

# Scandinavian Gold Bracteates in Britain. Money and Media in the Dark Ages

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*THE FUNCTIONS of and attitudes towards precious metal in the Late Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon Period (c. A.D. 400–700) are considered. An interpretation of the gold bracteates as active media in social and political transactions is put forward, centred around an analysis of the complexity of different types and issues within the larger finds of Scandinavian hoards and Kentish graves. Comparisons are made both with the early Germanic coinages and other forms of special purpose money and valuables, above all other types of pendants and bracteates.*

To be able to understand trade and exchange in late Iron Age and early medieval Europe it is necessary to look closely both at the archaeological material and the experience, models and explanations of non-monetary and agrarian societies which have been generated above all by economic anthropology. In N. Europe beyond the Roman Empire it is clear that weight-based economies were in operation. This is reflected not only in the abundance of weights and scales but even more so in the treatment of foreign coins and other precious metal, including features such as peck-marks, hacksilver and ring-gold. However, the fragmentary appearance of domestic coinages, the hoarding of gold and silver, or the breaking up of personal ornaments into means of payment need to be explained. These phenomena relate to a socio-economic system and its functions, including different specific non-monetary media. Imbued with limited roles this *special-purpose money* can be described as having economic as well as specifically social, political or religious functions. Alongside *primitive money* — uniform and practical media of exchange such as slabs of salt, lengths of cloth or bars of metal — there is also the administrative and controlling functions of *early cash*, referring to early coinages, and various *primitive valuables* which functioned as media in socially or politically motivated transactions such as gifts of loyalty, bride-wealth or *wergeld*.<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere I have tried to show that the accumulation of silver in the Scandinavian Viking Age hoards from the 9th to 11th centuries was not mere *bullion* (a uniform means of payment and exchange according to weight) but represented qualitatively diverse media reflecting different contexts of exchange.<sup>2</sup> This not only

implies differences in use and meaning, as practical bars and ingots in contrast to symbolic armrings, but also the distinct functions of regional economic systems and the varied character and content of long distance, inter-regional and regional exchange.<sup>3</sup> The phenomenon of large-scale and complex hoarding of precious metal is similar in the migration period gold hoards from the 5th and 6th centuries where — instead of Arabic or W. European coins, hacksilver, ingots and armrings — Roman gold coins were deposited along with ring-gold, bracteates and brooches. Similar trends can also be seen in the late Roman hacksilver hoards and in Celtic silver hoards containing Greek and Roman coins, hacksilver and domestic armrings.<sup>4</sup> Hence the appearance of foreign coins along with other forms of precious metal, including large-scale domestic jewellery such as the Viking armrings or migration period gold bracteates, reflects not only external contacts but also indigenous behaviour and attitudes towards precious metal, wealth and exchange.

#### THE SCANDINAVIAN GOLD BRACTEATES

The Scandinavian gold bracteates, appearing in large numbers during the 5th and 6th centuries, developed out of imitations of late Roman Imperial coins and medallions into pendants with a rich domestic iconography, symbolically representing scenes from Nordic mythology and often with runic inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> As with coins a circular flan was struck from a die, but the flan was usually larger than the die as the majority of bracteates were then decorated with stamped collars of varying width before being finally furnished with a loop and frame. Many foreign coins were also framed and looped, similarly reflecting social functions while worn as pendants. The Roman coins changed function when reaching Scandinavia and Barbarian Europe where, although they may have been used as means of payment and exchange according to weight, this straightforward function seems rather marginal in the light of the vast amounts of non-monetary gold deposited in graves and hoards at this time. Their use as pendants is only one way of turning the foreign money into domestic media, as the coins could also be transformed into anonymous and practical ring-gold or other forms of primitive money or valuables by being melted down.<sup>6</sup>

To date over 900 bracteates are known, representing over 500 different dies.<sup>7</sup> The earliest find was made in the 17th century and by the late 19th century the material was divided into different types: medallion-imitations, A-, B-, C-, D- and F-bracteates (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> But although there are stylistic links from the medallion imitations, it is clear that the bracteates do not simply represent a uniform typological development. The problems of dating are caused by a large proportion of single finds, and further complicated by the mixture of types within larger hoards. The most recent chronological framework for the bracteates points to a short and intense period of production, lasting only two to three generations, and characterized by largely overlapping stylistic phases.<sup>9</sup>

Around 140 Scandinavian or Scandinavian-style bracteates are known from outside their area of origin. Most are from Germany, but finds are scattered as far south as Hungary and east into Russia. The largest concentration in the West is in

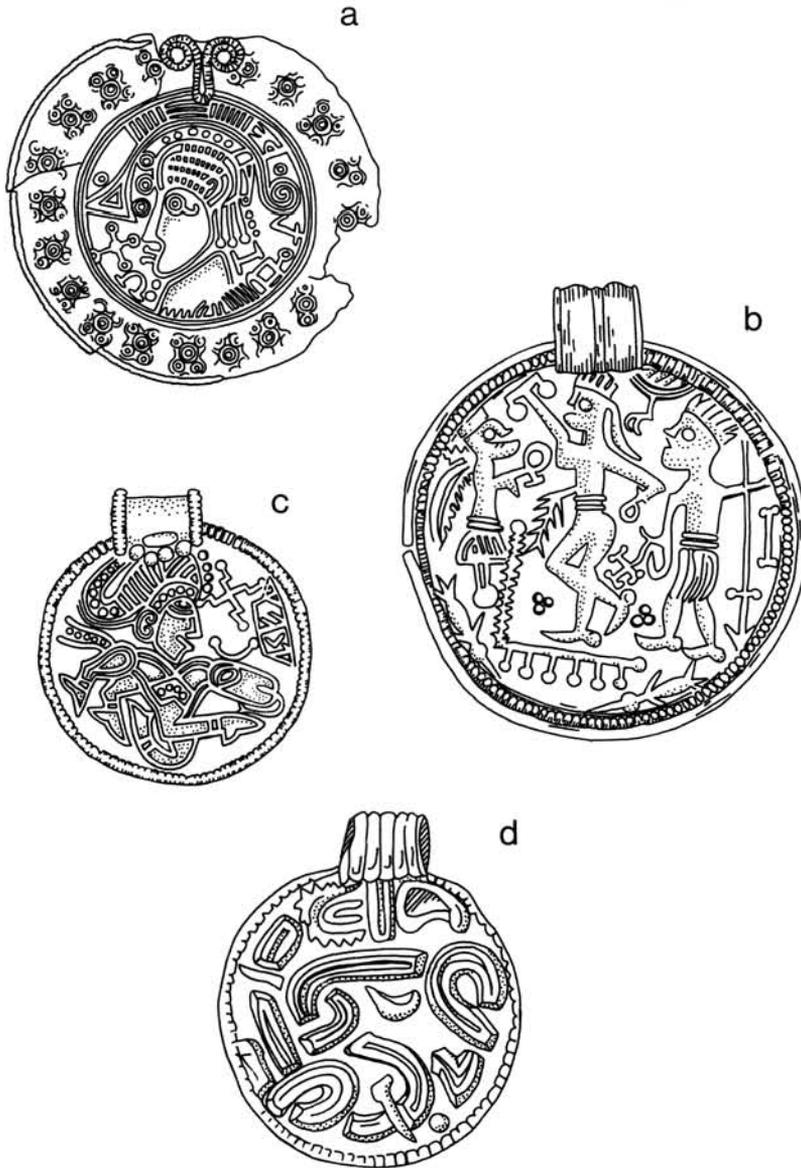


FIG. 1

Bracteate-types. (a): A-bracteate (St Giles Field, Oxford/IK 323); (b): B-bracteate (Fakse/IK 51); (c): C-bracteate (Denmark/IK 229, Axboe *et al.* 1985); (d): D-bracteate (Dover Buckland grave 20, after Evison 1987). Scale 2:1

Britain. However, there is a significant change in finds context in that bracteates from the central area, S. and SW. Scandinavia, including Frisia and N. Germany, all come from hoards whereas the bracteates further south are grave finds. On the northern fringes, Norway in the W. and the Baltic island Gotland in the E., bracteates were deposited both in graves and hoards (Fig. 2). Detailed analyses of stamps and die-links show that the bracteates were produced in many and small issues of mainly regional distribution.<sup>10</sup> C- and D-bracteates, with their consistent motifs of 'head above horse' and Style I animal respectively, dominate the material (Fig. 1c-d). Together these two types make up over 700 of the known bracteates.

A regional production and distribution is clear from both the Continental and English finds, and is relevant for discussion of the spread and function of

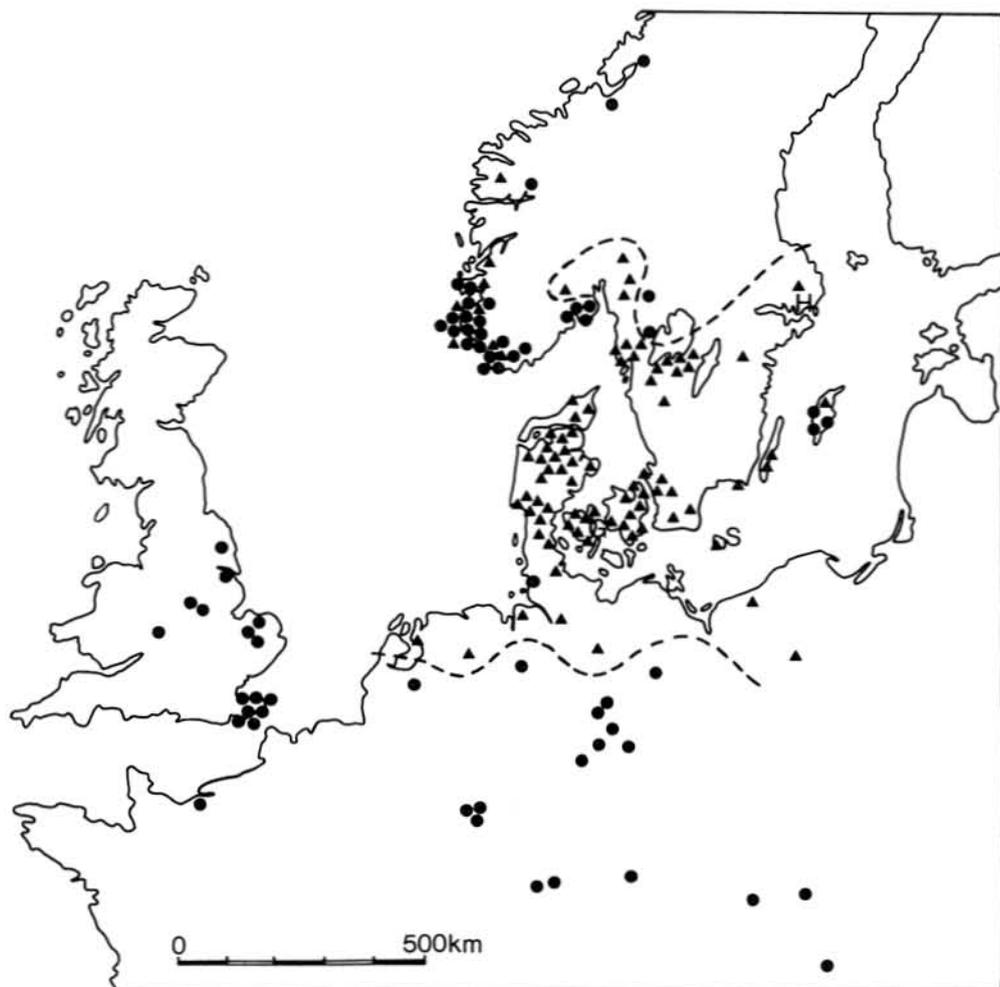


FIG. 2

Finds of Scandinavian bracteates. G=Gudme; S=Sorte Muld; H=Helgö; Circle=grave find; Triangle=hoard (after Andrén 1991)

Scandinavian-style bracteates throughout Europe. Coin and coin-related pendants also continue to appear during the 7th century, and an independent production of bracteates is seen on the Continent, in SE. Britain and on Gotland in E. Scandinavia.<sup>11</sup> Also in the British context Scandinavian bracteates can be seen as an active medium rather than a passive ornament. They can be related to other forms of special-purpose money during the period *c.* 400–700, including foreign and domestic coins, scutiform- and bracteate-like pendants, bullion and various ‘invisible’ media and institutions such as *wergeld*, tributes, gifts and weight-systems.

