynwulf the letter y in the name appears with a line in the centre and without the lower stroke, thus,  $\Psi$ . A moneyer of the same name and using the same runic  $\Psi$  is in evidence also on the coins of King Eanred. The names may possibly relate to one person who served under both Eanred and Eanbald, but, in any case, the use of the unusual form  $\Psi$  of the runic Y under king and prelate affords evidence of contemporary or nearly contemporary issue, and the appropriation of coins of at least this moneyer bearing the name of Eanbald on the obverse to the second prelate of the name is practically certain.

In the introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*,<sup>1</sup> considerable attention is paid to the interpretation of this curious letter, which appears as  $\Psi$  on some of the Eanred coins, but more usually as  $\Psi$ . The first form is well known as the later runic M, but as the writer of the catalogue justly remarks, the position of the letter on the coins must presuppose a vowel, and the alternative names of Canwulf, Cunwulf, Cynwulf, and Cœnwulf are suggested for the moneyer in question. In these later runes both forms, when put in the middle of a word, are generally used in the sense of Y, and although the letter V is sometimes in evidence on the coins in question, the omission of the central stroke must, it is thought, be due to accident in these instances, and all the forms  $\Psi$ ,  $\Psi$ , and  $\Psi$  are most likely intended to indicate the runic Y, making the moneyer's name Cynwulf.

But although the evidence of the names of the moneyers and of the runic letter on the coins of the moneyer Cynwulf is strongly in favour of an attribution of the entire series to the second archbishop of that name, there is another feature in the coinage of the time,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. lxxxviii.

so far unapplied to the question at issue, which furnishes still stronger support to the appropriation of these stycas to Eanbald II. This feature is the metal of which the money is, in many cases, composed, for a noticeable fact in the coins of Eanbald and Eanred is that base silver specimens are frequently in evidence. Down to the period under discussion the stycas, as distinct from the sceattas, were all issued in copper or brass, with a solitary exception of the time of Ælfwald I., and that exception may be readily accounted for by the fact that it was in the reign of Ælfwald I. that the silver standard of the sceattas was changed for the copper or brass standard of the stycas, the base silver styca known being issued in error or as an intermediate issue at the time of the change. During the episcopate of Archbishop Eanbald II. and the reign of King Eanred there ensued, however, a period when the base silver stycas became quite a feature in the coinage, a detail which practically disappeared after Eanred's time, for the appearance of these anomalous coins later is of excessively rare occurrence.

The use of silver in the manufacture of the stycas serves to prove that those coins of Eanbald and of Eanred in which it is in evidence follow each other or are contemporaneous. I think it is probable that they were issued at the same time, for this reason. The use of silver for the coinage was not connected with the issue of a different denomination of coins,<sup>1</sup> and therefore we should not expect to see a regular continuation of the practice as would be the case if the silver stycas indicated a separate class of money. It would appear, therefore, that at a certain time in the reign of Eanred there was a temporary scarcity of copper and brass for the coinage, or a plethora of silver, and the higher metal was consequently used with the lower: The same expedient would naturally be adopted in the Archbishop's mint, and so it is probable that the issue of the base silver coins of Eanbald and Eanred occurred at the same time. The reason for these base silver stycas has always been a bone of contention amongst numismatists. Major Creeke, in a contribution to the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Second Series, Vol. xx.

considered that they represented a separate denomination of coins. Mr. Montagu, however, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1883 mentioned above, brought forward cogent reasons for dismissing this idea. But the solution I have suggested, namely, that there was a temporary scarcity of copper, or a plethora of silver, at the period under review—and at other times, although to a less degree—which caused the mint officials to use silver partly in the manufacture of the stycas, appears to have escaped notice, perhaps because of its simplicity, or because one is apt to be obsessed by the modern relative value of silver and copper. In the days when Britain was divided between hostile peoples, however, and when foreign trade was of a very restricted nature, the quantities of individual metals available must have varied considerably through lack of proper means for the regulation of supply, and it might well be that at certain times the amount of silver in hand in Northumbria for manufacturing purposes was relatively greater than the supplies of copper. It must be remembered also that there was no silver currency, as such, at the time in Northumbria for which supplies of that metal would be necessary. It has been suggested that finds of Roman silver and copper coins supplied intact to the mint may have accounted for the presence of the superior metal in the Northumbrian coins under notice. The suggestion is quite feasible, but it in no way invalidates the economic explanation put forward, which would of course be the root-reason for using the Roman silver treasure trove.

