On the Moneyers' Names **Buga** and **Boia** on Anglo-Saxon Coins¹

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1. Introduction

It has long been recognised and commented upon, that a significant number of the moneyers of the tenth century coinage in England bear names which are neither Old English, nor Scandinavian, but originated on the mainland continent of Europe.

Thus Veronica Smart introduces one of her studies of non-English names in Anglo-Saxon England. She discusses the name "**Boigalet**", from two coins produced at Chester for Æthelstan (924-39), appropriately concluding that "Frankish influence is evident" in the suffix **let**. Nevertheless, the name "Boiga [...] is considered to be O[ld] E[nglish], but the name with the suffix is not otherwise found".²

The possibility of personal names with a Continental Germanic suffix added to an Old English theme is suggested by Forssner: "Although -in and -(e)lin are [...] mostly of continental origin, the names in which they occur are not always imported, since the suffixes in question may have been added also to native name-stems". Whether this was likely for English names of tenth-century moneyers is implicitly thrown into doubt

¹ The following conventions are followed. Old English common words are cited in italics, and names in bold. Angled brackets (< >) enclose spelling forms. Spelling forms from coins are given in capitals. Forward slashes (/ /) enclose phonological reconstructions claimed to be contrastive. Square brackets ([]) enclose phonological reconstructions without claim to contrastive status. John Anderson, Michael Benskin, Veronica Smart, and E. G. Stanley have wrestled with my earlier attempts to address the **Buga** problem. My thanks to them, and to the anonymous reviewer for *Nomina* for the invaluable suggestion of a Table of forms, mints, and reigns (Appendix IV, based on the information compiled for that end, in Appendices I–III).

pendix IV, based on the information compiled for that end, in Appendices I–III). ² V. Smart, 'Economic migrants? Continental moneyers' names on the tenth-century English coinage', *Nomina* 32 (2009), 113–56 (pp. 114 and 132–3).

³ T. Forssner, Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times (Uppsala, 1916), p. 279.

by Smart: "unlike Cnut's thegns or William's Normans, these bearers are not to our knowledge a political elite, and I believe that there would have been little incentive for English families to adopt these names". Native English people, with no incentive to adopt whole names of continental origin, may have had even less to form a hybrid from an English name and a continental suffix.

What follows argues that the coin-form <BOIGA> (with its variants: section 4 below) represents a Continental Germanic name **Boia**, and that the name cited by Smart as "**Boigalet**" is continental in its entirety. It is further argued that **Boia** is distinct from the English moneyer's name **Buga**.

2. On the name-forms at issue

Smart's 1981 *Index* subsumes under a name given the head-forms "**Boga**, **Boia**" the following forms (not given here in the order in Smart's *Index*): <BVGA>, <BOGA>, <BOIGA>, <BOIGA>, <BOIGA>, <BOIGEA>, <BOGEA>, <BOGEA>, <BOIGEA>, Smart's 1992 *Index* cites the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66). Smart's 1992 *Index* cites the same forms under the single head-form "**Boga**", so implying that all the forms represent variant spellings of the same name. I argue that all of the above forms except <BVGA> represent the same name on coins after the reign of Edward the Elder. The form <BVGA>, although noted in manuscript sources such as charters for other reigns (section 3 below), appears on the coins only in the reigns of Alfred (871–99) and Edward the Elder (899–924). The form

⁴ Smart, 'Economic migrants? Continental moneyers' names on the tenth-century English coinage', p. 115.

⁵ V. Smart, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Cumulative Index of volumes 1–20* (London, 1981) (hereafter Smart, *Index 1–20*), p. 20.

As noted in Forssner, Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times, p. 51 and E. J. Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of Boy', Medium Aevum 9 (1940), 121–54 (p. 148); see also F. Colman, Money Talks: Reconstructing Old English (Berlin, 1992), p. 85 and F. Colman, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. Part V: Anglo-Saxon coins: Edward the Confessor and Harold II, 1042–1066 (London, 2007), p. 168.

⁷ V. Smart, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Cumulative Index of volumes 21–40* (London, 1992) [hereafter Smart, *Index 21–40*], pp. 46–7.

<BOGA> also appears for Alfred and Edward the Elder. These instances of <BOGA> are to be grouped with <BVGA>, as a variant of the same name.

The argument may be summarized thus. An Old English name **Buga**, spelled <BVGA>, could also be represented by the spelling <BOGA>. A moneyer by this name minted in the names of the two kings just cited. A Continental Germanic name **Boia** could be represented by all of the forms cited above, including <BOGA>, but not by the form <BVGA>. A moneyer, or moneyers, of this name minted coins in the reigns following those of Alfred and Edward the Elder.

The coins cited in section 3 below are mainly those whose moneyer's name-forms are verifiable from photographs in the *Sylloge of Coins in the British Isles* series. These also happen to exhaust the list in EMC of entries of "BVGA, BUGA" for Alfred and Edward the Elder. I have not seen the BMC coins cited. The Appendices provide information on the range of moneyers' name-forms for mint and reign, from Alfred to Edward the Confessor, extrapolated from secondary sources (especially for non-mint-signed coins), and checked where possible against verified readings of the coin-spellings. The notes to Appendix II intimate the frequent tenuity of extrapolations from editorial normalisations of coinspellings, especially when a name-form is given with no citation of coinreference (see, e.g., Appendix II, note 3). Since different editors have different aims, a researcher into Old-English spelling-forms with a view to linguistic analysis presents edited forms in the spirit of seeking correction, where original spellings are not available.