#### HOARDS AND LATE ROMAN BRITAIN

Although the Roman Empire minted and made use of coins this was not within a modern monetary economy. Coinage and monetary circulation were strongly connected to the state, the military administration, and to the towns. High-value gold and silver coins circulated mainly as payments, donatives and taxes, whereas the base metal coins were used in exchange and small-scale transactions.<sup>12</sup> The low-value coins functioned as money in daily transactions and the precious-metal coins operated as *early cash* and *primitive valuables* largely inseparable from their intrinsic worth based on the metal content.<sup>13</sup> Much of the Roman coinage was therefore *special-purpose money*. Coins were circulated for administrative purposes, but also as measures of status and wealth along with medallions, gold leaves, precious-metal buckles and silver plate.<sup>14</sup>

Hoards were not uncommon, but whereas coins withdrawn from continuous circulation might well be explained as savings, outside such spheres coins would take on other functions and could be hoarded for different reasons. Outside the Roman Empire coins were looped, valued as *bullion*, used as raw material for domestic jewellery or hoarded along with other precious metal. This is also known from recent and contemporary non-monetary economies, where coins can be withdrawn and hoarded to be used for special purposes, such as bride-wealth, or simply worn as jewellery.<sup>15</sup> In early medieval Europe the hoarding of precious metal was a significant act in itself; personal belongings carried some of the owner’s power and fortune to be stored for magical reasons or for the after-life.<sup>16</sup>

In Britain *c.* 1600 Roman coin hoards are known, a number that compares well with an estimated *c.* 3000 coin hoards from France.<sup>17</sup> Most of the British finds do not come from Roman military or Romano-British civilian sites and are likely to reflect spheres where monetary transactions were of a one-way character. This does not mean that exchange systems did not exist outside the monetary sphere, but the growth of indigenous power structures and the circulation of valuables and status objects would have been limited, for example by tributes redirected into the Roman system in the form of tax.<sup>18</sup> Up to the late 4th century the deposited material is almost exclusively in the form of coins, but within precious-metal hoards from *c.* A.D. 350–425 there are some new and significant features that can be related to non-monetary exchange.

Within the more than 65 hoards of gold and silver coins recorded by 1979 there are varying amounts of clipped silver coins along with the appearance of silver ingots

and fragments of precious metal objects, including jewellery and silver plate in the form of *hacksilver*.<sup>19</sup> At Wharleton (Yorkshire) several thousands of coins, some of which were clipped, were deposited along with silver ingots, hacksilver, spoons, vessels and buckles.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, a find from the Roman circuit wall at Canterbury consisted of four silver ingots, twelve silver spoons, four further silver and gold objects and eight coins.<sup>21</sup> Further finds of intact silver plate, such as Mildenhall (Suffolk) and Corbridge (Northumberland), also belong to this period.<sup>22</sup> All these features essentially reflect non-monetary functions of precious metal within the Empire, where both ingots and silver plate could be produced as Imperial donatives and other gifts to troops and servants.<sup>23</sup> The clipping of coins has been connected to the appearance of ingots but should perhaps above all be related to the payment of tax which, from the late 4th century, was requested in the form of melted down and weighed bullion.<sup>24</sup>

The use of bullion and valuables also reflects contact with and between Barbarian peoples. Hoards containing fragments of late Roman silver plate found in the distant parts of the British Isles can be compared to a series of six similar finds from Denmark and Germany.<sup>25</sup> A find from Coleraine (N. Ireland) contained c. 1,500 clipped and intact silver coins, a large amount of hacksilver, Roman silver ingots cut in halves and a further fifteen silver bars.<sup>26</sup> At Traprain Law, on the Scottish E. coast, four silver coins were found together with fragments of over 100 different Roman silver vessels.<sup>27</sup> The broken-down silver plate reflects the further transition from valuables into bullion, a form of 'money' independently used outside the Roman Empire.<sup>28</sup> In the Danish hacksilver hoards, deposited at least half a century later than the British, the Roman silver plate is also accompanied by domestic material such as wrist-clasps and fragments of brooches and pendants, and by domestic ingots similar to the Coleraine bars.<sup>29</sup>

The use of bullion and weight systems was thus no novelty to the Germanic and British tribes, and the impact of coins and monetary transactions on the domestic British economy would have been limited and bound to the Roman organization and administration. At the close of the 4th century the influx of new coins into Britain appears to have been minimal and there are certainly no signs of any domestic post-Roman coinages. This does not mean that coins were disregarded, as they were turned into pendants or valued and hoarded. The significance of coins beyond mere bullion is reflected in the clipped siliquae where, although the entire legend may have been cut away, the central Imperial portrait was kept undamaged.<sup>30</sup> Large amounts of bronze and base-metal coins were still circulated for a substantial period of time, but for similar non-monetary reasons. From Anglo-Saxon cemeteries stretching into the 7th century there is a record of 237 closed finds and a further large number of unstratified Roman coins. In six of the graves the coins were transformed, by cutting and clipping, into weights and buried along with scales, but the vast majority of coins were pierced and deposited as pendants on bead necklaces.<sup>31</sup> Settlement evidence supports the cemetery data, with more than 100 Roman coins from the Anglo-Saxon village at West Stow (Suffolk), a third of which were pierced or modified in other ways.<sup>32</sup>

## GOLD COINS AND PENDANTS

The first coins in Britain after the Roman withdrawal are late 5th- and 6th-century Continental coins, almost exclusively of gold, initially restricted to E. Kent and the lower Thames valley. Although there are some Eastern Imperial issues, the majority consists of Merovingian and other Germanic derivatives and imitations of late Roman and Byzantine coins, reflecting the development of domestic coinages within the Continental kingdoms.<sup>33</sup> The only hoard comes from Kingston-on-Thames (Surrey), a deposition of at least ten Byzantine tremisses and dated to *c.* 530.<sup>34</sup> The remaining *c.* 45 coins from before *c.* 575 are all stray finds or from cemetery contexts. Also from a date around 530 is a woman's grave at Chatham Lines (Kent) containing, along with brooches and beads, a silver spoon, three pierced and probably Visigothic 5th-century silver coins, and a further pierced Roman bronze coin.<sup>35</sup> In grave 41 at Gilton Ash (Kent) the woman was furnished with a pierced and practically unworn coin, placed by her feet together with a glass vessel. The burial is dated to *c.* 570.<sup>36</sup>

The famous Canterbury hoard from St Martin's cemetery contains the earliest Anglo-Saxon 'coin', the Liudhard medalet, along with four Merovingian coins, one a solidus, an Italian and a Germanic tremissis. All the coins were looped and probably belonged to a necklace deposited in a woman's grave at the end of the 6th century.<sup>37</sup> The Merovingian issues belong to the 'national' coinage beginning in the last quarter of the 6th century, a coinage that continues to dominate the English finds into the early 7th century and is further reflected in three of the six mounted tremisses found at Faversham (Kent), possibly from one necklace dated to *c.* 600.<sup>38</sup> The Sarre necklace from *c.* 620 was instead composed of three pseudo-Imperial coins and one of the limited regal issues, minted by Clothar II.<sup>39</sup> A continuous transformation of coins into pendants through the 7th century is seen in a child's grave at Finglesham (Kent) from *c.* 670, which also contained a looped Clothar coin along with a pale Anglo-Saxon issue.<sup>40</sup> Two further mounted and looped Anglo-Saxon coins come from a grave at Dover Buckland (Kent) dated to *c.* 680, and as late as *c.* 735 pierced domestic coins were deposited in a grave at Wrotham (Kent).<sup>41</sup> Coins could also be put into graves unaltered, as in Broadstairs (Kent) where a young man was buried with a Merovingian gold tremissis from *c.* 575 in his mouth as a kind of 'Charon's obol'. This grave also contained a silver mount, probably from a wooden vessel, stamped with a C-bracteate design.<sup>42</sup> With the domestic Anglo-Saxon coinages most of the depositions in graves are in the form of small hoards rather than pendants, but there was an active non-monetary and non-economic aspect to coins which is best understood by comparison with the use and function of gold coinages in Merovingian France.<sup>43</sup>

The Merovingian gold coinages, starting out as pseudo-Imperial issues, were only to a very limited and irregular extent 'royal' and for most of the 6th century also anonymous with no reference to mint and moneyer. High-value coins such as gold solidi and tremisses have a limited purchase function, and corresponding smaller denominations in silver and bronze continued to be minted only in Provence and Burgandy.<sup>44</sup> Small silver coins, 'minuti argenteii', from the area between the rivers Seine and Rhine, come from burials where most of the coins were also pierced for

suspension, further reflecting limited and ambiguous monetary functions.<sup>45</sup> Gold coins were used not only for purchase of goods; sources mention *solidi* in connection with purchase of land, slaves and luxury items but also, most importantly, in social and political transactions. Philip Grierson has listed a variety of such political — as opposed to commercial — payments during the post-Roman and early medieval period where, for example, Byzantium repeatedly paid tributes to Hunnic and Germanic tribes during the 5th to 7th centuries. Similarly, the Lombards paid an annual tribute of 12,000 gold *solidi* to the Franks in the late 6th century. Coins and precious metal was also used to pay mercenaries or was needed to pay the ransom for captives. Substantial amounts of gold and silver were exchanged in the form of lavish gifts and dowries, and on a regional level there was above all a number of settlements and compensations such as *wergelds* and various fines.<sup>46</sup>

Social transactions indeed dominate the early Germanic laws: the Frankish *Lex Salica*, the Lombard King Rothari's Edict, and not least the earliest Anglo-Saxon laws.<sup>47</sup> On a regional level taxes and fines are normally associated with a controlled and royal coinage, *early cash*, but the character of the Merovingian coinages is certainly not that of central control. With the appearance of mint and moneyer on the coins from *c.* 580, with around 800 mints and over 1,500 moneyers represented, a confusing and widespread minting system is reflected. The vast majority of coins were from the landed and ecclesiastical seigneurs, as reflected in bishoprics and abbeys among the mints. This does not seem to have concerned the State and nowhere are grants of *moneta*, minting rights, mentioned. The inflow of revenues such as taxes, tolls and fines into the royal treasury may well have been in local coin which, if not transformed by the King's goldsmiths into jewellery and other valuables, could be redistributed again.<sup>48</sup> Less a medium in economic transactions than one for creating and maintaining social and political relations, the gold coins were not anonymous but also a commodity in themselves, something that is also important for the coins that entered Britain.<sup>49</sup> The function of coins as a measure of social value and status was an important factor in hoarding and use of coin-pendants.

#### SCANDINAVIAN BRACTEATES IN BRITAIN

Scandinavian bracteates appear in English grave finds, mainly restricted to Kent and E. Anglia, at the same time as the Continental gold coins. A total of 45 bracteates are known; eleven are stray finds or without known provenance and the rest all come from graves or cemetery contexts.<sup>50</sup> While it seems clear that both the Kentish and Anglian bracteates belong to the 6th and possibly late 5th centuries, there are some obvious geographical differences. Although a stamp with a C-bracteate design is known from a grave at Broadstairs, no C-bracteates are found in Kent. Moreover, all known Anglian D-bracteates are silver, and there is one silver and two copper-alloy issues among the Anglian C-bracteates.<sup>51</sup> The use of silver and base metal is also reflected in the widespread deposition of scutiform pendants in Anglian graves at this time. No contemporary silver bracteates are known from other parts of Britain, but scutiform and disc pendants in both base and precious metal are

known from Scandinavian hoards and graves, for example among the late Roman hacksilver in the Høstentorp hoard.<sup>52</sup> Alongside the C- and D-bracteates there are five A-bracteates known, all stray finds, from Kent, Suffolk, Oxford (Fig. 1a) and without provenance.<sup>53</sup> The only B-bracteate known from Britain come from Bifrons grave 29 (Kent), where it was deposited along with three D-bracteates.

