

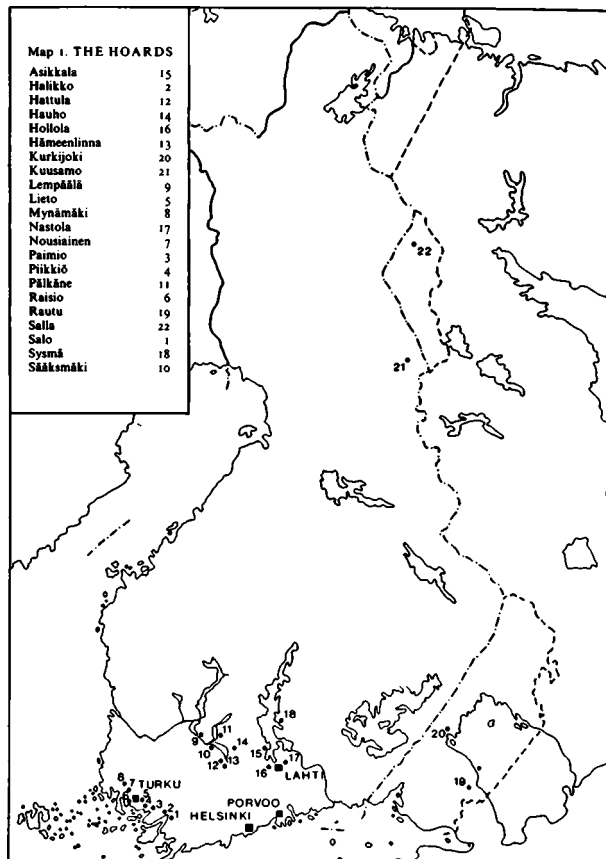
The Long Cross type of Æthelred II in Finnish finds

Some comments on Ian Stewart's paper
'How did Anglo-Saxon coins reach Finland?'

By Tuukka Talvio

No other numismatic material from Finnish finds has been as thoroughly studied as the Anglo-Saxon coins. In the 1890s Otto Alcenius, a retired school-master with wide scholarly interests, laid plans for the publication of Finland's Viking-Age coin finds, commencing with a volume on their Anglo-Saxon element. When he died in 1913, his *Anglosachsiska mynt funna i Finland* was with the printer. Unfortunately the manuscript was not completed, and the printing was discontinued, but in 1921 there appeared a similar work by another author, Carl Axel Nordman's *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland*. In 1978 the same material was published anew, with additions, as volume 25 of *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (1).

Compared with Nordman's *Anglo-Saxon Coins* the new publication has the obvious advantage that all coins are photographically illustrated. With the appearance, since 1958, of more than thirty volumes of the British *Sylloge*, die-studies have acquired an increasingly central position in Anglo-Saxon numismatics. It did not take long before the Finnish material, too, was subjected to a new kind of scrutiny, the result of which was Ian Stewart's paper 'How did Anglo-Saxon coins reach Finland?' in *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands* (ed. by M. A. S. Blackburn and D. M. Metcalf, BAR International Series 122, Oxford 1981, 491-4). Stewart drew attention to the remarkable number of die-links in the Finnish find



Finnish hoards with Anglo-Saxon coins (from *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, vol. 25).



Fig. 1. Die-linking in the Finnish find material: four Long Cross coins of the London moneyer Eadwold from four different hoards. The linkages are indicated. SCBI Helsinki 252-5 ($\times 1\frac{1}{2}$).

Table 1. Die-linkages among Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland.

Type	Number of identifiable coins	Die-linked coins	%
Earlier than Æthelred II	2	—	—
Æthelred II, early types	17	—	—
Crux	133	4	3
Long Cross	219	91	42
Helmet	60	17	28
Last Small Cross	156	16	10
Cnut, Quatrefoil	160	14	9
Pointed Helmet	99	14	14
Short Cross	34	2	6
Later than Cnut	39	—	—

material, and said of them that the ‘only natural explanation..., at least in the Long Cross type, is that much of the coin came directly (or if indirectly, intact) from England and was drawn from a source in which groups of coins from the London and other mints had not yet become absorbed into the rest of the currency’.

