

# THE COINS OF EADMUND'S MONEYERS FARAMAN AND INGELGAR, A.D. 939-46

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THE well-known coinage laws of Æthelstan, promulgated at Grateley some time between the years 925 and 935, not only restricted the striking of money to places of the status of boroughs, but also tightened up generally the maintenance of the integrity of the coinage. These fresh rules resulted, during the latter part of the reign of Æthelstan, in the universal insertion, on the reverse of the coins, of the names of the mints as well as those of the moneyers. This afforded an effective check on moneyers of similar names who were working contemporaneously in different mints. The growing commerce of the times, together with the increasing number of boroughs having the right to strike coins under the new laws, must have rendered some such means of differentiation desirable, if not actually necessary. It is a matter for remark, therefore, that the coins of the succeeding King Eadmund, A.D. 939-46, do not, with very few exceptions, show the names of the mints at which they were struck.

The coins of the common and generally current type of Eadmund, that with the obverse composed of a small cross in a circle and the reverse with the moneyers' names in two lines separated by rosettes or crosses, are, indeed, universally without any indication of the mint town on the reverse. But there is one series of coins of this type remarkable from the fact that a mint-name appears on the obverse instead of, as was universally introduced in the preceding reign, on the reverse. This exception occurs on the coins bearing the names of two moneyers, Faraman and Ingelgar, and although the mint-name is not given in full, the only possible interpretation of the letters is that they stand for York, formerly Efercestre, Eoferwic, or Eboracum. A complete list of these coins, so far as is known, is as follows:

1. *Obv.* + EADMVND R EO  
*Rev.* FARAMAN. Author's collection.
2. *Obv.* + EADMVND REX . EC  
*Rev.* INGELGAR M̄. Brit. Mus.

3. *Obv.* + EADMVND REX B  
*Rev.* INGELGAR M̄O. Brit. Mus.
4. *Obv.* + EADMVND REX EB.∴  
*Rev.* INGELGAR MO. Brit. Mus.
5. *Obv.* + EADMVND REX EBR  
*Rev.* INGELGAR M. Carlyon-Britton Sale, lot 404.

As previously emphasized, these coins show the place of origin on the obverse, after the king's title. That the abbreviations indicate York is proved by the names of the moneyers, for both are well known to have struck coins at York for the various independent Danish kings of Northumbria.

In addition to the coins shown in the above list there are also pennies bearing the names of both of these moneyers without the mint-name on them.

Prior to this paper, the coins of Eadmund bearing the name of York were known only of the moneyer Ingelgar. The appearance of a specimen, No. 1 above, bearing the name of Faraman has prompted the present inquiry as to the significance of this exceptional insertion of the mint-name on these coins of Eadmund, especially as it appears on the obverse, after the king's title, instead of the usual place on the reverse.

Although useful as a check on the output of the two moneyers named, there seems little probability that any confusion or doubt could have arisen in relation to them. It is highly probable, therefore, that the insertion of the name of York on some of their coins was due to an historical event of the reign, and was not intended for fiscal, or checking purposes. Turning to the history of the period, there is some warrant for this opinion.

After the decisive battle of Brunnanburh in A.D. 937, at which Æthelstan of Wessex completely defeated a confederation of Northumbrians, Scots, Welsh, and Vikings of Dublin and the Western Isles, the brief second reign of Anlaf Quaran, King of Dublin, in Northumbria, which had only commenced at his election just before the battle, was brought to an abrupt end, and Anlaf had again to flee to Ireland; but the death of Æthelstan, in A.D. 939, was followed by a further Northumbrian revolt, and by Anlaf's restoration again to the throne of that kingdom in A.D. 941. Anlaf's third reign in

York lasted until A.D. 944, when he was again expelled on Eadmund's reduction of the country.<sup>1</sup>

Eadmund died in A.D. 946, so that his rule over the Northern Kingdom consisted of two distinct periods, firstly, from his peaceful accession to the throne of all England after the death of his brother Æthelstan in A.D. 939, till Anlaf's restoration to Northumbria in A.D. 941, and, secondly, from the expulsion of Anlaf in A.D. 944 till Eadmund's death in A.D. 946; about two years for each period.