The best dated material comes from Kent, with ten closed grave finds, comprising 21 gold bracteates and a further six stray finds.<sup>54</sup> Dover Buckland grave 20 containing one D-bracteate belongs to cemetery phase I, *c.* 475–525 (Fig. 1d), while Bifrons grave 64 and Finglesham grave D3, with one and three bracteates respectively, are both dated to *c.* 530.<sup>55</sup> A similar date is suggested for the only bracteate found in a male grave at Monkton.<sup>56</sup> Lyminge grave 16 and Sarre grave 90 would also be placed in the first half of the 6th century whereas Bifrons 29 and 63, Finglesham 203, with two bracteates die-linked to the pair in Finglesham D3, and Sarre grave 4 are all dated to the period *c.* 550 and later.<sup>57</sup> Among the latter four graves Finglesham 203 contained two, Bifrons 29 four and Sarre 4 as many as six bracteates. These are all D-bracteates bar one B-bracteate in Bifrons 29. Of the Anglian bracteates, six of the sixteen issues are stray finds and most of the nine grave finds are difficult to date closely.<sup>58</sup> The grave at Morningthorpe (Norfolk), containing the two identical copper-alloy bracteates, belongs to the first half of the 6th century, while the gold C-bracteate from Longbridge Park (Warwickshire) comes from a later 6th-century context.<sup>59</sup> The fragment of a silver D-bracteate found at Little Eriswell (Suffolk) was likewise probably deposited after *c.* 550.<sup>60</sup> The silver D-bracteate from Driffild (Yorkshire), along with the two silver issues from two graves at Welbeck Hill (Lincolnshire), cannot be more closely dated than the 6th century (Fig. 3b and d).<sup>61</sup>

Apart from the Monkton issue, all bracteates with known finds-contexts were deposited in female graves as pendants on necklaces. At Monkton the bracteate was instead deposited, probably in a pouch, beside the body and, rather, seems to have functioned as a 'Charon's obol'.<sup>62</sup> A similar deposition is also known from a small group of bracteates deposited in male graves on Gotland in E. Scandinavia.<sup>63</sup> Alongside a general interpretation as amulets with magical functions bracteates have also been seen as heirlooms, but they were not all imported.<sup>64</sup> This is most obvious in the Anglian C-bracteates, which show highly individualistic designs along with the use of silver and base metal (Fig. 3). Four of the bracteates, from Market Overton (Leicestershire), Morningthorpe (Norfolk) and Kirmington (Lincolnshire), are indeed good examples of Mackeprang's W. Scandinavian group. The series is spread over Norway, Denmark, central Sweden and N. Germany, but the lack of brims is a characteristic Anglian feature.<sup>65</sup> The C-bracteate from Longbridge Park further has a stamped border made with the tool also used for the decoration of a silver armring and a silver scutiform pendant deposited in the same grave, supporting a domestic workshop.<sup>66</sup>

Also within the D-bracteates from 'Jutish' Kent a domestic production can be discerned in copies and derivatives of Scandinavian prototypes. All D-bracteates found outside Scandinavia relate to varieties of Mackeprang's Jutish group and as Leslie Webster, and later Egil Bakka, have pointed out, there are some clearly



FIG. 3

Anglian bracteates. (a): Jaywick Sands/?-bracteate, gold (IK 285); (b): Welbeck Hill/C-bracteate, silver (IK 387); (c): Chippenham/C-bracteate, gold (IK 228); (d): Welbeck Hill/?-bracteate, silver (IK 388, after Axboe *et al.* 1985). Scale 2:1

inferior and individualistic imitations that must be seen as non-Scandinavian products.<sup>67</sup> Of Mackeprang's variety 1 there are eleven bracteates known from six graves in Britain and one grave, where the bracteate is die-identical to one of the English issues, in the cemetery at H erouvillette in Normandy.<sup>68</sup> Alongside issues of good Scandinavian standard there are three bracteates, all die-linked, from Sarre grave 4 that are clearly 'degenerate' imitations.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, out of four variety 2 bracteates from two graves in Britain and a further grave at H erouvillette, two are more individualistic copies.<sup>70</sup> While varieties 1 and 2 occur in good standard quality,

variety 3 is known outside Scandinavia in lesser quality imitations only. These bracteates further make up three distinct groups, notably in Germany with seven issues from three dies. An English group is represented in two die-linked bracteates from Bifrons 29 and 64, and in a further derivation from the same die from Lyminge grave 16.<sup>71</sup> The B-bracteate from Bifrons 29, on the other hand, is closely related to four bracteates from SW. Scandinavia and one from central Sweden, all showing the same 'kneeling' figure.<sup>72</sup> To judge from the wear, this bracteate also appears to be the oldest in the find.<sup>73</sup> From Varpalota in W. Hungary come three die-linked bracteates also derived from a variety 3 design.<sup>74</sup> There is also a third and very individualistic bracteate, probably of Scandinavian derivation, from Sablonnière in N. France.<sup>75</sup>

A regionally confined distribution is reflected in the die-links between finds (Fig. 4). Alongside the links and connections between the graves at Bifrons and Lyminge, there are four die-linked good quality bracteates from Finglesham D3 and 203.<sup>76</sup> A further good standard die is represented in Sarre grave 90, a stray find from Kent and one of the bracteates from Normandy.<sup>77</sup> That the bracteates did have an accumulation not immediately obvious from their deposition is indicated by wear differences in graves containing more than one issue. The necklaces in the Kentish

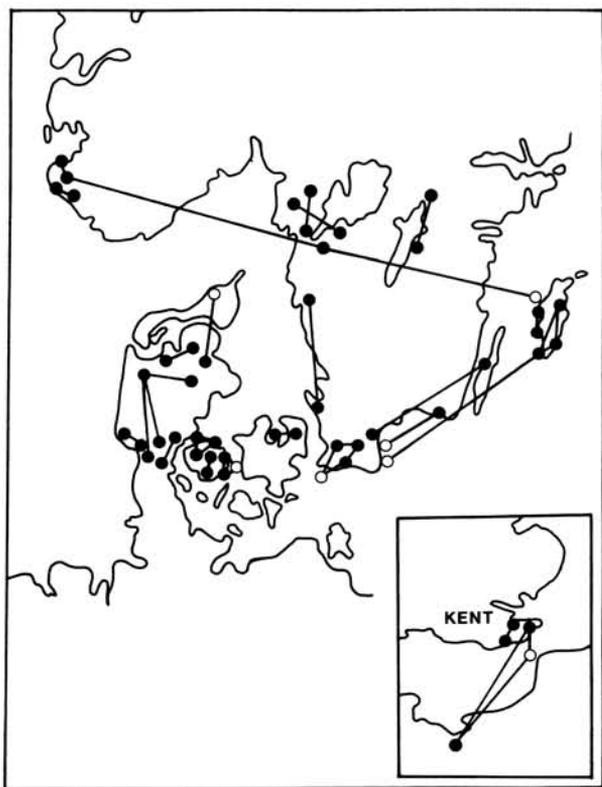


FIG. 4  
Finds of die-linked bracteates (after  
Axboe 1991)

graves also show a complexity of copies from different dies implying a larger stock of bracteates in circulation. The necklace in Finglesham D3 had three bracteates from two dies, like the one in Bifrons 29 which also had the further B-bracteate. The woman buried in grave 4 at Sarre was furnished with six D-bracteates from four different dies, three of the bracteates were identical and mainly in very good condition, two issues were nearly mint fresh, and only one showed signs of moderate wear.<sup>78</sup> The Bifrons bracteates, on the other hand, were all moderately to severely worn.<sup>79</sup> Both graves are dated to *c.* 550 or later. Of the Finglesham bracteates, the die-linked pair were both considerably worn whereas the third D-bracteate showed only slight signs of wear.<sup>80</sup> The two die-linked issues from Bifrons 29 and 64, deposited *c.* 530 and mid or late 6th century respectively, both show moderate wear, whereas the possibly derived copy from Lyminge 16, deposited before *c.* 550, was only slightly worn.<sup>81</sup> This may make sense from a dating point of view, but with the pair of bracteates from Finglesham D3 the picture is less clear. The bracteates are die-linked with the pair from Finglesham 203, a grave dated a generation later than D3 and where the bracteates are only slightly worn; however the pair in the earlier grave show considerable wear. Sonia Hawkes has suggested that the later deposit had been hoarded for some considerable time, while the earlier pair was worn by the woman in grave D3.<sup>82</sup> Whether as 'heirlooms' or domestic copies, these Scandinavian pendants were obviously highly valued and represented a great deal of status to judge from the Kentish graves where they appear along with valuable imports, precious-metal and garnet-set brooches and gold brocade.

To see the bracteates as nothing but dress accessories would be to dismiss their strong symbolic content. More than any other contemporary artefacts they illustrate Nordic mythology in scenes and symbols. Also, an interpretation as 'magical amulets' is not enough since the bracteates also reflect both high social status and outside connections. They can be compared with the contemporary gold coins worn as pendants, reflecting at the same time the value in foreign connections and the importance within society of non-commercial transactions. The accumulation of bracteates from different dies on some necklaces, therefore, suggests more than a gradual commercial acquisition of pendants; they appear more likely to have circulated as valuable gifts than as workshop products that could be bought and sold. To consider the meaning of the English finds, it is necessary to investigate the meaning and function of bracteates within Scandinavia.

#### THE GOLD BRACTEATES — PENDANT COINS?

The catalogue by Mogens Mackeprang, with an addendum by Morten Axboe, lists 429 finds comprising *c.* 865 bracteates.<sup>83</sup> The majority of these (*c.* 250) are single finds and whilst some may be remnants of larger and scattered finds, the impression is that most often bracteates were deposited singly. Most grave finds are also single specimens (40 out of the *c.* 63 graves listed) and in fifteen hoards single bracteates appear along with other precious metal. Mackeprang's cat. no. 30 (M 30) contained one C-bracteate together with a gold pendant, while a larger hoard such as M 43 consisted of four gold solidi, several pieces of ring-gold and gold bars and a gold

button along with  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a large C-bracteate. The many single finds give the impression of a very low output, with an average of less than two bracteates per die, and the assumption of a continuous and exhaustive use of dies cannot be applied to the production of bracteates. With a postulated output of 100 duplicates per die at least 60% of the dies would be represented by only 1% of the actual produce.<sup>84</sup>

However, dies were used to strike a number of duplicates. Out of the c. 535 dies known, 137 are represented in more than one issue and 69 of these occur in more than two.<sup>85</sup> There are series with up to fourteen die-identical bracteates indicating that there may be other explanations, beside a low and irregular output, behind the numerous single bracteates from different dies.<sup>86</sup> For the question of a gradual accumulation of bracteates there are, however, c. 90 hoards containing more than one bracteate which are informative. Out of these, 71 hoards also contain bracteates struck from more than one die and usually also representing more than one type. Table 1 shows the composition of bracteates in this group of hoards. These may be rather small finds such as M 78, consisting of one C- and one D-bracteate, or M 25 with four C-bracteates from four different dies, the latter find also containing a gold finger ring. Similarly, M 244 was composed of five C-bracteates from four different dies along with a gold coin of Theodosius. Among larger hoards is M 72 with nine B-bracteates of which eight came from one die, four D-bracteates with three from one die, and two different C-bracteates besides the six ring-shaped gold bars and a glass bead. M 99 contained nine A-bracteates from three different dies, one B-, one C- and one D-bracteate along with a gold jewelled pendant, a gold sheet scabbard mount and a few glass beads. M 157 was composed of three different C-bracteates, one B- and ten D-bracteates from four dies. Deposited with the bracteates were also six ring-shaped bars, two fragments of a further bar, a twisted gold sheet from a sword scabbard, and five gold sheet beads.