3. On the Old English name Buga

The forms <BVGA> and the epigraphic variant <BYGA> appear for Alfred (WC.385, B.156, NM.863, 864, 865, Herm.196, H.563, A.252, 253), ond <BVGA>/<BYGA> for Edward the Elder (A.313, Am.326,

⁸ EMC = Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds and Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles databases (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) http://www.fitzmuseum.cam. ac.uk /coins/emc/>.

⁹ BMC = C. F. Keary and H. A. Grueber, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series*, 2 vols (London, 1887-1893).

¹⁰ WC = A. J. H. Gunstone, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins in West Country Museums (London, 1977); B =

Mack.759, BMCII: 89 no. 24; 98 no.100). 11 Most of these forms are on reverses from different dies, and therefore represent repeated spellingforms. The forms <BOGA> and <BOFA> (with <F> a slip for <G>) each appears once for Alfred (BMCII: 61 no. 215, 216), on coins of the same Two-Line Horizontal type as the four instances of <BVGA> in BMCII: 62. Keary and Grueber equate the form <BOGA> with **Buga**. 12

At this point we can hope to dispose of the form on the reverse of H.588 for Edward the Elder, transcribed in the *Sylloge* as "BOIGA", and the source of Smart's citation of "Boiga" as a non-continental name on a north-west Midlands coin.¹³ Such a form looks as if it should be grouped with the various representations of the name **Boia** (section 2 above, section 4 below). From a comparison of the design of the reverse of this coin with others of the same type, however, it appears that what is read as <I>, is better interpreted as part of the design of the coin: a vertical stroke linking two decorative features, above and below the name-form.

Bernd Kluge, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: State Museum Berlin Coin Cabinet: Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Hiberno-Norse Coins (London, 1987); NM = J. Booth, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Northern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coins to 1279 (London, 1997); Herm = V. M. Potin, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburgh (London, 1999); H = A. S. Robertson, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Hunterian and Coates Collections, University of Glasgow 1. Anglo-Saxon Coins (London, 1961); A = J. D. A. Thompson, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Anglo-Saxon Pennies (London, 1967).

¹¹ Am = J. D. Brady, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins in American Collections (London, 1982); Mack = R. P. Mack, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: R. P. Mack Collection: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins (London, 1973).

¹² Keary and Grueber, A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, p. 61.

13 Smart, 'Economic migrants? Continental moneyers' names on the tenth-century English coinage', p. 118. Four specimens of the type, including Robertson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 558, are cited in C. E. Blunt, B. H. I. H. Stewart, C. S. S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England: from Edward the Elder to Edgar's Reform* (Oxford, 1989) [hereafter BSL], p. 76, no. 330. The reverse type is described as "Name in one line, divided by or separating botanical designs". A "*Boiga" is also cited in BSL, p. 62, no. 116. The reverse type is "HT 1 or HT 1E" (Horizontal, two-line), the chronology is "Unknown", and the asterisk indicates that the name is known only from a single specimen. The coin is "Vatican 171". Obviously, verification of the coin and the spelling of the moneyer's name would be welcome.

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That the sequence of graphs representing the name is split by the design of the coin may be ascertained by comparison with, for instance, the reverses of H.585, 586, with the name **Brece** appearing as <BRE | CE>. 14 Edward the Elder's "<BOIGA>" is <BOGA>, to be analyzed in the same way as Alfred's <BOGA>.

Redin cites **Buga** as an Old English name, with the same stem as Old German (OG) **Bugo**, Old Norse (ON) **Bogi**, Old High German (OHG) and Old Saxon (OS) **Bogo**, given by Förstemann as "BUG", with the stressed vowel a reflex of Proto-Germanic (PG) /u/ (compare von Feilitzen's citation of a byname "O[ld] Dan[ish] **Buggi**, O[ld] Sw[edish] **Bugge**" for the *Domesday Book* forms <Bugo>, <Buge>, while acknowledging the possibility of an Old English name). ¹⁵ The name **Buga** is also attested as that of a minister witnessing grants of land by Edward the Elder and Æthelstan (924–39), and appears in the ninth- and early tenth-century charters cited by Searle 1897. ¹⁶ The etymon of the name is reflected in Old English (OE) (masculine) *boga* 'bow, arch'. ¹⁷ The stressed vowel spelled <o> in the noun base *boga* is the short mid vowel /o/. That spelled <u> in the name in two attested instances on the coins, cited above, is spelled <O>, representing /o/. This variation is accounted for as follows.

The vowel system as reconstructed for Proto-Germanic did not include a short mid back vowel (that is, the vowel spelled <o> in the roman

¹⁴ H = Robertson, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles.

¹⁵ M. A. Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English (Uppsala, 1919), p. 74; E. W. Förstemann, Aldeutsches Namenbuch 1: Personennamen (Bonn, 1900); repr. (München, 1966), p. 343; O. von Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (Nomina Germanica 3, Uppsala, 1937), pp. 210-1; see also G. Knudsen and M. Kristensen (eds.), Danmarksgamle Personnavne, I: Fornavne (Copenhagen, 1936–48), p. 171.

¹⁶ S. Miller (ed.), *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester* [= Anglo-Saxon Charters IX] (Oxford, 2001), nos. 7, 8, 10; W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897).