A commentary on Stewart’s paper was published already in the same volume by its editors, Blackburn and Metcalf, who after a lengthy discussion came to the conclusion that although the ‘proportions of other types among the Finnish finds indicate that the great majority of the Long Cross coins almost certainly arrived in typical mixed parcels from Scandinavia’, it is nevertheless ‘tempting to suggest that the Finnish Long Cross currency may have been supplemented by one or more direct shipments from south-east England’. However, they add that the die-linking in Long Cross type is ‘heavier than we could expect even with the addition of such shipments, suggesting that the

Sylloge sample may not be wholly representative of the currency in Finland' (2).

The Long Cross type (Fig. 1) is the most common among Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland, but it does not by any means dominate the material, as can be seen from Table 1 which coincides (with immaterial amendments) with the corresponding table in Stewart's paper. When it comes to the die-links, the Long Cross type does, however, lead the statistics in a very marked way: no less than 42 per cent of the coins are non-singletons. In the less common Helmet type the figure is 28, while in all other types it is under 15 and in Crux as low as 3. These differences to indeed compel one to take seriously the theories quoted above. It is the purpose of this paper to comment on them from the point of view of a Finnish student of the Viking-Age finds.

Table 2. Finnish hoards with Anglo-Saxon pennies.

Find place	T.p.q.	Known Anglo-Saxon		Long Cross	
		coins	%		%
Piikkiö	c. 1000	54	13	24	—
Sysmä (1870)	1006	98	15	15	—
Asikkala	1014	137	18	13	17
Nastola	1024	56	24	43	5
Hattula (1950)	1024	175	85	49	34
Hattula (1906)	1036	126	16	13	2
Nousiainen	1036	1476	273	19	64
Raisio	1030/40?	c. 600	c. 300	50	c. 60
Hollola	c. 1050	161	9	6	—
Kuusamo	1054	407	3	1	—
Lieto	1060	872	51	6	9
Rautu	1068	482	5	1	—
Hämeenlinna	1088	65	12	18	4
Salla	1110	174	9?	5?	—

To begin with, a fresh check was made of the die-links within the material. It resulted in the finding of one more die-identity among the Long Cross coins (3).

A survey of the distribution of the linked Long Cross coins between the various finds has already been made by Stewart (4). It would naturally have been of great interest to detect in it some geographical or chronological pattern, but none is evident, the linked coins being more or less evenly spread among the finds. Seen as a whole (Table 2), the hoards nevertheless show certain significant features which in the case of one of them (Hattula 1950) seem to bring us near the heart of the matter.

Anglo-Saxon coins first appear in Finnish finds around the millennium, and they become rare after the time of Cnut. Their relatively high proportion in the Hämeenlinna hoard, deposited after 1088, can be explained by the fact that the hoard consisted mainly of relatively old coins which had been used as jewellery (5). The very small proportion of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Rautu hoard from Karelia, on the other hand, is probably due to local circumstances: in Karelia the coin stock apparently consisted mainly of recent imports, and after the middle of the century these were predominantly formed of German coins. The Kuusamo and Salla hoards from North Finland may also reflect imports through Karelia:

On the whole the differences between the hoards are quite considerable, as can be seen by comparing finds which have the same *terminus post quem*. This must be due to a limited circulation, which prevented the coin stock from becoming homogenous.

All the genuine (6) Long Cross coins belong to hoards which are later than 1014, and some 90 per cent of them come from hoards deposited between



Fig. 2. Two coins from the 1950 Hattula hoard, one unpecked and the other with five pecks on the obverse and one on the reverse. SCBI Helsinki 358, 391 1:1, and enlarged.

that date and the middle of the century. Two relatively late finds account for nearly two thirds of them. These are the hoards of Nousiainen and Raisio, the find-spots of which are only some 15 kilometres from each other on Finland's south-western coast. The Raisio hoard unfortunately cannot be exactly dated, having been found 150 years ago and not kept separate (7), but it may well have been more or less contemporaneous with the Nousiainen hoard, which has a *terminus post quem* 1036.

The third largest find where Long Cross coins are concerned is the 1950 Hattula hoard from the inland province of Tavastia. It has the same *terminus post quem*, 1024, as another Tavastian hoard, Nastola, and the Anglo-Saxon elements are of nearly equal size. In Hattula, however, the proportion of Long Cross coins is considerably higher; it is in fact the highest of all the Finnish hoards. What makes the Long Cross coins of Hattula particularly interesting is that they appear to have been partly drawn from some other source than the rest of the coins. This is indicated by their pecks, or rather the lack of them.