The accumulation of bracteates from different dies shown in Table 1 reflects on a large scale what could be seen on some of the Kentish necklaces. As with the English finds there are also differences in wear; some bracteates — and not necessarily the 'earliest' type — are extremely worn while others were buried in near mint condition.<sup>87</sup> It is also clear from the wear that bracteates deposited in hoards, whether intentional as offerings or unintentional as hidden treasures, only reflect a 'final' function; the composition of the hoards may suggest a pattern of acquisition in many instalments where the bracteates, like coins, appear as 'payments'. As we know, tributes and other compensations such as *wergeld* and dowries, along with the demonstration of wealth and power in gift-giving, played an important role in the Germanic kingdoms. An original function of the gold bracteates as special-purpose money therefore seems plausible. The bracteates can also be compared with other forms of special-purpose money such as the Migration period 'Kolbenarmringe' associated with some of the wealthiest and most high-status graves on the Continent, such as King Childeric's grave in Tournai, and interpreted as a sign of political power within the Continental kingdoms.<sup>88</sup> Such rings appear also in Scandinavia although, like the bracteates, more often deposited in hoards than in graves. The general importance of rings as media in negotiating social relations and political alliances comes over strongly in *Beowulf* and the Old Norse sagas, notably the

TABLE I

## THE COMPLEXITY OF BRACTEATES WITHIN HOARDS

24.	6×C 5×C +	78.	1×C 1×D —	99.	3×A 5×A 1×A 1×B 1×C 1×D +	157.	1×B 3diffC 2diffD 6×D 2×D +	251.	1×C 4×C —
24a.	5×C 13×C 2×C +	79.	2×B 2×D 4diffD +	101.	1×A 2×A 1×C 3×C 2×D 5×D +	167.	1×A 1×C 4diffD +	257.	2×A 1×C —
25.	4diffC +	80.	2×D 2×D 3×D +	107.	1×B 3×D +	168.	2×D 1×D +	262.	1×A 1×double —
33.	4×A 2×C 1×C +	81.	2×double frgm.×? +	113.	2diffC —	169.	1×D 2×D 3×D —	266.	2×D 2diffD +
54.	1×C 2½×D frgm.×B +	83.	12×D 2diffD +	114.	2diffD —	171.	2diffC 2×C 2×D +	267.	3diffC +
56.	1×B 2diffC 7×C +	84.	1×C 3diffD 2×D +	116.	2diffA —	179.	2diffC —	269.	2diffD +
60.	1×A 2×A 3diffC 1×F +	85.	1×A 1×C 2×C 1×D +	125.	2diffB 5×C 4diffC 1×D 2×D 3×D +	180.	1×C 7×D +	277.	4×? 1×D —
66.	1×D 1×? —	89.	1×C 1×double +	127.	5×D 4×D 1×D +	189a.	3diffC +	284.	1×C 2diffD —
69.	2diff 1×C +	90.	2×C 2×D +	128.	13×D 4×C 1×C +	189.	1×A 1×C +	289.	1×A 1×C +
71.	1×D 2×D +	92.	1×B 3×D 2diffD +	137.	1×A 1×C 2×D 1×D —	215.	2diffC +	299.	4×B 5×? —
72.	8×B 1×B 2diffC 3×D 1×D +	94.	2diffC 1×D 2×D +	152.	1×C 1×D —	221.	1×A 3diffC +	319.	3×D 2×D —
73.	6×D 2diffD +	95.	5×C 3×D +	153.	2diffC —	226.	1×A 2×B 1×C —	323.	3×B 2diffB 4×D 2×F —
76.	1×C 2×F —	97.	8×D 2diffD +			236.	2×B 1×C —	324.	3×C 1×D +
77.	9×D 1×D +					238.	2diffC —	325.	1×A 2×C 6×D 2diffD —
						240.	2×C 1×C —	330.	2×C? 1×C +
						244.	2×C 3diffC +	337.	1×B 1×C 1×Roman med. +
						250.	2×C 2diffC —		

The numbers refer to Mackeprang, 1952  
+ = other precious metal

function as *wergeld* in Baugatal, 'the counting of rings', part of the Icelandic law codex Grágás.<sup>89</sup>

When considering the bracteates, however, it is not necessary to look further than the Roman medallions that formed the original source of inspiration. The political and propaganda functions of the coinage were not simply a matter of portraying the Emperor as a ruler and god; even more important was that they were distributed as donatives and gifts from the Emperor to form personal and political alliances. It is no wonder that gold coins were accumulated in personal treasures, as seen in the early 4th-century hoard from Beaurains in N. France. The hoard, which appears to have belonged to an officer in the Roman army, contained a number of coins issued as donatives along with a necklace furnished with mounted coins.<sup>90</sup> The contacts between Scandinavia and the Roman Empire are reflected in the numerous imports acquired through gift-systems, tributes or trade of commodities — as in the suggested export of hides from the Baltic island of Oland<sup>91</sup> — as well as more limited market exchange.<sup>92</sup> It is therefore likely that at least the higher strata within the Scandinavian kingdoms or chiefdoms were well acquainted with Roman habits, values and ideology, not least through contacts with and services within the Roman army.<sup>93</sup>

The development of the Scandinavian gold bracteates, through copies and imitations of Imperial medallions, should therefore not be understood in terms of automatic and unconscious processes. Rather, it was a matter of a conscious translation into a domestic context of Roman values and symbols, as shown in the work on the iconography by Karl Hauck and his colleagues in Münster.<sup>94</sup> The central motif was the Roman 'Emperor-as-God' which was translated into Nordic mythology where Odin took the place as the senior god, as seen above all in the A- and C-bracteates.<sup>95</sup> He can be recognized in the themes represented on the bracteates, and by the presence of symbolic details, which are known from later written sources.<sup>96</sup> Another example of this 'interpretatio germanica' is a group of B-bracteates, the so-called 'Dreigötter-Brakteaten', which have borrowed their motif from Roman 'Victoria-victory' coins while portraying the death of the Scandinavian god Balder (Fig. 1b).<sup>97</sup>

A stronger political aspect in the bracteates has recently been stressed by Anders Andréén, who focuses upon the runic inscriptions and their connection to the inscriptions on the Roman medallions. Normally seen as more or less unintelligible 'magical' formulas, the runic inscriptions can instead be shown to reflect, in Nordic terms, the central attributes of the Emperor cult. By stressing the contextual meaning of the common words *ladu* (invitation), *laukar* (onion) and *alu* (ale) these can be related to the terms *dominus*, *pius* and *felix* that made up the most common formula on coins and medallions from the early 4th century and onwards. The inscriptions thus throw light on the contexts of feast and generosity where religious ceremony mingled with the forming of friendship and alliances. As an essentially political medium the gold bracteates may have been gifts marking loyalty and friendship, the membership of a *hird* or — as in the graves outside and on the borders of the central areas of origin and provenance — a sign of identity or political connections.<sup>98</sup> While the evidence from graves almost unanimously indicates that

bracteates were worn by women, this does not necessarily exclude men from wearing them. Both the iconography and the runic inscriptions bearing names reflect an exclusively male world; and within the central area of bracteates the majority of hoards, to judge from the artefacts deposited, may be seen as 'male'.<sup>99</sup>

Analyses of punch-links, along with the die-identities, have shown that a workshop could produce different types of bracteates as well as a type from more than one die.<sup>100</sup> To date only one actual die is known. This is a hitherto unknown stamp, and unfortunately a stray find.<sup>101</sup> But the contexts in which the goldsmiths worked and where bracteates were made points strongly to sites connecting cult functions with political power. Thus, an unfinished and folded gold bracteate, indicating the workshop of a goldsmith, has recently come to light near Sorte Muld on the island of Bornholm, a site that has been interpreted as a 'chieftain's seat and cult site'. Sorte Muld is most famous for yielding over 2,000 little gold-foil figures, another form of special-purpose money that is strongly associated with cult functions and hence termed 'temple money', but the social wealth and presumably political power are reflected in the concentration of precious-metal finds in the area along with traces of specialized craftsmen.<sup>102</sup> Margrethe Watt sees the presence of gold-foil figures as an indication of sites of Sorte Muld type, which can be further supported by the often-occurring gold bracteates nearby.<sup>103</sup> One such place is Helgö, on Lake Mälaren in central Sweden, with both gold foils and fragments of bracteates among the finds. Helgö is traditionally seen as a commercial market-place with international contacts, even an 'early town' during the 6th and 7th centuries, but reinterpretations based on the size and population of the site rather point to one or two farms. As with Sorte Muld, the presence of luxury and foreign objects, along with specialized workshops, could reflect the wealth and functions of a chieftain's hall.<sup>104</sup>

The development of a new medium influenced by Roman ideas and symbols would have been strongest in SW. Scandinavia, whence the bracteates originated. Here the Gudme site, on the E. coast of the island of Funen, appears to have played a central role. The Gudme area has for a long time attracted attention for its many gold finds, including Denmark's largest gold hoard, which among other objects contained 'Kolbenarmringe', in combination with the presence of several sacral place names. The site is today considered to be of royal status.<sup>105</sup> The many finds of precious-metal, luxury and imported objects stand out already during the Roman period, but it is above all the period *c.* 400–600 that dominates the finds. Since a new research project started in 1982, involving the use of metal detectors, a central settlement as well as a contemporary harbour site have been investigated. Along with the recovery of Roman coins, weights, hacksilver and ring-gold, three hoards were excavated: a late Roman hacksilver hoard, a unique late Roman siliquae hoard and a hoard of nine gold bracteates. Crucibles for making bronze and precious-metal objects, along with precious-metal residues and half-finished jewellery, show the presence of specialized workshops. From the harbour-site also come finds of gold-foil figures.<sup>106</sup>

If seen as a political medium, the regional distribution of die-identical bracteates also reflects the political geography of many and small 'kingdoms' in

Scandinavia during the 5th and 6th centuries. This is particularly clear in the many finds from W. Denmark with die-identical bracteates deposited within Jutland and the island of Funen (Fig. 4). Similarly, the Swedish finds reflect a geographically restricted pattern in the die-linked finds around Lake Vänern. But contacts across longer distances are reflected in a die represented in three finds from the Baltic island of Gotland and one from Scania in SW. Sweden. A further bracteate from the same die is unprovenanced.<sup>107</sup> From Rogaland in W. Norway comes a C-bracteate with two duplicates in a find from Dalsland in Sweden and possibly a further duplicate from Gotland.<sup>108</sup> The second die-link in the find, the B-bracteate, is with a nearby find in Rogaland.<sup>109</sup> Outside the central areas the bracteates may reflect political connections, but also other specific functions as in a small group of bracteates and medallion imitations in male graves from Gotland. Here the bracteates appear to have been deposited as 'Charon's obol', further reflecting the knowledge of and identification with Roman ideas and habits. Common for this group is the lack of brims and in most cases also the loop, thus appearing as coin-imitations which Morten Axboe has suggested were 'minted' for this special purpose as they have little or no trace of wear.<sup>110</sup>

#### PENDANTS AND VALUABLES

The fact that the gold bracteates found outside the central Scandinavian area all come from burials may, as stressed by Anders Andrén, imply connections, through marriage or other forms of exchange, with those with political power within Scandinavia. This would be strongly reflected in the finds from 'Jutish' Kent, but also in the bracteates found in Hungary which relate to another people with historically known Scandinavian connections: the Langobards.<sup>111</sup> The more individual East Anglian bracteates may reflect more independent functions as gifts and status objects. If they seem thin on the ground in comparison to the Kentish finds, the picture becomes more nuanced when looking at the spread of bronze and silver scutiform pendants (Fig. 5).<sup>112</sup> These represent another Scandinavian form of pendants which, as the Høstentorp hoard shows, could also be cut and treated as bullion along with foreign coins. Along with the scutiform pendants there are also the Roman coins from graves, deposited above all during the 6th century.<sup>113</sup>