¹⁷ H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Text Society, original series 83 (London, 1885), p. 582; J. Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), Toller, *Supplement* (Oxford, 1921), A. Campbell, *Addenda and Corrigenda* (Oxford, 1972), p. 115; von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 205 fn.1; D. Parsons and T. Styles, with C. Hough, *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Á–BOX)* (Nottingham, 1997), p. 121.

spelling systems subsequently adopted by Old English and other Germanic scribes). The stressed vowel in the noun *boga* reflects the usual Proto-Germanic lowering of the short high back vowel /u/, to the short mid vowel [o] as a predictable articulation before mid and low vowels in a following unstressed syllable, in this instance /a/. To illustrate from attested Old English spelling forms of common words, the vowel in <dust> dust 'dust' remained high /u/, but in <spora> spora 'spur' it lowered to mid [o] under the influence of the second (low) vowel.

This change, often referred to as 'a-mutation', operated regularly in most West Germanic languages, as in OHG foll 'full', fogal 'bird', boch 'buck', wolf 'wulf', OE dohtor 'daughter' (the second, unstressed, vowel in the last-cited form is from a different source), god 'god', gold 'gold', with, in certain instances, as illustrated here, subsequent loss of the final unaccented vowel which originally triggered the lowering. This loss of the second vowel that triggered the change, allowed both [u] and [o] in the same context: [o] had become contrastive, and, as to be expected, had its independent representation as <o> rather than<u> , representing /o/ and /u/ respectively.

The many Old English exceptions to the lowering, e.g., OE *full, fugol, bucca, wulf*, compared with the Old High German equivalents cited above, show again the high vowel /u/ in the same context as /o/: both vowels occurred with or without the context which triggered the original lowering. To these exceptions is added the name **Buga**, typically spelled <Buga> / <BUGA>. The lowering has not occurred in the name, although it has in its noun base, OE *boga*. Yet <O> in the name-form <BOGA> on coins of Alfred and Edward the Elder, interpreted as a variant form of **Buga**, represents the lowered /o/. Alternation between /u/ and /o/ in the same name is analogous with the alternations discussed by Redin for the names cited therein as "**Oba**, **Ofa**, **Oua**":

This name [...] seems to be originally identical with *Uba* (*Ufa*, *Uua*) [...], and the whole group is probably to be derived from a

¹⁸ See further e.g., A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §99; R. M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English* (Oxford, 1992), §3.2.

¹⁹ Details of the change are given by, e.g., Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §115; Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English*, §3.10.

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base ub-, which occurs in OHG uppi 'maleficus', Goth[ic] ubils 'evil' $[\dots]^{20}$

Redin remarks that the "interchange between U- $\sim O$ - is due to a-mutation and levelling out in different directions", and in a footnote implies that this has to do with dialectal variation in the occurrence of the lowering.

But in the case of <BVGA> and <BOGA> we seem to be dealing with the same man, and therefore, on the face of it, the same dialect. I say 'on the face of it', given the uncertainty about how a moneyer's name was transmitted to the die-cutter, if the two functions were not performed by the same person. Given the participation of continental craftsmen in coin-production of the period (section 5 below), it is possible to imagine that a moneyer **Buga** had his name cut on a die in a form (<BOGA>) familiar to a Continental Germanic die-cutter (OHG, OS **Bogo**, cited above), but a die-cutter who nevertheless replaced the continental final <O> with the OE <A> of the final (inflectional) vowel. This, however, is speculation.

It is, anyway, unnecessary to invoke dialect distinctions to account for this variation between <V> and <O> in the coin-spellings for Alfred and Edward the Elder. Campbell cites variant forms of three common words, each attested in Old English manuscripts with both <o> and <u>: "cnocian knock, spora spur, spornan spurn, beside cnucian, spura, spurnan".²² From the appearance of spora in the Épinal, Erfert, and Corpus Glossaries,²³ it could be inferred that the form with the lowered vowel (spelled <o>) represents a regional dialect variant, either within England, or

²⁰ Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, pp. 101–2; see also M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 245.

²¹ See, for instance, P. Grierson and M. A. S. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum.* I. *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 276.

²² Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §115.

²³ Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary, edited by J. D. Pheifer (Oxford, 1974); repr. (Brighton, 1998), p. 13, line 226.

one imported from the continent. But *cnocian* and *cnucian* are virtually adjacent in the same manuscript of recipes in the Toronto Corpus.²⁴

The variation may have to do with the marginal nature of the contrast between the short vowels represented by $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle o \rangle$. Despite the sort of evidence cited above for assigning contrastive status to the two vowels, the alternation between short $\langle u \rangle$ and $\langle o \rangle$ does not have a heavy lexical-semantic load. The common-word forms *cnocian* and *cnucian* (above), illustrate that variation in the spelling, and pronunciation, was tolerable. The availability of distinct graphs to represent these marginally contrastive vowels is reinforced by the nature of the Old English orthographic and phonological systems. For $\langle o \rangle$ was available the graph $\langle o \rangle$ in use for its contrastive long congener: long mid back $\langle o \rangle$, a reflex of Proto-Germanic $\langle o \rangle$ (as in, e.g., $\langle god \rangle$ god 'good', $\langle fot \rangle$ fot 'foot').

If variation between [u] and [o], marginally /u/ and /o/, was tolerable for at least some common words, it is more so for personal names. The marginal contrast between the two vowels makes it possible for someone to address the same man as either **Buga** or **Boga**, as **Folcnoth** or **Fulc-noth**, or as **Duding** or **Doding**, without failure of identification of the person. As illustrated here, the <BVGA>, <BOGA> forms are not the only representations of Old English personal names which suggest alternation between the high reflex of Proto-Germanic /u/ and its original variant [o]. The same alternation is witnessed by, for instance, the forms <FOLCNOD> (NM.276, 277, MC.34), and <FVLCNOD> (NM.275)²⁵ on coins of Eanred of Northumbria, 808–40/1, representing the name **Folcnoth**, whose first element is cognate with OE *folc* 'people', with Proto-Germanic /u/.