The evidence of the coins clearly shows that Eadmund, for his main issues, abolished his brother Æthelstan's new system of requiring the moneyers to strike, on the reverse of the coins, the names of the boroughs in which they worked, and that he reverted to his father's system of omitting such details except in the case of the pennies under discussion. The insertion of the mint-name on these latter on the obverse after the king's title instead of on the reverse, as in the case of Æthelstan's coins, is also an unique feature. I think we are justified, therefore, in coming to the following conclusions with regard to the York pennies of Eadmund struck by his moneyers Faraman and Ingelgar.

1. The coins bearing the names of Faraman and Ingelgar without the mint-name were struck at York between A.D. 939 and A.D. 941, following the re-introduction, by Eadmund at his accession, of the practice of omitting mint-names on the coins.

2. Both the moneyers in question continued in their office under the Danish Anlaf when he recovered his kingdom of Northumbria in A.D. 941. Coins of each of the moneyers are known with the name of Anlaf on the obverse.

3. On Anlaf's expulsion from Northumbria again in A.D. 944 these moneyers still continued in office under the West-Saxon régime and, in order specially to emphasize the change of dynasty, were instructed to add the new feature of placing, on Eadmund's money, the name of the mint town after the royal title on the obverse. In other words, these coins specially mark the reconquest of Northumbria by the West Saxons, by the definite statement that Eadmund was king in York. It was this, as well as that Faraman and Ingelgar were moneyers at York, that the legend was intended to convey.

<sup>1</sup> *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 944.

4. The coins enumerated in the early part of this paper were issued between A.D. 944 and 946 and were intended to accentuate the recent reconquest of York by Eadmund. They were thus carefully differentiated from the first issue struck between 939 and 941.

5. The dies for the whole series of coins of these moneyers were made in York, where the historical events which some of them emphasize took place, and not, as in the case of the rest of the coins of the kingdom, in some southern centre such as Winchester or London, where the conquest of the North would loom less prominently. In any case, had a southern die-sinker wished to mark the reconquest of Northumbria on the coins he would probably have followed the practice of the previous reign by inserting, on the dies of Eadmund's coins, some abbreviation of one of Æthelstan's titles of REX TOTIVS BRITANNIÆ.

There appear to be no coins of the ordinary current type struck by Faraman in the following reign, that of Eadred, A.D. 946-55, but one of the type bearing the king's bust with the name of Faraman on the reverse is mentioned in Brooke's *English Coins*. The name of Ingelgar appears, however, on the regular issue of Eadred, but the mint-name of York is not placed on them. After Eadred's reign, Ingelgar, together with Faraman, disappear from our coinage, so far as is at present known.

Both moneyers seem also to have continued in their office during the transient reigns of the Danish Anlaf (restored) A.D. 948-52, and of Eric Haroldson, A.D. 952-4, contemporary with Eadred, but in neither case was the name of York imported into the inscriptions of the coins struck by Faraman and Ingelgar. The letters which appear on their pennies after the names and titles of Anlaf and Eric can only stand for the more grandiloquent territorial titles of REX SAXONIORVM or REX ANGLORVM. It was another moneyer of the Danish King Eric, named Radwulf, who was the only one to follow the precedent set up by Faraman and Ingelgar, in the reign of the Wessex King Eadmund, by inserting the mint-name of York on his coins.

The indication of the mint-name of York on Faraman's and Ingelgar's money of King Eadmund, and its absence on their coins struck under the Danish kings of Northumbria, Anlaf and Eric, and the Wessex King Eadred on the latter's

reconquest of Northumbria, help, I think, to show that its importation on the coinage of Eadmund was political or propagandist rather than for the purpose of a mint check. Otherwise it would have appeared on all the coins of Faraman and Ingelgar struck under the various kings under whom they served. As I have said, there was indeed but little need for differentiation in their case, as there can have been no other mint than York which employed moneyers of these uncommon names.

It might also be remarked that Anlaf Quaran had reigned during three separate periods in Northumbria before the introduction of the name of York on Eadmund's coins, twice during the time of Æthelstan and once again in the reign of King Eadmund before Anlaf's expulsion by Eadmund. The latter might, therefore, quite reasonably have caused his moneyers in York to show, on the coinage, that he was king in York, and that the coins were York money of a Wessex king.

In conclusion, it may be claimed that the coins of our subject afford a further illustration of the value of our early money as historical evidence.