A parallel appearance of bracteates and pendants is seen in the cemeteries of Broughton Lodge (Nottinghamshire), with one grave containing a fragment of a silver bracteate and another containing a scutiform pendant, and Market Overton (Leicestershire) with stray finds of a gold bracteate and three silver scutiform pendants from the North Cemetery and a further pendant from the South Cemetery.<sup>114</sup> Market Overton has further yielded a number of Roman coins, generally deposited as pendants.<sup>115</sup> From West Stow Heath (Suffolk) come stray finds of a silver bracteate and scutiform pendant, while the necklaces from Morningthorpe grave 80 (Norfolk) and Longbridge Park (Warwickshire) both carried bracteates as well as pendants.<sup>116</sup> A further three graves at Morningthorpe contained silver scutiform pendants, one gilded.<sup>117</sup> Four bronze and silver pendants come from three

graves at Holywell Row (Suffolk), and at the large cemetery at Sleaford (Lincolnshire) there are fifteen scutiform pendants from twelve graves and a further ten graves furnished with Roman coins (Fig. 5b).<sup>118</sup>

Here the bracteates stand out in a repertoire of not dissimilar pendants. On the whole, many of these pendants must be seen in the context of the spread of Christianity and the Roman church. The connection between contacts, ideology and

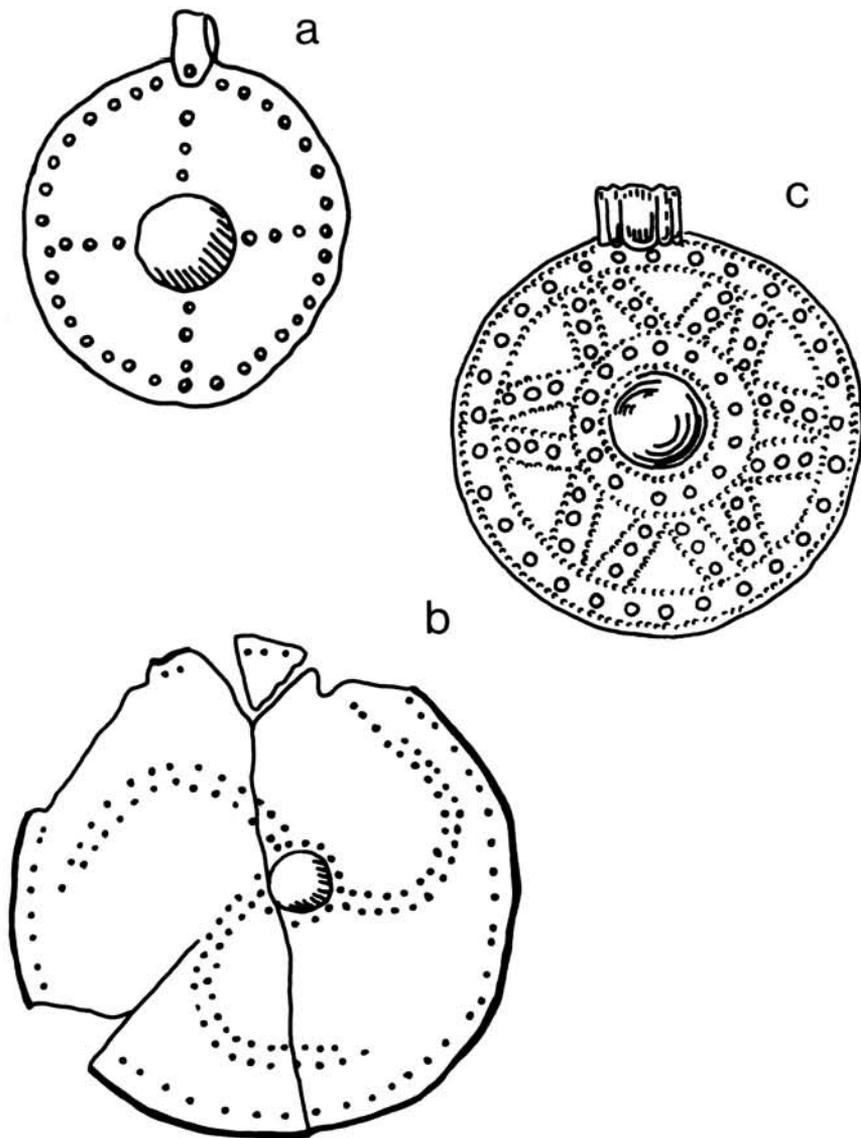


FIG. 5

Scutiform pendants. (a): Faversham, silver; (b): Sleaford grave 95, silver (after Hines 1984); (c): Kingston Down grave 205, gold (after Hawkes *et al.* 1966). Scale 2:1

domestic political structures is well demonstrated in the Scandinavian gold bracteates, but the copying of Roman and Byzantine motifs and ideals, above all from coins, is also a feature of Continental bracteates from the late 6th and 7th centuries.<sup>119</sup> Sometimes with Christian symbols, these pendants reflect wealth and power in Alemannic and Thuringian society, as do the 7th-century 'Langobard' gold-foil crosses impressed with bracteate dies and Byzantine coins.<sup>120</sup> From Compton Verney (Warwickshire) comes a looped and framed double-bracteate or cast imitation of a Byzantine 7th-century coin, and from this period come the most elaborate coin pendants such as the garnet-framed copy of a solidus of Maurice (582-602) from Bacton (Norfolk), the similar pendant from Forsbrook (Staffordshire) containing a 4th-century gold solidus and the Wilton cross from Norfolk with an early 7th-century coin of the Emperor Heraclius.<sup>121</sup> Strictly forbidden to be traded with, Byzantine coins travelled outside the Empire mainly as tribute, gifts and medallions, which further stresses the context of political and symbolic value.<sup>122</sup>

Many of the traits from the 6th century continue into the following century, but there is a very different repertoire of pendants represented in the 7th-century graves and 'late' cemeteries. In the Kentish material scutiform pendants now appear, paralleled by more elaborate composite pendants with filigree and garnet-settings, and by Kentish Style II bracteates (Fig. 6).<sup>123</sup> Three graves at Dover Buckland contained animal-style bracteates and a further four silver scutiform pendants (Fig. 6a).<sup>124</sup> At Kingston Down four graves were furnished with gold and silver scutiform pendants (Fig. 5c), one with a gold composite pendant and two with gold bracteates (Fig. 6b and c).<sup>125</sup> Most of these pendants have more or less explicit cross-symbols, which are also obvious in openwork crosses from Wrotham, Gilton Ash and Chatham Down, and can be compared with four silver and two gilded brass scutiform pendants and a composite gold example from Sibertswold Down.<sup>126</sup> The latter was hung on a necklace along with a further nine cabochon, glass and mosaic pendants and two looped Merovingian coins from the mid 7th century.<sup>127</sup> Among the many stray finds from Faversham are two gold bracteates, seven silver scutiform and at least twelve composite gold pendants (Fig. 5a).<sup>128</sup>

The continuous but independent production of bracteates is reflected in the Kentish Style II issues. Of the 23 7th-century bracteates known, with twenty found in Kent, the majority show animal-style or interlace motifs.<sup>129</sup> There are also two circular bronze dies with animal-style motifs from Barton-on-Humber (Lincolnshire) and Langham (Norfolk).<sup>130</sup> Along with these Style II bracteates there is also the full-figure representation of a man holding two snakes on two identical gold bracteates from Horton Kirby (Kent, Fig. 6d) and Shrewton (Wiltshire).<sup>131</sup> The same figure is represented on the stamped bronze-sheet decoration of a bucket from Loveden Hill (Lincolnshire) and on an unprovenanced die in the British Museum.<sup>132</sup> The motif can be related to three earlier Scandinavian B-bracteates, from Sweden and N. Germany, which show a male figure intertwined with snakes.<sup>133</sup> In the Style II bracteates, the presence of duplicates and die-links, as with the earlier Scandinavian-style issues, is also seen in the three die-identical bracteates from Westbere and in the two from Wingham made with the same die as the bracteate in Dover Buckland grave 134.<sup>134</sup>



FIG. 6

Style II bracteates (a): Dover Buckland grave 134 (after Evison 1987); (b): Kingston Down grave 253; (c): Kingston Down grave 235 (after Hawkes *et al.* 1966); (d): Riseley, Horton Kirby (after Hauck 1970). Scale 2:1

Viewed against the 6th-century background, the Style II bracteates are likely to reflect power, status and perhaps political connections, although in a changing context. As well as interlace and animal-style, there are also bracteates showing the Christian influence generally present in contemporary pendants. There is a cross-decorated bracteate from Kingston Down grave 235 (Fig. 6c) and an issue stamped with a crucifix-motif from Gilton Ash, along with the two bracteates from Kingston Down grave 253 (Fig. 6b) and Faversham which seem strongly influenced by the

'Langobard' gold-foil crosses.<sup>135</sup> The close contacts with Merovingian France during this time involved not only the exchange of gifts and commodities but also the cultural exchange connected to the Church; French nunneries included aristocratic women from Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>136</sup> The symbolically embroidered necklaces and Byzantine pendants on the shroud of Queen Balthilde, herself originally an Anglo-Saxon slave and founder of the nunnery at Chelles, reflect these political-ideological aspects in a late 7th-century context.<sup>137</sup> But closely related to the symbolic meaning of jewellery are also its active functions as gifts and media in social and political transactions. The animal-style bracteate, along with two further Kentish-style pendants, in the 7th-century gold hoard from Wieuwerd in Friesland, may be products of a Frisian workshop but the composition of the hoard suggests an accumulated treasure of valuable gifts and other forms of payments and settlements. Along with the 'Kentish' pendants were two Germanic bracteates, two pelta-shaped pendants, 29 mounted and looped Byzantine and Germanic (mainly Merovingian) gold coins and some bullion in the form of gold rings and the foot of a gold disc-on-bow brooch.<sup>138</sup>

It may be that bracteates and other coin and coin-like pendants gradually lost their functions as active media along with the growth of a domestic coinage. However, special-purpose money and non-monetary transactions continued to play an important role in society — something that is reflected in the fact that coins were continuously deposited in burials even after the transition to a silver currency.<sup>139</sup>

#### MONEY AND MEDIA IN EARLY ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN

It is clear today that economic and social spheres of exchange, in other words commodity and gift exchange, existed alongside each other rather than characterizing different stages of development within society. The value and meaning of objects were determined by the social context so it is no surprise that a commodity exchange, where the object rather than the personal relationship is central, is largely found in inter-regional and cross-border exchange in primitive and earlier societies.<sup>140</sup> Similarly, the monetary spheres of exchange in 6th- and early 7th-century Britain reflected in stray finds of Continental and Merovingian gold coins relate to an overseas trade. As Michael Metcalf has shown, such trading contacts were not bound to Kent but independently reached into the kingdoms of East Anglia.<sup>141</sup> Such trade would have been motivated by social consumption rather than profit, involving luxury and foreign objects which played an important role in the reproduction of regional social structures and hierarchies.<sup>142</sup> The connection between trading-places and royal or other seigneurial contexts is thus not only a matter of protection, security and resources but also a matter of control of contacts and exchange.<sup>143</sup>

Similar functions and contexts of exchange can be seen also in non-monetary precious metal and bullion which, as surviving in hoards, is normally related to foreign material, particularly coins. These weight-economies were not as primitive as they might seem; the strong fragmentation in the 6th-century Høstentorp hoard indicates many small transactions and a continuous exchange.<sup>144</sup> The development of coinages cannot be explained in simplistic and strictly economic terms since

social, political and administrative transactions may have played a dominating role. In that sense coins, as standardized and specialized bullion, must initially be seen as comparable with other forms of special-purpose money including armrings, pendants and other forms of jewellery.