The name **Duding** on coins of Edward the Confessor (1042–66) has been previously discussed in a similar connection. The name appears as <DVDINC>, <DODINC>. The sequence <INC> represents the suffix **ing**. The etymological source of the vowel of the first element is PG /u/,

²⁴ Toronto Corpus = R. L. Venezky and A. di Paolo Healy, *A Microfiche concordance to Old English* (Newark and Toronto, 1980).

²⁵ NM = Booth, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles; MC = M. Warhurst, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Merseyside County Museums: Ancient British Issues and late Coins from English, Irish and Scottish Mints to 1279 and associated Foreign Coins (London, 1982)..

which appears in <DODINC> as lowered /o/. Here, however, the suffix contains not a mid or low vowel, but high front /i/. Not only was this /i/ not a context for the lowering of /u/, it provided a context for pre-Old English i-mutation, one of whose effects was the fronting of the high back rounded vowel /u/, to high front rounded [y], ultimately /y/, spelled <Y>, <y> (as in, e.g., OE *yfel* 'evil'). ²⁷ Colman previously suggested that the forms <DVD> and <DOD> represent what had come to be regarded as independent name-elements (**Dud** and **Dod** respectively). The former "must have originally been influenced by combination with a second element containing a high vowel (as in e.g. Duding)"; the latter "by a second element without a high vowel". 28 The /i/-containing suffix could have been attached to the elements **Dud** and **Dod** after the period of operation of the relevant sound-changes, therefore having no effect on the vowel of the first element: the /u/ of **Dud** is unaffected by *i*-umlaut; the /o/ of **Dod** had already resulted from Proto-Germani lowering of /u/ before mid and low vowels (i.e., non-high vowels).

In terms of name-formation and of phonology, this account is not implausible. There are many instances of failure of a particular sound-change, or apparently irregular operation of a sound-change in common words, because the suffix which should trigger it was presumably added to a base after the period of operation of that sound-change. It need not upset us that <DVD> is unaffected by the /i/ of the suffix, or that <DOD> appears outwith the context for the Proto-Germanic lowering. But the forms <DVDINC> and <DODINC> cited above for Edward the Confessor occur for the same mint (London), and in the same type (type 1). We are surely dealing with the same man, and therefore with the same first element of his name, rather than, as previously suggested by Colman, two independent name-elements. The variation between <V> and <O>, presumably signaling variation between short /u/ and short /o/,

²⁶ Colman, Money Talks, p. 90.

²⁷ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §199; see section 4 below.

²⁸ F. Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon pennies and Old English phonology', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 5 (1984), 91–143 (pp. 135–6).

²⁹ K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik, nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers*, 3rd edn (Tübingen, 1965), §95 Anm.5; also Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §§204.6, 204.7.

³⁰ Colman, *Money Talks*, p. 288. For the types, see Smart, *Index 1–20*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; Colman, *Money Talks*, pp. 127–8.

is identical to that in <BVGA> and <BOGA>, and <FOLCNOD> and <FVLCNOD>.

Diminution of contrast between vowels in personal name-forms has been observed not only with the vowels under discussion here. Discussing name-forms on late Anglo-Saxon coins, Colman remarks on spellings which may be interpreted as representing chronological or regional dialectal differences, but observes for a number of name-elements a range of variation greater than that attested for their base common words: a range, moreover, not always directly explicable in terms of diachronic or diatopic phonological variation. The spellings <V>, <I> and <E>, for instance, appear alongside the expected spelling for the original long diphthong: <EO>, or Kentish <IO>, for the vowel in commonly recurring first elements such as Leof leof 'beloved' and Deor deor 'brave' or deore 'beloved'. 31 While the <I> forms may reflect in some instances developments characteristic of the South West and West Midlands, and of Kent, 32 the coin-data do not invite any particular diatopic correlation of spelling and region. "Sets of variants of single name-elements occur for a single mint; and moreover, the same set may occur for a different, and distant, mint", 33

In names, the contrasts in the vowel systems of common words are not all necessary for the effective functioning of a name(-element) in identifying an individual. Sets of contrasts which function to distinguish between common words may be neutralised in names. The forms of the name-elements cited above suggest neutralisation of the non-marginal contrasts between the long vowels /u:/, /i:/, and /e:/, as well as between these monophthongs and the diphthongs represented by <EO> and <IO>. If the contrasts between the Old English long monophthongs and diphthongs can be neutralised in personal names, with the resulting free variation of the realisations reflected in variant spellings, more plausible

³¹ F. Colman, 'Neutralisation: on characterising distinctions between Old English common nouns and proper names', *Leeds Studies in English*, new series, 20 (1989), 249–70 (pp. 257–8).

³² Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, pp. 64–5.

³³ Colman, 'Neutralisation: on characterising distinctions between Old English common nouns and proper names', p. 263; also F. Colman, 'Numismatics, names and neutralisations', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 88 (1990), 59–96 (p. 90).

is the variation in spelling of <u> and <o> for short /u/ and /o/, which contrasted only marginally.