Although it has long been noted that pecks (see Fig. 2) are typical for coins found in Scandinavia, Brita Malmer was the first to study them systematically (8). No such studies have yet been carried out in Finland, but a preliminary check through the *Sylloge* material shows that pecks are very common in the early types of Æthelred II and less common in the later Anglo-Saxon types. The situation is similar in Sweden (9). In Finland practically all Crux coins are pecked, and although there are fewer pecks in later coins, wholly unpecked coins are still very rare in Last Small Cross. In the Long Cross and Helmet types, however, unpecked coins amount to approximately ten per cent. We don't know to what extent pecking may have

been practised in Finland, but inasmuch as the high degree of die-linking found in these two types can be seen as evidence of more or less direct imports from England it is significant that unpecked coins are more common in them than in the Crux and Last Small Cross types.

A summary of the pecks found on the 85 Anglo-Saxon coins from Hattula is given in Table 3. It shows that whereas all the other coins (except the single Pointed Helmet penny) are pecked, 18 of the 34 Long Cross Coins are wholly unpecked (10).

Thus there was available as late as the 1020s in the woodlands of Tavastia a parcel of Long Cross coins which had survived in nearly mint-state. It is the suggestion of this paper that we here have a glimpse of a shipment of Long Cross coins which may, as Stewart says, have reached Finland 'directly (or if indirectly, intact)'.

As regards the ways in which such shipments were transported it must be stated that there is no evidence, either historical or archaeological, of direct contacts between Finland and England during the Viking Age. Coins could, however, travel long distances in unmixed parcels, and for this we do have evidence from a find made at Bertby in Saltvik parish on

Table 3. Numbers of pecks on 85 Anglo-Saxon coins from the 1950 Hattula hoard.

Type	0 pecks	1-5 pecks	6-10 pecks	10-15 pecks
Hand – Crux	–	22	13	2
Long Cross	18	15	1	–
Helmet	–	4	1	1
Last Small Cross	–	3	3	1
Pointed Helmet	1	–	–	–

Åland. Here in 1876 an oriental bronze vessel in the form of a bottle was found, containing nearly 900 dirhams from the eighth and ninth centuries, including long runs of die-duplicates (11). The assumption that the vessel and its contents had been brought from the east together seems thoroughly plausible. Less striking but also relevant for our subject is the case of the Piikkiö hoard from the south-western coast of the Finnish mainland. Eleven Anglo-Saxon coins, belonging to the Hand and Crux types, were acquired from this find by the Turku and Helsinki museums, and they are all from the mints of south-east England (12). There is no reason why similar consignments could not have reached Finland at other times as well.

Notes

1. T. Talvio, *The National Museum, Helsinki, and Other Public Collections in Finland: Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Hiberno-Norse coins*, SCBI 25, London 1978.
2. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. M. Metcalf, 'Five-finger exercises on the List hoard', *Viking-Age Coinage*, pp. 495-522, at pp. 517-19.
3. *Sylloge*, nos. 169-70.
4. Stewart, *loc.cit.*, p. 494.
5. For information on individual finds see *Sylloge*, pp. xxvi-xxxv.
6. The Piikkiö hoard (*t.p.q.* c. 1000) includes two imitations of the Long Cross type. See note 12 below.
7. *Sylloge*, pp. xviii-xxi, xxxi.
8. See B. Malmer 'Methodological problems in editing and evaluating the Swedish Viking-Age coin hoards', *Viking-Age Coinage*, pp. 391-403, at pp. 397-400.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
10. *Sylloge*, nos. 163, 170, 179, 190, 201, 220, 228, 233, 238, 253, 257, 305, 306, 317, 349, 356, 358, 374. As regards die-linking and the geographical spread of the mints there is no significant difference between pecked and unpecked coins, and both groups have the same median weight, 1.52 g.
11. See B. Granberg, *Förteckning över kufiska myntfynd i Finland*, Helsinki 1966, pp. 50-122. The die-links will be commented on in a forthcoming paper by T. Talvio.
12. *Sylloge*, p. xxx, nos. 10, 13-16, 36, 38, 41, 59, 118, 140. The mints are Hertford, Ipswich, London, Lymne, Southwark, Thetford, and Winchester. See M. Dolley and T. Talvio, 'A note on the earliest Finnish coin hoard with Anglo-Saxon pennies', *Suomen Museo* 1973, pp. 25-8.