The use of coins in social payments such as *wergeld* and other compensations can be compared with the function of rings in 'Baugatal', the Old Icelandic law on blood money, where the number and weight of rings is carefully stated along with supplementary weights.<sup>145</sup> The latter are possibly referring to the smaller rings, sometimes supplemented by folded coins, attached to some Viking armrings.<sup>146</sup> A similar use of bullion may be reflected in the earliest Anglo-Saxon laws, as the *sceattas* and *scillings* referred to pre-date a domestic coinage.<sup>147</sup> Aethelbert of Kent records in c. 603 an impressive list of compensations, fines, *wergelds* and bride-prices to be paid in bullion measured in *scillings*. A century later, the laws of Hlothere and Eadric similarly stipulate compensations for slaying, charging, insults, unlawful drawing of weapons, injuries and bloodshed.<sup>148</sup> These may refer to payments made in coin, as an Anglo-Saxon gold coinage is discernible from c. 625. *Wergeld* is reflected in the 30,000 coins paid to King Ine of Wessex by Eadric's brother Withred as a peace-token after the murder of King Mul in 691.<sup>149</sup> The Crondall hoard of mainly Anglo-Saxon thrymsas buried in the mid 7th century may represent the 100 *scillings wergeld* for a ceorl.<sup>150</sup>

While it is clear that coins had come to stay by the 7th century, the monetarization of society was neither uniform nor coherent. The silver *sceatta*-coinages, beginning at the close of the 7th century, undoubtedly represent a large-scale currency. Vast numbers of dies were used, and the variety of finds-contexts, including considerable numbers of strays and settlement finds, emphasize their wide circulation. There are, however, discontinuities and changes in output and distribution within the Anglo-Saxon coinages during the 7th and 8th centuries.<sup>151</sup> These must be set against the dynamic and unstable political geography, with many small kingdoms and shifting power centres. While some series of coins can be related to overseas trading systems, functions supported by mints at Hamwic and possibly London, other coinages seem to have had regional circulations.<sup>152</sup> These regional coinages may be better understood in terms of taxation, administration and other social transactions, reflecting growing central control. As David Hinton has shown, the connection between coin-losses and commercial activities is not unambiguous, and royal, aristocratic and episcopal sites may above all reflect centres of wealth and control.<sup>153</sup>

While trade was one factor in the development and reproduction of regional political structures, kingship and loyalty were held together not by commercial activities but by systems of generosity, gifts and counter-gifts.<sup>154</sup> In the 8th-century epic *Beowulf* a king or a chieftain is repeatedly described as 'ring-giver', 'gold-friend' or 'dealer of wound gold', and the king's hall described as 'the gold-giving hall' where he provides rings and treasures from his hoard. Brave men are 'spoken of abroad for wars and gifts'.<sup>155</sup> The relation between kings and their retainers is also seen in the provision of arms and the counter-gifts of weapons and treasure accumulated through warfare or gifts.<sup>156</sup> Such a military organization is reflected in

the late Saxon payments of 'heriots' ('war-gear') to the king on the death of his men. It normally meant the actual return of weapons and war-equipment to the lord, and, for the higher ranks, it also included payments in gold mancuses, sometimes in cash (silver pennies) but more often in the form of gold armrings.<sup>157</sup>

Social and political spheres of exchange, particularly on a regional level, were fundamental to Dark Age and early medieval society and reflect attitudes towards wealth and precious metal. In gift-systems and other settlements non-monetary precious metal often functioned as an active means of exchange, seen above all in gold and silver armrings but also in other specific forms of jewellery such as the Scandinavian gold bracteates. But such exchange could also involve coins, showing that monetary transactions were not automatically motivated by commodity exchange or general trade.

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<sup>4</sup> K. Raddatz, *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Berlin, Madrider Forschungen Band 5, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> E. Munksgaard et al., 'Brakteaten', in J. Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Band 3 (Berlin-New York, 1978), 337-401.

<sup>6</sup> C. Kyhlberg, *Vikt och värde. Arkeologiska studier i värdemätning, betalningsmedel och metrologi under yngre järnålder* (Stockholm, Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 1, 1980), 27; E. Munksgaard, 'Justerede ringe af aedelmetal fra germansk jernalder og vikingetid', *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1978), 150-54. Cf. E. Fønnesbech-Sandberg, 'Münzfunktionen in der Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit Dänemarks', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 23 (1989), 420-52.

<sup>7</sup> C. Behr, *Die Beizeichen auf den völkerwanderungszeitlichen Goldbrakteaten* (Frankfurt am Main etc., Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 38, Archäologie; Bd. 38, 1991), 20-21. The bracteates are continuously published in M. Axboe et al. (eds.), *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Ikonographischer Katalog* (München, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 24, 1-3, 1985 ff.), but I have mainly used the standard catalogue: M. B. Mackeprang, *De Nordiske Guldbrakteater*, Jysk Arkæologisk selskabs Skrifter II (1952), together with M. Axboe, 'The Scandinavian gold bracteates. Studies on their manufacture and regional variations. With a supplement to the catalogue of Mogens B. Mackeprang', *Acta Archaeologica*, 52 (1981), 1-100.

<sup>8</sup> Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, 9-20; O. Montelius, *Från järnåldern* (Stockholm, 1869).

<sup>9</sup> U. Lund Hansen, 'Review of Goldbrakteaten in norwegischen Grabfunden', *Norwegian Archaeol. Rev.*, 9:2 (1976); Id., 'Die Hortproblematik im Licht der neuen Diskussion zur Chronologie und Deutung der Goldschätze in der Völkerwanderungszeit', in K. Kauck (ed.), *Der historische Horizont der Götterbildamulette aus der Übergangsepoche von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter* (forthcoming); Cf. Behr, op. cit. in note 7, 17, note 14.

<sup>10</sup> M. Axboe, 'A non-stylistic approach to the gold bracteates', *Norwegian Archaeol. Rev.*, 8 (1975), 63-68, p. 64.

<sup>11</sup> For a general reference to 7th-century bracteates in England and on the Continent, see H. Roth, 'Brakteaten der Merowingerzeit', in J. Hoops (ed.), op. cit. in note 5, 344-51. For Gotlandic bracteates, see B. Arrhenius, 'Brakteaten der Wikingerzeit', in J. Hoops (ed.), id., 343-44.

<sup>12</sup> R. Reece, 'Theory and practice in Roman coinage', in P. Kos and Z. Demo (eds.), *Studia Numismatica Labacensia. Alexandro Jelocnik Oblata* (Ljubljana, 1988), 271-78; M. H. Crawford, 'Money and exchange in the Roman world', *J. Roman Studs.*, 60 (1970), 40-48.

<sup>13</sup> O. Kyhlberg, 'Late Roman and Byzantine solidi. An archaeological analysis of coins and hoards', in A. Lundström and H. Clarke (eds.), *Excavations at Helgö*, 10 (Stockholm, 1986), 13–126, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> C. E. King, 'The Sacra Largitiones, revenues, expenditure and the production of coin', in C. E. King (ed.), *Imperial Revenue, Expenditure and Monetary Policy in the 4th century A.D.* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. 76, 1980), 141–74, pp. 159–60. For the insignia of the Comes Sacrarum Largitionum showing coins, belt-clasps and gold leaves, see R. Godburn and P. Bartholomew (eds.), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Suppl. Ser. 15, 1976), pl. xxvi.

<sup>15</sup> P. Sarvas, 'De finska myntskatterna från 1700-talet', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1967), 23–146; R. Hodges, *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (Worcester, 1988), 120–22.

<sup>16</sup> The classic work on gift-giving is M. Mauss, *The Gift* (London, 1970), but see above all A. Gurevich, 'Wealth and gift-bestowal among the ancient Scandinavians', *Scandinavica*, 7:2 (1968), 126–38. For a discussion on precious-metal hoards as offerings, see also L. Hedeager, 'Gulddepoterna fra aeldre germanertid — forsøg på en tolkning', in C. Fabech and J. Ringtved (eds.), *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandrings-tid*, Jysk Arkæologisk selskabs Skrifter 27 (1991), 203–12.

<sup>17</sup> For the English hoards, see A. S. Robertson, 'Romano-British coin hoards: their numismatic, archaeological and historical significance', in P. J. Casey and R. Reece (eds.), *Coins and the Archaeologist* (London, 1988), 13–38. The French hoards are estimated from the first four volumes of Société Française de Numismatique (ed.), *Corpus de Trésors Monétaires Antiques de la France* (Paris, 1982–85).

<sup>18</sup> C. Haselgrove, 'Romanization before the Conquest: Gaulish precedents and British consequences', in T. F. C. Blagg and A. C. King (eds.), *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain. Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 136, 1984), 5–64, pp. 44–45.

<sup>19</sup> S. Archer, 'Late Roman gold and silver coin hoards in Britain: a gazetteer', in P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 71, 1979), 29–64.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, cat. no. 60.

<sup>21</sup> C. M. Johns and T. W. Potter, 'The Canterbury Late Roman treasure', *Antiq. J.*, 65 (1985), 312–52.

<sup>22</sup> R. Bruce-Mitford and S. M. Youngs, 'Late Roman and Byzantine silver', in A. Care Evans (ed.), *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 3:1 (London, 1983), 1–201, pp. 157–65.

<sup>23</sup> For the distribution of silver ingots as donatives, see M. W. C. Hassall, 'Britain in the Notitia', in Goodburn and Bartholomew (eds.), op. cit. in note 14, 103–17. Cf. K. S. Painter, 'A Late-Roman silver ingot from Kent', *Antiq. J.*, 52 (1972), 84–92.

<sup>24</sup> Codex Theodosianus XII:6, 12–13, C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1952), 374. See also A. Burnett, 'Clipped Siliquae and the end of Roman Britain', *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 163–68.

<sup>25</sup> W. Grünhagen, *Der Schatzfund von Gross Bodungen* (Berlin, Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 21, 1954), 60–63; E. Munksgaard, 'Late-Antique scrap silver found in Denmark. The Hardenberg, Høstentorp and Simmersted hoards', *Acta Archaeologica*, 26 (1955), 31–67. For the latest find at Gudme, the Danish island of Funen, see H. Thrane, 'Das Gudme-Problem und die Gudme-Untersuchungen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 21 (1987), 1–48, pp. 32–33, Taf. xvi. Cf. also E. Munksgaard, 'Spätantikes Silber', id., 82–84.

<sup>26</sup> Grünhagen, op. cit. in note 25, 60.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>28</sup> M. Martin, 'Redwalds Börse. Gewicht und Gewichtskategorien völkerwanderungszeitlicher Objekte aus Edelmetall', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 21 (1987), 206–38; C. Scull, 'A sixth-century grave containing a balance and weights from Watchfield', *Germania*, 64:1 (1986), 105–38, pp. 120–23.

<sup>29</sup> O. Voss, 'The Høstentorp silver hoard and its period. A study of a Danish find of scrap-silver from about 500 A.D.', *Acta Archaeologica*, 25 (1954), 171–217, fig. 3; H. Mattingly and J. W. E. Pearce, 'The Coleraine hoard', *Antiquity*, 11 (1937), 39–45, pl. ii.

<sup>30</sup> Archer, op. cit. in note 19, 32.

<sup>31</sup> R. E. White, *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 191, 1988), 62–201. For coins used as weights, see cat. nos. 20, 72, 88, 177, 203 and 231.

<sup>32</sup> P. E. Curnow, 'The coins', in S. E. West, 'The Anglo-Saxon village of West Stow: an interim report of the excavations 1965–68', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 13 (1969), 1–20, pp. 15–17.

<sup>33</sup> For finds of gold coins in England I have used S. E. Rigold, 'Finds of gold coin in England other than the Sutton Hoo and Crondall', in R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 1 (Cambridge, 1975), 665–77, and M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A revised check-list of coin-hoards from the British Isles, c. 500–1100', in M. A. S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History* (Leicester, 1986), 291–314, which also provides the most recent datings. As a general reference to the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon gold coinages I have used P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage vol. 1. The Early Middle Ages, 5th–10th centuries* (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>34</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. nos. 3–12; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. no. 43a; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. no. 38; S. C. Hawkes et al., 'X-ray fluorescent analysis of some Dark Age coins and jewellery', *Archaeometry*, 9 (1966), 98–138, p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. nos. 16, 46, 65, 73, 77 and 115; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 3; Hawkes et al., op. cit. in note 36, 104–06, which also interprets the find as two separate burials.