This question of the metal used for the stycas leads us to that of the leaden specimens which are sometimes to be seen. On the intrinsic merits of the case, there is no real ground for supposing that lead might not have entered into the manufacture of the Northumbrian stycas. In fact, all metals, not excluding gold, seem to have been pressed into the service for the Northumbrian coinage of the time. By the courtesy of Mr. Nathan Heywood, I have been enabled to examine some of these leaden stycas, but I must admit that their genuineness is open to very grave doubt. One was identical with a copper specimen in my collection and seemed to be a skilful cast from it; and the fact that the coins appear to be of pure lead also goes against them.



The use of silver in the coinage must have been considerable at the particular period in Northumbrian history which is the subject of this paper, for there is a far greater percentage of base silver coins of Eanred and of Eanbald than of any other potentate or prelate in the styca period. This fact tends to prove that the Eanbald coins of base silver belong to the second prelate of the name, and the copper specimens would naturally follow on account of identical type and workmanship. Admitting the simultaneous issue, for economic reasons, of the base silver stycas of Eanbald and Eanred, an important historical deduction is possible, namely, that however uncertain the date of Eanbald's death may be, he was alive until after Eanred's accession to the Northumbrian throne in A.D. 808.

Indeed, I am inclined to think that the coins of Eanbald II. prove, in a general way, that he held the primacy of York for some years into the reign of Eanred because, in addition to the temporary use of silver common to both king and prelate, the general character of the workmanship, apart from designs, of the Eanbald stycas is similar to that of the well-made coins of Eanred, and it is essentially different from that of the badly-made issues of Eardwulf and Ælfwald II., who occupied the Northumbrian throne during the greater part of the historically known period of Eanbald's episcopate, that is, from A.D. 796 to 808. On the grounds of workmanship most, if not all, of the Eanbald stycas would be posterior to those of Ælfwald II. and, as they are fairly plentiful, they probably represent an issue of a considerable period into the reign of Eanred II. The earlier date, 808, historically suggested for the death of Eanbald is, therefore, on the evidence of the coins, unlikely to be correct.

It is also significant that no coins of Wulfsige, who succeeded Eanbald II., are known, although specimens of Vigmund, who succeeded Wulfsige as prelate in A.D. 831, are plentiful. The longer Eanbald II. can be shown to have held the episcopate of York the less remarkable would be the absence of coins of Wulfsige, for a lack of which there is apparently no other reason than brevity of office. Mr. Andrew informs me that he can find no records of Archbishop Wulfsige prior to A.D. 830, and the absence of coins tends to show that this should be, approxi-

mately, the date of accession of Wulfsige to the primacy of York. Whether Eanbald II. was alive until that date is still open to doubt, but it would have been unusual, at the time, to have a long interval between the death of one archbishop and the accession of another. That the moneyers of Eanbald II. are few is no evidence that the coinage did not extend over a considerable period. To quote another, and more marked, instance of this it may be mentioned that the coins of Archbishop Wulfhere, who held the see of York from A.D. 854 to the end of the styca period in A.D. 867, and beyond, to A.D. 900 approximately, disclose only one moneyer's name.

Eardwulf was restored in A.D. 808 and reigned conjointly with his son Eanred until A.D. 810. It seems unlikely that Eanred commenced to coin until the latter date and, if that is so, Eanbald's coins of similar workmanship would date from A.D. 810 and after.

Before giving a list of the coins of Eanbald II. it is necessary to correct a misattribution of one of them. This is a variety of which very few examples are known and hitherto it has been placed amongst the coins of Æthelred II. It discloses several features which call for more than a passing notice, and a description of the coin is as follows:—

*Obverse*.—+EANBALD retrograde. Circle of dots enclosing a pellet.

*Reverse*.—+AEDILRED. Circle of dots enclosing a pellet. Fig. 1.  
H. A. Parsons.

Another specimen is figured in Ruding—Plate X, No. 29, and a third example is in the possession of Mr. Nathan Heywood, who informs me that it was found at Ulleskelf, near Tadcaster, with eight coins of Archbishop Eanbald. The two latter pieces vary slightly from the coin in my possession. Doubt of the attribution of these stycas arises on two points: (1) the name on one side is that of two archbishops of York, that on the other of two kings of Northumbria; (2) no title either of archbishop or of king appears on the coins.

Mr. Fairless, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VII, on a find of stycas at York, suggested that the coins were struck on the joint authority of both king and archbishop. The only combination of king and prelate possible would be that of Eanbald I. and Æthelred I.

in his second regnal period, A.D. 790 to 796, but the character of the money of this period<sup>1</sup> is so essentially different from that of the coins under notice that they can scarcely be considered contemporary.

From the time Mr. Fairless wrote until now it seems tacitly and without explanation or discussion to have been assumed that the coins are of King Æthelred II., and the name Eanbald that of a moneyer.