<BOGA> is a plausible representation of **Buga**. The problem is, that <BOGA> is also a plausible representation of a non-Old English name **Boiga** (section 4 below). That Forssner draws a distinction between the two names, is evident from his view that the "ME name *Bogo* [...] is of different origin [from *Boia*] and perhaps not to be kept distinct from O[ld] G[erman] *Bugo* [...] or OE *Buga*". Von Feilitzen seems to agree: "[w]hether the legends *Boga*, *Buga* on Ælfred coins represent *Boia*, as is generally assumed, seems highly doubtful".³⁴

Crucial to the distinction between **Buga** and **Boiga** is the nature of the consonant represented by $\langle G \rangle$ in the forms $\langle BVGA \rangle$, $\langle BOGA \rangle$, representing OE **Buga**. And crucial to establishing the nature of this consonant are assumptions about syllable structure and syllable division, as specified below. In Old English, the graph $\langle G \rangle$, $\langle g \rangle$ is ambiguous. It represents two contrastive consonants: the velar fricative $\langle \gamma \rangle$ and the palatal approximant $\langle j \rangle$ (with various spellings, including $\langle i \rangle$: section 4 below). OE $\langle j \rangle$ had two sources: PG $\langle j \rangle$, and the pre-Old English palatalisation of $\langle \gamma \rangle$ to $\langle j \rangle$, and its merger with $\langle j \rangle$, in the context of front vowels.

 $/\gamma/$ and /j/ contrasted in Proto-Germanic, the former $(/\gamma/)$ occurring initially (realised in Old English as [g]: OE god, 'good'), medially (OE boga 'bow, arch'), and finally (OE burg 'city'), as well as in the sequence $/n\gamma/$ (realised in Old English as [ng]: OE singan 'sing'). The distribution of PG /j/ was, however, restricted to initial position: not only word-initial, but syllable initial, e.g., in PG /singan/, OE /singan/, OE /singan/, and in the infinitive suffix of weak class I verbs, e.g. PG /singan/, OE /singan/, OE /singan/, and of weak class II verbs, e.g. PG /singan/, OE /singan/ (love').

Despite the ambiguity of Old English <G>, <g>, the medial consonant in **Buga**, *boga* cannot be a reflex of PG /j/, because it is not uniquely syllable-initial. The syllable-structure of **Buga**, and of its base noun *boga*, is identical with that of the common-word form <daga>, genitive plural *dæg* 'day', a classic example for what is familiar from tradition as

³⁴ Forssner, Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times, p. 52; Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book, p. 205, n. 1.

³⁵ R. M. Hogg, 'Old English palatalization', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1979), 89–113 (p. 105).

pre-Old English "restoration of a" in an "open" stressed syllable followed by a back vowel. This citation of the former, stressed, syllable of <daga> as an open syllable, represents an attempt to distinguish a disyllabic structure with a single medial consonant from one with a consonant cluster. This use of the phrase 'open syllable' does not define the structure of a syllable. Rather, syllable structure is determined by principles of syllable division outlined as follows, based on long-established generalisations. The structure is determined by principles of syllable division outlined as follows, based on long-established generalisations.

A syllable boundary occurs as soon after the syllabic peak as possible: syllables are initial-maximalist. Possible syllable structures mirror those of monosyllabic words in the language in question. In Proto-Germanic, and through into Old English, a word may end with a long stressed vowel: e.g., OE sæ 'sea', with the long vowel /æ:/. Therefore a syllable may end with a long stressed vowel (as in the monosyllabic word just cited, and the diphthong of the first syllable of PG /kaijai/, and Old English inflected forms of cæg, e.g., dative singular <cæge>, also with /æ:/). But a word may not end with a short stressed vowel, and therefore neither may a syllable (in, e.g., OE wine 'friend', sige 'victory, sunu 'son', the final short vowels are unstressed). In **Buga**, as in <daga>, with a short stressed vowel, the first syllable must be closed: the consonant spelled <g> cannot be uniquely syllable-initial. Following a short stressed vowel (and only a short vowel), the single consonant is ambisyllabic. Ambisyllabicity may not be assigned to a consonant following a long vowel.³⁸ The ambisyllabic consonant constitutes simultaneously the coda of the first, stressed, syllable, and the onset of the second, unstressed one. The <g> in <Buga>, <BVGA>, <BOGA> cannot represent original, word- and syllable-initial /j/.

Campbell, Old English Grammar, §157; Hogg, A Grammar of Old English, §5.3.5.
 E. Pulgram, Svllable, Word, Nexus, Cursus (The Hague, 1970), p. 48, summarised

³⁷ E. Pulgram, *Syllable, Word, Nexus, Cursus* (The Hague, 1970), p. 48, summarised in F. Colman, 'Vocalisation as nucleation', *Studia Linguistica*, 37 (1983), 34–51 (pp. 34–5); F. Colman, 'A *cæg* to Old English syllable structure', in *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries: in Honour of Jacek Fisiak*, edited by D. Kastovsky and A. Szwedek (Berlin, 1986), vol. I, 225–30 (pp. 228–9).

³⁸ On the phonetic evidence, see D. Fallows, 'Experimental evidence for English syllabification and syllable structure', *Journal of Linguistics*, 17 (1981), 309–17 (p. 311).

Nor can the medial consonant in boga be a palatal reflex of PG / γ /. In pre-Old English, the velar fricative fronted to [j] in the context of front vowels, merging with the palatal /j/ inherited from Proto-Germanic, thus increasing its distribution.³⁹ The relevant instances are those illustrating palatalisation in medial position, such as OE sige 'victory (compare German Sieg, which retains the original velar). In OE boga 'bow, arch', and the related personal name **Buga**, there is no context for palatalisation of the medial consonant: the velar consonant is surrounded by back vowels, spelled <o>/<u> and <math><a> respectively.