<sup>38</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. nos. 47–49, 51, 66, 69 and 78; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 4; Grierson and Blackburn, op. cit. in note 33, 124.

<sup>39</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. nos. 54, 56 and 58–59; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Rigold, op. cit. in note 33, cat. nos. 62 and 132; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 10; Hawkes *et al.*, op. cit. in note 36, 115–16.

<sup>41</sup> For a listing of finds of sceatta-coins, see S. E. Rigold and D. M. Metcalf, 'A revised check-list of English finds of sceattas', in D. Hill and D. M. Metcalf (eds.), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 128, 1984), 245–68. Dover Buckland grave 110: V. I. Evison, *Dover: the Buckland Anglo-Saxon cemetery* (Bristol, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, Archaeol. Rep. No. 3, 1987), 49–50, fig. 49; Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 293, no. 11; Rigold and Metcalf, *id.*, 251. Wrotham: Blackburn and Pagan, *id.*, 293, no. 26; Rigold and Metcalf, *id.*, 267.

<sup>42</sup> Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 76 (Mackeprang no. 314b).

<sup>43</sup> S. E. Rigold, 'Coins found in Anglo-Saxon burials', in Casey and Reece (eds.), op. cit. in note 17, 218–223. Cf. the listing in Rigold and Metcalf, op. cit. in note 41.

<sup>44</sup> Grierson and Blackburn, op. cit. in note 33, 129.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 111–12.

<sup>46</sup> P. Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser. 9 (1959), 123–40; D. Claude, 'Zu Fragen der merowingischen Geldgeschichte', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 48 (1961), 236–50.

<sup>47</sup> *Die Gesetze der Langobarden*, ed. F. Beyerle (Weimar, Germanenrechte. Texte und Übersetzungen. Band I, 1947); *Die Gesetze des Merowingereichs*, ed. K. A. Eckhardt (Göttingen–Berlin–Frankfurt, Germanenrechte, Texte und Übersetzungen. Band III, 1955); *English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1979), 113–14.

<sup>48</sup> Grierson and Blackburn, op. cit. in note 33, 129.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Hodges, op. cit. in note 15, 113–14.

<sup>50</sup> Out of the 45 known bracteates in England five are A-, one B-, eight C- and thirty-one D-bracteates. Along with the general reference to Scandinavian gold bracteates in Mackeprang and Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, I have used S. C. Hawkes and M. Pollard, 'The gold bracteates from sixth-century Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent, in the light of a new find from Finglesham', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 15 (1981), 316–70; J. Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 124, 1984), 199–218, and D. R. J. Perkins and S. Chadwick Hawkes, 'The Thanet Gas Pipeline phases I and II (Monkton Parish)', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 101 (1984), 83–114, pp. 102–07.

<sup>51</sup> Welbeck Hill, Irby (Lincolnshire), grave 52: Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 73–74 (Mackeprang no. 305d); Morningthorpe (Norfolk), grave 80 (2 bract.): B. Green *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morningthorpe, Norfolk, I* (Norfolk, East Anglian Archaeology Rep. no. 36, vol. 1, 1987), 58.

<sup>52</sup> Voss, op. cit. in note 29, fig. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Kent: Faversham (Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1948.2), P. D. C. Brown and F. Schweizer, 'X-ray fluorescence analysis of Anglo-Saxon jewellery', *Archaeometry*, 15 (1973), 176–77; Suffolk: Undley, Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 75 (Mackeprang no. 307d); Oxford: St Giles Field, Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7 (cat. no. 307); The unprovenanced bracteate is Axboe, *id.*, 87 (Mackeprang no. 384), referred to as 'probably found in England' in C. J. Thomsen, *Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* (1857), Tab. 1:7. The bracteate is an imitation of a 5th-century Visigothic gold solidus, in turn struck in the name of Valentinian III (A.D. 425–255), but wrongly referred to as Valentinian II (unpubl. material in the Dept. of Medieval & Later Antiquities, British Museum); A recent find from Kingston Bagpuize, Oxford, is unpublished.

<sup>54</sup> Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 352–62. The five stray finds are Kings Field, Faversham: Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 75 (Mackeprang no. 308); Faversham: Brown and Schweizer, *loc. cit.* in note 53; Ozengell: Axboe, *id.*, 78 (Mackeprang no. 314 f.); Kent: Axboe, *id.*, 78 (Mackeprang no. 315); Kent?: Axboe, *id.*, 78 (Mackeprang no. 315a); at least one further unpublished D-bracteate may come from Kent, pers. comm. M. Axboe.

<sup>55</sup> Evison, op. cit. in note 41, 136–37; Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 332 and 347.

<sup>56</sup> Perkins and Hawkes, *loc. cit.* in note 50.

<sup>57</sup> Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 340, 343–47 and 350.

<sup>58</sup> The stray finds are Chippenham (Cambridgeshire): Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 75 (Mackeprang no. 307e); Hornsea (Yorkshire): *Id.*, 73 (Mackeprang no. 305b); Jaywick Sands (Essex): *Id.*, 75 (Mackeprang no. 307c); Kirmington (Lincolnshire): *Id.*, 74 (Mackeprang no. 305e); For St Giles Field (Oxfordshire) and Undley (Suffolk): see note 53. The three further grave-finds are Broughton Lodge grave 33 (Nottinghamshire): Axboe, *id.*, 74 (Mackeprang no. 305f); Market Overton (Leicestershire): Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, cat. no. 305 and West Stow Heath (Suffolk): Axboe, *id.*, 74–75 (Mackeprang no. 307b).

<sup>59</sup> Hines, op. cit. in note 50, 14 and 227; H. Vierck, 'Der C-brakteat von Longbridge in der ostenglischen gruppe', in K. Hauck, *Goldbrakteaten aus Sievern* (München, 1970), 331–39.

<sup>60</sup> Hines, op. cit. in note 50, 217.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>62</sup> Perkins and Hawkes, *loc. cit.* in note 50.

<sup>63</sup> J. P. Lamm and M. Axboe, 'Neues zu Brakteaten und Anhängern in Schweden', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 23 (1989), 453–77, pp. 465–73.

<sup>64</sup> A. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 96, 1981); Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 326.

<sup>65</sup> Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, pl. vii:5–17; Cf. Behr, op. cit. in note 7, 185, note 516, fig. 18.

<sup>66</sup> Hines, op. cit. in note 50, 213–14; Vierck, *loc. cit.* in note 59.

<sup>67</sup> L. Webster, 'Brakteaten. England', in J. Hoops (ed.), op. cit. in note 5, 341–42; E. Bakka, 'Scandinavian-type gold bracteates in Kentish and Continental grave finds', in V. I. Evison (ed.), *Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Essays Presented to J. N. L. Myres* (Oxford, 1981), 11–35.

<sup>68</sup> Bakka, op. cit. in note 67, 14, pl. v:1-7. To this three further variety 1 bracteates can be added. Finglesham grave 203 contained a pair of bracteates that are die-linked to the pair in Finglesham grave D3: Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 75 (Mackeprang no. 314a); Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 356-57. The Monkton bracteate is also referred to as a variety 1 issue: Perkins and Hawkes, op. cit. in note 50, 105.

<sup>69</sup> Bakka, op. cit. in note 67, pl. v:7.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 15, pl. v:9-12. Bakka is wrongly referring to the bracteate in Bifrons grave 64, pl. v:14, instead of Bifrons grave 63, pl. v:12.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 15, pl. v:13-15, 17-19.

<sup>72</sup> Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, pl. v:1-2, 4-6 and 8.

<sup>73</sup> Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 352-53.

<sup>74</sup> Bakka, op. cit. in note 67, 15.

<sup>75</sup> *La Picardie, berceau de la France*, Catalogue de l'exposition, Centre Culturel, Soissons, 20 juin-31 août 1986 (Amiens, 1986), 239-40, fig. 220.

<sup>76</sup> Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 356-58.

<sup>77</sup> Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, cat. nos. 310 and 315; Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 79 (Mackeprang no. 315c).

<sup>78</sup> Hawkes and Pollard, op. cit. in note 50, 359-61.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 352-54.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 356-57.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 352-55 and 358-59.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 340.

<sup>83</sup> Axboe and Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7.

<sup>84</sup> Axboe, op. cit. in note 10, 66.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., op. cit. in note 7, 17.

<sup>86</sup> Behr, loc. cit. in note 7.

<sup>87</sup> Axboe, op. cit. in note 10, 65; Hawkes and Pollard, loc. cit. in note 54.

<sup>88</sup> J. Werner, 'Der goldene Armring des Frankenkönigs Childeric und die germanischen Handgelenkringe der jüngeren Kaiserzeits', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 14 (1980), 1-49.

<sup>89</sup> Grágás, *Islandernes lovbog i fristatens tid*, ed. V. Finsen (København, 1870), 192-206.

<sup>90</sup> P. Bastien and C. Metzger, *Le trésor de Beauvais* (Arras, Memoirs de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, Tome 17, 1977), 214-16.

<sup>91</sup> U. E. Hagberg, *The Archaeology of Skedemosse II. The Votive Deposits in the Skedemosse Fen and Their Relation to the Iron-Age Settlement on Oland, Sweden* (Stockholm, 1967).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. L. Hedeager, 'Money economy and prestige economy in the Roman Iron Age', in B. Hårdh et al. (eds.), *Trade and Exchange in Prehistory* (Lund, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, series in 8° no. 16, 1988), 147-53.

<sup>93</sup> M. Axboe, 'Guld og guder i folkevandringstiden. Brakteaterne som kilde til politisk/religiøse forhold', in Fabech and Ringtved (eds.), op. cit. in note 16, 187-202.

<sup>94</sup> K. Hauck, 'Zwanzig Jahre Brakteatenforschung in Münster/Westfalen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 22 (1988), 17-52, pp. 17-22.

<sup>95</sup> K. Hauck, 'Brakteatenikonologie', in J. Hoops (ed.), op. cit. in note 5, 361-401. Hauck is continuously publishing his research in a series of articles called 'Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten': for articles published before 1982, see Appendix in N. Kamp and J. Wollasch (eds.), *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters* (Berlin-New York, 1982); for articles published later, see Hauck, op. cit. in note 94, 49-52.

<sup>96</sup> K. Hauck, 'Text und Bild in einer oralen Kultur. Antworten auf die zeugniskritische Frage nach der Erreichbarkeit mündlicher Überlieferung im frühen Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 17 (1983), 510-99.

<sup>97</sup> K. Hauck, 'Methodenfragen der Brakteatendeutung. Erprobung eines Interpretationsmusters für die Bildzeugnisse aus einer oralen Kultur', in H. Roth (ed.), *Zum Problem der Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte. Akten des 1. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a.d. Lahn, 15. bis 19. Februar 1983* (Sigmaringen, 1986), 273-96, pp. 284-88.

<sup>98</sup> A. Andrén, 'Guld och makt — en tolkning av de skandinaviska guldbrakteaternas funktion', in Fabech and Ringtved (eds.), op. cit. in note 16, 245-56.

<sup>99</sup> Axboe et al., op. cit. in note 7, vol. 1:1, 14-16; Hauck, op. cit. in note 94, 39-46.

<sup>100</sup> See catalogue in Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 63-87. E.g. Mackeprang no. 99: Id., 66. Here the punch-marks link an A-bracteate with a B-bracteate in the same find; Mackeprang no. 183: Id., 68, where a C-bracteate is linked to a C-bracteate from another die in Mackeprang no. 261. The two bracteates may further have identical loops.

<sup>101</sup> The die, for a D-bracteate, comes from Alborg, N. Jutland in Denmark: M. Axboe, 'Der Neufund eines D-Brakteatenmodells. Eine vorläufige Mitteilung', in Hauck (ed.), op. cit. in note 9; Cf. Behr, op. cit. in note 7, 21, note 34.