There are, however, several reasons which incline me to think that they are more likely to belong to Archbishop Eanbald II. than to King Æthelred II. Firstly, the name Eanbald is otherwise unknown, as a moneyer, under any of the kings of Northumbria who struck stycas, whereas the name of Æthelred is in evidence as a moneyer on coins of Eardwulf, A.D. 796-806, who was contemporary with Eanbald II., Eanred, A.D. 808-840, and Æthelred II., A.D. 840-9. Therefore the balance of evidence to be derived from the two names on the coins is in favour of the assumption that Æthelred is the moneyer's name.

Secondly, the absence of title of king or archbishop, whether represented by one letter or more, is an early characteristic which, although rare on the stycas of Æthelred II., having regard to their great number, is quite a usual feature of the early issues, including those undoubtedly of Eanbald the archbishop.

Thirdly, the design of a circle of dots enclosing a pellet is one of the most common of the devices adopted by the moneyers of Eanbald II.

Lastly, these stycas are of base silver, and this is a circumstance which very strongly militates against the previous supposition that they belong to King Æthelred II. because, whereas base silver coins of this monarch are very rare, they are common amongst the stycas of Eanbald II., and comparatively so in the case of King Eanred, whose occupation of the throne in part overlapped the primacy of Archbishop Eanbald. Having regard, therefore, to the names on the coins, to the absence of title, and to the kind of metal used, I venture to think we are justified in allocating the stycas under discussion to Archbishop Eanbald II. instead of to King Æthelred II.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Æthelred I. of Northumbria, *British Numismatic Journal*, 1910.



The following is a list of the readings of the coins of Eanbald II., with the obverse and reverse inscriptions associated together, and with an indication of the metal employed. It is thought that this will be a more useful form of reference than the method adopted in the former catalogue printed in this Journal in 1905. It has not been possible to utilize this latter list and Ruding's illustrations of the Eanbald stycas, since those of base silver and copper are not differentiated; but all the moneyers and types there represented will be found in the present catalogue.

Such slight variations as the unbarring or barring of the letter A, or the addition of a pellet between the letters of the inscriptions, have not been included as separate readings, for it is not considered that these slight varieties have any special significance. The retrograding of parts of the inscriptions due to bad workmanship has also, for the sake of clearness, been omitted, but if the complete legend is retrograde this is indicated.

My thanks are due to the aid afforded to me by Lord Grantley and Mr. Nathan Heywood.

# TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.

No.	Metal.	Obverse.		Reverse.	
		Type.	Inscription.	Type.	Inscription.



FIG. 1.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER ÆTHELRED.

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1	AR base	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EANBALD (retrograde)	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+AEDILRED
2	AR base	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Ditto annulet	+AEDILRED
3	AR base	Cross ... ..	+EANBALD (retrograde)	Ditto pellet	+AEDILRED

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

No.	Metal.	Obverse.		Reverse.	
		Type.	Inscription.	Type.	Inscription.



FIG. 2.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER CYNWULF.

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4	Æ	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Cross of five pellets	+CVNVLF
5	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Ditto five pellets	+EVNVLF
6	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	CVVAALF (retrograde)
7	Æ	Ditto pellet	+FNBALD APER	Cross ...	+EVANVLF
8	Æ	Ditto cross	+ENBALD AREP	Cross of five pellets	+EVNVLF
9	Æ	Ditto cross	+FNBALD APER	Cross ...	+EVANVLF
10	Æ	Ditto annulet	+EANBALD AREP	Cross of five pellets	+CVVVVLF
11	Æ	Cross of five pellets	+ENDALD AER	Ditto five pellets	EVANVLF
12	Æ	Ditto five pellets	+ENDALD AER	Pellet ...	CVNWLF
13	Æ	Cross ...	+ENDALD AEP	Cross of five pellets	+CVNVLF
14	Æ	Cross ...	+ENDALD AER	Ditto five pellets	+EVNVLF
15	Æ	Cross ...	+ENDALD AER	Pellet ...	CVNVLF

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

No.	Metal.	Obverse.		Reverse.	
		Type.	Inscription.	Type.	Inscription.



FIG. 3.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEYSER EADWULF.