Buga, represented by <BVGA>, is an Old English name, with a short stressed vowel (/u/) followed by a velar consonant (/ γ /). The same name could be spelled <BOGA>, given the marginal contrast between /u/ and /o/, readily neutralised in names.

4. On the Continental Germanic name Boia

We move now to coins of reigns later than those of Alfred and Edward the Elder. A name **Boia** is cited in several secondary sources as the basis of various spellings in various document types. We are dealing here with a Continental-Germanic name, not the Celtic personal name **Boio**. 40 I discuss in section 5 below suggestions that at least some instances of the name may have a native English origin.

Consideration of possible etymologies of this **Boia**, and its origin as Continental Germanic, rather than Old English, begins here with the medial consonant, and its various representations in spelling. In Old English, velar $/\gamma$ / is consistently represented by <G>, <g> (as in **Buga**, boga), while palatal /j/ appears as <g>, as <i>, or a combination such as <gi>, <ge> (<geong>, <giong>, <giung>, <iung>, <gung>, <young>). The nature of the medial consonant of **Boia**, i.e. /j/, determines that the preceding vowel, spelled <o>, must be long /o:/ (not short /o/ as in the <BOGA> variant of **Buga**).

³⁹ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §§426–29.

⁴⁰ As clarified by Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*, p. 52; also H. Kaufmann, *Ergänzungsband zu Ernst Förstemann Personennamen* (München and Hildesheim, 1986), p. 66.

⁴¹ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, Index p. 392; Colman, 'Vocalisation as nucleation', section 1.

Von Feilitzen and Blunt, writing on moneyers' names on the coinage of Edgar (King of Mercia 957–9, King of England 959–75), say: "[in] most cases contemporary variants with medial i, ig, ge, gi from the same mint prove that the spellings Boga, Boge on coins stand for Boia, Boie". These spelling variants correspond to those cited above, as representations of the Old English palatal approximant. As in OE **Buga**, the medial consonant of **Boia** occurs between back vowels: not a context for palatalisation of an original velar consonant. Therefore, the palatal medial consonant must have been from original PG /j/ (not from the palatalisation of velar / γ /). As remarked in section 3 above, the original palatal occurred only syllable-initially. According to the principles of syllable division there outlined, for /j/ in **Boia** to be syllable-initial, the immediately preceding vowel must be long.

As remarked, the crucial difference is between the syllable structure of **Buga**, with a short stressed vowel, and that of **Boia**, with a long one: /u/ vs. /o:/. The medial consonant in **Buga** is ambisyllabic, but in **Boia** it belongs uniquely to the second syllable. The syllable-initial palatal approximant in **Boia** is a reflex of the original PG /j/ which, unlike the 'new' Old English one from palatalisation of / γ /, could occur in the context of back, as well as front, vowels.

The vowel spelled <o> in forms of **Boia** is a long vowel. What of its source, and hence the ethnic origin of the name? As illustrated in section 3 above, long /o:/ occurs in Old English as in, e.g., <god> god 'good', <fot> fot 'foot'. The source of long /o:/ in Old English is PG /o:/, and some have suggested that at least some instances of **Boia** have their origin in Old English. Von Feilitzen accepts that "in most cases" the forms represent a Continental Germanic name, with the caveat that "OE *boi(a) , the ancestor of M[iddle] E[nglish] boi, boye [...] and N[ew] E[nglish] boy [...], may in some instances be the source of the pers. n." (as also in von Feilitzen and Blunt: the name "could be native and identical with the supposed OE ancestor of ME boie 'boy"). 43

⁴² O. von Feilitzen and C. Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, edited by P. Clemoes and K. Hughes, (Cambridge, 1971), 183–214 (pp. 189–90).

Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 205; von Feilitzen and Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', pp. 189–90; see also

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As Dobson points out, however, were **Boia** an Old English name, the stressed vowel would be expected to have undergone the *i*-mutation referred to in section 3 above. This change was effected on certain stressed vowels by an /i/ or /j/ in the following syllable. The forms <cæge> dative singular cæg 'key', with /a:/ mutated to /æ:/, and <dryge> nominative singular dryge 'dry', with /u:/ to /y:/, illustrate disyllabics with medial /j/. In the former, /j/ is an original palatal; in the latter, /j/ is from Pre-Old English palatalisation of / γ /. In both forms, /j/ is syllable initial, following the long stressed vowel. Compare <dæge> dative singular dæg 'day', where /j/ (</ γ) is ambisyllabic following the short stressed vowel, and does not mutate /æ/ to /e/ (hyge nominative singular 'mind' also has ambisyllabic /j/. The mutation of short /u/ to /y/ is effected not by this consonant, but by the original unstressed /i/ of *i*-stem inflections).

"Boia cannot possibly be an English name. The spellings leave no doubt that the i represents Germanic [j]; and [j] following o causes mutation in English (and in Danish and Frisian)". When mutated, long /o:/ fronted to [ø:], typically spelled <oe> in early, and some later, Old English texts, and later spelled <e>, indicating unrounding and merging with existing OE /e:/. Dobson continues: "[i]f Boia were native, we should have to assume that it was formed after mutation was complete; this is not attractive". It seems, then, that the long /o:/ of Boia is not Old English. 48

F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, (Heidelberg, 1934), s.v. Boia.

⁴⁴ Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of *Boy*', p. 148.