<sup>102</sup> M. Watt, 'Sorte Muld. Høvdingesaede og kultcentrum fra Bornholms yngre jernalder', in P. Mortensen and B. M. Rasmussen (eds.), *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingsamfund og Kongemagt*, Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII:2 (1991), 89-108.

<sup>103</sup> M. Watt, 'Die Goldblechfiguren aus Sorte Muld', in Hauck (ed.), op. cit. in note 9; Cf. K. Hauck and M. Axboe, 'Zwei neue Goldbrakteaten aus Bornholm und Holstein', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 24 (1990), 71-120, p. 92 and note 65.

<sup>104</sup> A. Christophersen, 'Big chiefs and Buddhas in the heart of the Swedish homeland', in A. Lundström (ed.), *Thirteen Studies on Helgö* (Stockholm, 1988), 51-59.

<sup>105</sup> K. Hauck, 'Gudme in der Sicht der Brakteaten-Forschung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 21 (1987), 147-81; H. Thrane, 'Om Gudmes funktion. En tolkningsskitse', in Fabech and Ringtved (eds.), op. cit. in note 16, 259-66. Cf. also E. Fønnesbech-Sandberg, 'Guldets funktion i ældre germansk jernalder', in id., 233-44.

- <sup>106</sup> Thrane, op. cit. in note 105, 259.
- <sup>107</sup> Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, cat. no. 373.
- <sup>108</sup> Ibid., cat. nos. 157 and 294. The provenance of Mackeprang no. 195 is unknown, but this C-bracteate was purchased from a man on Gotland (p. 155).
- <sup>109</sup> Ibid., cat. no. 159.
- <sup>110</sup> Lamm and Axboe, loc. cit. in note 63.
- <sup>111</sup> Andrén, op. cit. in note 98, 253–54.
- <sup>112</sup> Hines, op. cit. in note 50, map 4.4.
- <sup>113</sup> M. D. King, 'Roman coins from Early Anglo-Saxon contexts', in Casey and Reece (eds.), op. cit. in note 17, 224–29, fig. 1–2.
- <sup>114</sup> Broughton Lodge grave 33 and 65: Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 74 (Mackeprang no. 305f); Hines, op. cit. in note 50, 337. Market Overton: Mackeprang, op. cit. in note 7, no. 305; V. B. Crowther-Beynon, 'Notes on an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Market Overton, Rutland', *Archaeologia*, vol. 62:2 (1911), 481–90, p. 484; one of the four silver pendants from the South Cemetery seems to refer to a silver bracteate.
- <sup>115</sup> Cf. White, loc. cit. in note 31.
- <sup>116</sup> West Stow Heath: Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 74–75 (Mackeprang no. 307b); R. A. Smith, 'Anglo-Saxon remains', *Victoria County History, Suffolk*, vol. 1 (London, 1907), 338–41, p. 340. Morningthorpe grave 80: Green *et al.*, op. cit. in note 51. Longbridge Park: Vierck, op. cit. in note 59.
- <sup>117</sup> Grave 322: Green *et al.*, op. cit. in note 51, 125–26, fig. 401. Grave 359: Id., 139, fig. 421. Grave 369: Id., 143–44, fig. 427.
- <sup>118</sup> Holywell Row: T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (Cambridge, Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Quarto Publications. New Ser. No. III, 1931), 1–45; Grave 11: Id., 4–9; Grave 12: Id., 9; Grave 61: Id., 32. Sleaford graves nos. 2, 42, 78, 95, 96, 116, 138, 143B, 151, 169, 197 and 227: G. W. Thomas, 'On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford in Lincolnshire', *Archaeologia*, 50:2 (1887), 383–406, pl. xxiii–xxv; for the Roman coins, see White, loc. cit. in note 31.
- <sup>119</sup> Roth, op. cit. in note 111; J. Werner, 'Germanische Schmuckbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Südwestdeutschland', *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 69 (1934), 189–95.
- <sup>120</sup> D. Ellmers, 'Eine byzantinische Mariendarstellung als Vorbild für Goldbrakteaten', *Jahrbuch RGZM*, 18 (1971), 233–37; R. Christlein, 'Der soziologische Hintergrund der Goldblattkreuze nördlich der Alpen', in W. Hübenner (ed.), *Die Goldblattkreuze des frühen Mittelalters* (Bühl/Baden, 1975), 73–83, Taf. xxiv:2, xxvi–xxvii.
- <sup>121</sup> Compton Verney: Brown and Schweizer, op. cit. in note 53, 179; Bacton, Forsbrook and Wilton Cross: R. F. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery* (London, 1974), 52, pl. ii:1–3.
- <sup>122</sup> M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 257–64.
- <sup>123</sup> For a general reference to composite pendants, see Hines, op. cit. in note 50, 233–35 and 238. For Kentish Style II bracteates, see G. Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its German Background* (Oxford, 1980), 66–76, pl. xiii:a–p.
- <sup>124</sup> Graves no. 1, 29 and 134: Evison, op. cit. in note 41, 51–55. The bracteate in Dover Buckland grave 1 is wrongly referred to as a D-bracteate in Axboe, op. cit. in note 7, 76 (Mackeprang no. 314c); Evison, id., 53, note 21. Scutiform pendants in graves nos. 32, 35 and 38: Id., 55–56.
- <sup>125</sup> Bracteates in graves 235 and 253: Hawkes *et al.*, op. cit. in note 36, 109–10. Scutiform pendant in grave 59: B. Fausset, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, ed. C. Roach (1856), 35–94, p. 53; grave 110: Id., 60; grave 156: Id., 70–71; grave 205: Hawkes *et al.*, id., 109. Composite pendant in grave 96: Fausset, id., 57–58 (fig. 11).
- <sup>126</sup> Wrotham: BM. M&LA 1927, 5–12, 1; Gilton Ash grave 27: Hawkes *et al.*, op. cit. in note 37, 107–09; Chartham Down Barrow E: E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1936), 112, pl. xxix. For the finds from Sibertswold down graves nos. 18, 86, 93, 94 and 124, see Fausset, op. cit. in note 125, 101–34.
- <sup>127</sup> Sibertswold Down grave 172: Hawkes *et al.*, op. cit. in note 36, 111–12, fig. 3. For the coins, see Blackburn and Pagan, op. cit. in note 33, 292, no. 8.
- <sup>128</sup> Bracteates: Speake, op. cit. in note 123, pl. xiii:g and l; Brown and Schweizer, op. cit. in note 53, 178–79. Scutiform pendants: Hines, op. cit. in note 50, 337–38. Composite pendants: Hines, loc. cit. in note 123; two further pendants, formerly in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, a collection now transferred to Salisbury Museum, are recorded at the British Museum.
- <sup>129</sup> Canterbury: Brown and Schweizer, op. cit. in note 53, 177; Chartham Down: Leeds, loc. cit. in note 126; Dover Buckland graves 1, 29 and 134: Evison, loc. cit. in note 124; Faversham (two stray finds): Speake, loc. cit. in note 123; Kingston Down graves 235 and 253: Hawkes *et al.*, loc. cit. in note 125; Kingston (stray find): Speake, id.; Gilton Ash: id.; Sittingbourne: id.; Westbere grave 22: R. F. Jessup, 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Westbere, Kent', *Antiq. J.*, 26 (1946), 11–21, pl. ii; Wingham grave 8: Lord A. Conyngham, 'Account of the opening of some Anglo-Saxon graves at Wingham, in Kent', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1884), 550–51. E. Kent (two stray finds): Speake, id.; Camerton grave 5 (Somerset): Leeds, op. cit. in note 126, 111–12, pl. xxxi; Preshaw (Hampshire): T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes, 'Jutish jewellery from Preshaw, Hants.', *Antiq. J.*, 17 (1937), 322–24.
- <sup>130</sup> Barton-on-Humber: T. Capelle and H. Vierck, 'Modell der Merowinger- und Wikingerzeit', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 5 (1971), 42–100, pp. 71–73; fig. 12. Langham: submitted object at the British Museum.
- <sup>131</sup> Horton Kirby: A. Cumberland, 'Riseley Saxon cemetery', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 52 (1940), 142. Shrewton: D. M. Wilson, 'Medieval Britain, 1968', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 13 (1969), 230–87, p. 241.
- <sup>132</sup> K. R. Fennell, 'The Loveden Man', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 3 (1969), 211–15, fig. 1b. Unprovenanced die: BM.1981.1–1.1.
- <sup>133</sup> M. Axboe and K. Hauck, 'Hohenmemmingen-B, ein Schlüsselstück der Brakteatenikonographie', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 19 (1985), 98–130, pp. 109–18, Abb. 7–9.
- <sup>134</sup> Jessup, loc. cit. in note 129, Evison, op. cit. in note 41, 53.

- <sup>135</sup> Kingston Down: Speake, op. cit. in note 123, fig. xiii:m-n. Faversham: Id., fig. xiii:1.
- <sup>136</sup> J. Nicholson, 'Feminae gloriosae: women in the age of Bede', in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women* (Oxford, 1978), 15-19.
- <sup>137</sup> H. Vierck, 'Imitatio imperii und interpretatio Germanica vor der Wikingerzeit', in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance* (Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Figura Nova Ser. 19, 1981), 64-113.
- <sup>138</sup> R. Mazo Karras, 'Seventh-century jewellery from Frisia: a re-examination', in S. C. Hawkes et al. (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 4 (Oxford, 1985), 159-77.
- <sup>139</sup> For late depositions of coins in graves, see Rigold, op. cit. in note 43.
- <sup>140</sup> C. A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London, 1982), 22-23.
- <sup>141</sup> D. M. Metcalf, 'The availability and uses of gold coinage in England, c. 580-c. 670: Kentish primacy reconsidered', *Numismatiska Meddelanden*, 37 (1989), 267-74.
- <sup>142</sup> T. K. Earle and E. M. Brumfiel, 'Specialization, exchange and complex societies: an introduction', in T. K. Earle and E. M. Brumfiel (eds.), *Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), 1-9.
- <sup>143</sup> Cf. Smith, op. cit. in note 3.
- <sup>144</sup> Thurborg, op. cit. in note 2, 316-17. Cf. B. Hårdh, *Wikingerzeitliche Depotfunden aus Südschweden. Katalog und Tafeln* (Varberg, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 4<sup>o</sup> No. 9, 1976).
- <sup>145</sup> Grágás, loc. cit. in note 89, stating that each ring should be followed by a certain weight in 'ringdaekke' and 'hvid', the meaning of which is unknown.
- <sup>146</sup> Gaimster, op. cit. in note 2, 117-18, fig. 3.
- <sup>147</sup> Grierson and Blackburn, op. cit. in note 33, 14-15.
- <sup>148</sup> Whitelock, op. cit. in note 47.
- <sup>149</sup> S. E. Rigold, 'The two primary series of sceattas', *British Numismatic J.*, 30:1 (1960), 6-53, pp. 27-28.
- <sup>150</sup> P. Grierson, 'The purpose of the Sutton Hoo coins', *Antiquity*, 44 (1970), 14-18.
- <sup>151</sup> D. M. Metcalf, 'Monetary expansion and recession. Interpreting the distribution patterns of 7th and 8th century coins', in Casey and Reece (eds.), op. cit. in note 17, 206-23.
- <sup>152</sup> For a discussion of different functions and spheres of circulation within the sceatta coinages, see J. Callmer, *Sceatta Problems in the Light of the Finds from Åhus* (Lund, Scripta Minora. Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. 1983-1984. 2, 1984), 30-43.
- <sup>153</sup> D. A. Hinton, 'Coins and commercial centres in Anglo-Saxon England', in Blackburn (ed.), op. cit. in note 33, 11-26.
- <sup>154</sup> G. Duby, *Guerriers et paysans VII-XII siècle. Premier essor de l'économie européenne* (Paris, 1973), 60-69.
- <sup>155</sup> M. Alexander (transl.), *Beowulf* (London, 1973).
- <sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.
- <sup>157</sup> N. P. Brooks, 'Arms, status and warfare in Late-Saxon England', in D. Hill (ed.), *Ethelred the Unready* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 59, 1978), 81-104, p. 86.