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16	Æ	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Cross ...	+EADWLF
17	Æ base	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Cross ...	+EADWLF
18	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EADWLF
19	Æ base	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Ditto pellet	+EADWLF
20	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Ditto pellet	+EAEWLF
21	Æ	Ditto pellet	EANBALD AREP	Ditto pellet	+AEDWLF
22	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AREP	Ditto pellet	+EADLW+F
23	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD ARE	Ditto pellet	+EADWLF
24	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Ditto pellet	+EADWLF
25	Æ	Circle enclosing pellet	+EANBALD ARE	Circle enclosing pellet	+EADWLF
26	Æ base	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Ditto pellet	+EADWOLF
27	Æ base	Ditto cross	EBANALD AREP (retrograde)	Cross ...	+EADWLF
28	Æ	Ditto cross	+EBANALD ARER (retrograde)	Circle enclosing cross	+EADWLRF
29	Æ	Ditto cross	ANALDAREREB	Ditto pellet	+EADWOLF
30	Æ base	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EANBALD ARE	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EADWLF
31	Æ	Ditto cross	+EANBALD ARE	Ditto pellet	+EADWLF

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

No.	Metal.	Obverse.		Reverse.	
		Type.	Inscription.	Type.	Inscription.
32	Æ	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EANBALD ARE	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EADWLFO
33	Æ	Ditto cross	+EANBALD ARE	Annulet and pellet	+EADWLF
34	Æ	Cross of five pellets	+EANBALD+	Pellet ... ..	+EADWLF
35	Æ	Cross ... ..	+EANBALD	Cross ... ..	+EADWLF
36	Æ	Pellet ... ..	+EANBALD+	Pellet ... ..	+EADWLF
37	Æ	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EANBALD AR	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EODWLF
38	AR base	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD AB	Ditto cross	+EODWLFI
39	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANPAID AB	Ditto pellet	+EODWLF
40	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Ditto cross	+E+ODWLF (retrograde)
41	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Cross ... ..	+EODWLF
42	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Cross ... ..	+EODWILF
43	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD	Cross ... ..	+EWLAFD
44	Æ	Circle enclosing pellet	+EANBALD	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+E+ODWLF (retrograde)
45	Æ	Ditto pellet	+EANBALD ARE	Circle enclosing pellet	+EODWLF
46	AR base	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EANBALD AR	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EODWLF
47	Æ	Ditto cross	+EANBALD AR	Ditto cross	+EODWLF
48	Æ	Ditto cross	+EANBALD	Pellet ... ..	+EODWLF
49	Æ	Pellet ... ..	+EANBALD	Circle enclosing cross	+EODWLF
50	Æ	Cross .. ..	+EANBAD AR	Ditto pellet	+EODWLF
51	AR base	Cross ... ..	EANBALD	Ditto pellet	+EAOD+WLF
52	Æ	Cross ... ..	EANBALD	Cross ... ..	+EAOD+WLF

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

No.	Metal.	Obverse.		Reverse.	
		Type.	Inscription.	Type.	Inscription.
53	AR base	Cross ... ..	+EANGALD	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EODWLF (retrograde)
54	AR base	Cross ... ..	+EANGALD	Ditto cross of pellets	+EODWLF
55	Æ	Cross ... ..	EANBALD	Pellet ... ..	+EODWLF



FIG. 4.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER EDILVEARD.

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56	Æ	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	EANBALD ARCE	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EDILVARD
57	Æ	Ditto pellet	EANBALD ARC	Ditto cross	+EDILVARD
58	Æ	Ditto pellet	EANBALD ARC	Ditto pellet	+EDILVARD
59	AR base	Ditto cross	+EANBALD AR	Ditto cross	+EDILVARD
60	Æ	Ditto cross	+EANBALD AR	Ditto cross	+EDILVARD
61	Æ	Ditto cross	+EVBALD VR	Ditto cross	+EDILVRD
62	Æ	Circle enclosing cross	+EANBALD AR	Ditto cross	+EDILVARD
63	Æ	Ditto cross	+EANBALD AR	Circle enclosing cross	+EDILVARD
64	Æ	Circle of dots enclosing star	+EVBALD V	Ditto cross	+EDIVARD
65	Æ	Ditto star	+EVBALD V	Circle of dots enclosing pellet	+EDILVARD



TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

No.	Metal.	Obverse.		Reverse.	
		Type.	Inscription.	Type.	Inscription.
66	Æ base	Cross ...	+EANBALD VR	Cross ...	+EDILVARD
67	Æ	Cross ...	+EANBALD V	Cross ...	+EDILVARD
68	Æ base	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Cross ...	+EDILVEARD
69	Æ	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Cross ...	+EDILVEARD
70	Æ base	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Cross ...	+EDILVARD
71	Æ	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Circle enclosing pellet	+EDILVEARD
72	Æ base	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Ditto pellet	+EDILVEARD
73	Æ	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EDILVARD
74	Æ	Cross ...	+EANBALD	Pellet ...	+EDILVEARD
75	Æ	Cross with pellet in each angle	+EANBALD V	Cross ...	+EDILAVRD
76	Æ base	Ditto with pellet in each angle	+EANBALD V	Cross with pellet in each angle	+EDILVARD
77	Æ	Double circle enclosing cross	+EANBALD AR	Circle of dots enclosing cross	+EDILVARDI