⁴⁵ E.g. E. Sievers, An Old English Grammar. Translated and edited by A. S. Cook, (Boston, New York, Chicago, and London, 1903), §85; Brunner, Altenglische Grammatik, nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers, §95; Campbell, Old English Grammar, §190.

⁴⁶ Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of *Boy*', p. 148.

⁴⁷ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §198. Obviously, given its source in PG /u/ before mid and low vowels, see section 3 above, short /o/ is theoretically impossible in an *i*-mutation context: on, e.g., the Latin loan *oele*, *ele* 'oil', dative singular <dehter> *dohtor* analogous with mutation of long /o:/ in dative singular
 brother, Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §196.

⁴⁸ Pace Parsons and Styles with Hough, *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (Á–BOX), p. 122.

Another source of long /o:/ is Germanic /au/, as illustrated below; but this /o:/ is a Continental Germanic, not an Old English, reflex of the Germanic diphthong. Boia has been associated with a hypothetical Gothic *Bauja, OS Bojo (also Boio: Napier and Stevenson, and Baio), OHG *Bouwo, OE Beowa (Kaufmann, following Schönfeld; also following Schönfeld, Dobson: "the OE equivalent is Beowa"). Forssner regards the name as "belonging to the name of the Boii" (also Förstemann: "v[olk] n[ame] der Bojen und dem davon abgeleiteten der Bajern" ['folk-name of the Boje and, derived from it, the Bajern'l: Mawer and Stenton: East Gothic **Boioni**). 49 According to Kaufmann, citing Schönfeld, the personal name-element "*Bawja-" appears also in the full name, Gothic "*Bawiwulf-s", OE "Béo-wulf", whereas Schönfeld interprets the full name as the source of the monothematic name: "[e]s ist ein Kurzform zu einem mit Bauja- zusammengesetzten Namen, vgl. z.B. got. *Bawi-wulfs, ags. Béowulf [...]" ['it is a short form of a compounded name with Bauja-, compare, for example, Gothic *Bawi-wulfs, OE Beowulf']. 50

These accounts accept **Beow**- as the Old English equivalent of Continental **Bojo** / **Boio**. This is phonologically unlikely. Kaufmann's citation of "*Bawja-" reflects the Proto-Germanic origin of the vowel as a sequence of vowel (/a/) plus approximant, (/w/), followed by the approximant, /j/.⁵¹ The sequence /aw/ subsequently became the diphthong /au/. Representations of the reflexes of this diphthong are illustrated by Gothic *augo*, OE *eaga*, and the name **Beaw** of a character in *Beowulf* (apparently taken from Old English genealogies), OS *oga*, OHG *ouga* 'eye',

⁴⁹ The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, edited by A. S. Napier and W. S. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), p. 130; Kaufmann, Ergänzungsband zu Ernst Förstemann Personennamen, p. 66; Schönfeld, Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen, p. 52; Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of Boy', p. 149; Forssner, Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times, p. 51; Förstemann, Aldeutsches Namenbuch 1: Personennamen, p. 324; A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and F. T. S. Houghton, The Place Names of Worcestershire, English Place Name Society, 4 (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 303–4.

⁵⁰ Kaufmann, Ergänzungsband zu Ernst Förstemann Personennamen, p. 66; Schönfeld, Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen, p. 52.

⁵¹ Kaufmann, Ergänzungsband zu Ernst Förstemann Personennamen, p. 66.

with the vowel-spellings cited above for the cognates of **Boia**. ⁵² Unlike OE **Beaw**, eaga, with <ea>, the protothemic vowel of **Beowulf** is spelled <eo>, representing the long diphthong /e:o/ inherited from PG /eu/.⁵³ **Beow** is not the expected Old English equivalent of **Boio**.

Moreover, when followed, as in Kaufmann's "*Bawja-", by /j/, the subsequent diphthong was subject in Old English to i-mutation. Ringe gives the history of the sequence /awi/ from Proto-Germanic to Old English as follows:

[...] *j was not lost after *w; that is, at the time when the loss of intervocalic *i occurred, the second segment of the diphthongs *au and *iu was structurally a semivowel *w rather than a vowel *u. Thus there was not loss of *j in niwjaz 'new' [...], nor in *hawja 'grass, hay (cf. Goth. hawi, OE $h\bar{\imath}eg$ etc.) [...]⁵⁴

The PG *hawia (as cited by Ringe) is analogous to "*Bawia-" (as cited by Kaufmann). So, if the cognate of Gothic hawi appears in Old English as $h\bar{l}eg$, we would expect the Old English version of the name-element "*Bawia-" to be *Bieg, not Beow.

The question of possible etymologies for the name Beowulf has had detailed discussion, and its pursuit is not after all significant for the establishment of Boia as a Continental name, distinct from native Buga. Several sources associate the element Beow with OE beow 'grain', suggesting that *Bauja is not the source of OE Beo-. 55 Of the six etymologies discussed in Fulk et al., the only possibility with Proto-Germanic

⁵² On **Beaw**, see F. C. Robinson, The Tomb of Beowulf and other Essays on Old English, (Oxford, 1993), p. 13; other examples are cited from E. Prokosch, A Comparative Germanic Grammar (Philadelphia, 1939), §40. ⁵³ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §§136, 275.

⁵⁴ D. Ringe, From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic (A Linguistic History of English volume I) (Oxford, 2006), p. 136.

⁵⁵ For instance, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd edn, edited by F. Klaeber (Lexington MA, 1950), pp. xxv-xxviii, 433; R. W. Chambers, Beowulf: an Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn, 3rd edn, with a supplement by C. L. Wrenn (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 87–8, and references therein.

[au] is regarded by the editors as "far-fetched". For Fulk, **Beow** is clearly not related to **Boia**. 56

Whatever is to be made of the etymology of **Beo(w)**, the Old English equivalent of OS **Bojo**, cognate with Gothic ***Bauja**, would not be **Boia**. The source of long /o:/ here is Germanic /au/; but, as noted above, this /o:/ is a Continental Germanic, not an Old English, reflex of the Germanic diphthong. On phonological grounds, **Boia** is not Old English.

5. On the putative Englishness of Boia

Although it may be argued on phonological grounds that **Boia** is not Old English, the attestation of certain place names has prompted suggestions that it is so. Place names are assumed to reflect the language of a group or groups of established settlers, as suggested by, for instance Nicolaisen: "place-names have come to be recognised as valuable raw material for the study of settlement history or, as one should perhaps say, of the settlement history of speakers of various languages".⁵⁷

Mawer and Stenton cite the widespread use of the name **Boia** in place-names in England such as **Boycott**, **Boyton**, **Boyland**. Although they tend to agree with Forssner's suggestion of continental origin for the name (cited in section 4 above), with parallels in Old Saxon and East Gothic **Boio**, they interpret these place names as indicating possible native English origin, presumably because to accept the names as continental-Germanic based would be to accept the idea of group continental Germanic settlement in Anglo-Saxon England. Some degree of settlement is, however, attested for the tenth century.

Arguing in favour of continental origin of the forms of the moneyer's name cited as "Boga", "Boiga", "Bogea", "Boia", "Bogea", and of the bearers of the name, Dobson suggests that "the issue of coins may have

⁵⁶ Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, 4th edn, edited by R. D. Fulk, R. E. Bjork, and J. D. Niles (London, 2008), pp. 464–5; R. D. Fulk, 'The etymology and significance of Beowulf's name', *Anglo-Saxon*, 1 (2007), 109–36.

⁵⁷ W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names: their study and significance*, new edn (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 44.

⁵⁸ Mawer, Stenton and Houghton, *The Place Names of Worcestershire*, pp. 303–4 (see also Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 205); Forssner, *Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times*, p. 51.

been controlled by Frankish traders". 59 (As well as later forms up to the reign of Edward the Confessor, Dobson equates Alfred's and Edward the Elder's "Boga" with "Boia": compare. the arguments at section 3 above). Dobson's suggestion of Frankish control is not undermined, but strengthened, by the nature of the Frankish influence in the tenth century. This would not be from traders' control of the coinage, but by an active role in the coinage procedure, by people living in England, under the aegis of the king in whose name the coins were minted. The personal names identified as Frankish by Smart (quoted at the beginning of section 1 above) are those of tenth-century moneyers, with a geographical spread throughout the English kingdom. These moneyers may have come in initially as merchants and craftsmen, and having settled in the newly formed English boroughs, became burgesses eligible to become moneyers. In areas under Scandinavian rule, the strong representation of continental moneyers' names may reflect the import of continental workers to operate the coinmanufacture. 60

Concepts of the social status of the moneyer, especially in the later Anglo-Saxon period, have been radically revised over the last century and more, from the image of a serf to that of a man of standing. The justice of Dobson's speculation that lands were granted to foreigners, especially the moneyers, who "set up *cotu*, *tunas*, and *wic*" ['cottages, enclosed courts, dwellings']⁶¹ is confirmed by subsequent analyses of charters and other written records. Moneyers certainly were granted land, as evidenced from the ninth century on. ⁶² Place-names might be based on the names of moneyers, or of families of moneyers.

To be considered in this light, however, is the place-name **Boiwic**, as cited by Mawer and Stenton in a charter as early as 785. There is no

⁵⁹ Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of *Boy*', p. 149.

⁶⁰ Smart, 'Economic migrants? Continental moneyers' names on the tenth-century English coinage', pp. 122–4.

⁶¹ Selected glosses from Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.vv. (subject to debate).

Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of *Boy*', p. 149; Lord Stewartby, 'Moneyers in the written records', in *Kings Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, edited by M. A. S. Blackburn and D. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 151–3; P. Nightingale, 'Some London moneyers and reflections on the organization of English mints in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 142 (1982), 34–50.

attested **Boia** as an eighth-century moneyer. From the early days of the Anglo-Saxon moneyer-signed coins, three names, **Eoba**, **Babba**, and **Udd**, survive from the Canterbury mint on its takeover from Ecgberht II of Kent (c.764–85) by Offa of Mercia (757–96), and three from East Anglia under Beonna (749–?60): **Werferth**, **Efe**, and **Wilred**, the last joined by **Wihtred** on Offa's seizure of the East Anglian mint(s). The name **Boia** does not appear on coins until after the reign of Edward the Elder. The place name **Boiwic** does not seem to have been based on the name of a moneyer, as far as the coin-data allow. According to Dobson, it may yet have been based on that of a continental man settled in England, given "the close trading relations which existed between Mercia under Offa and the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne". ⁶³ But this may be bending over backwards for nothing.

To assess and dismiss suggestions prompted by such relations, and by interpretation of stories recounted by Procopius of Frankish authority over some of the English, that Kent in the sixth century was included in a Merovingian hegemony;⁶⁴ to trace the degree of Frankish input to Anglo-Saxon life from the days of the marriage of King Æthelberht of Kent (*d*.616) to the Frankish princess Bertha, and her accompaniment by the Frankish Bishop Liudhard; to recall the modelling of the southern English penny on the Merovingian model of Pepin's reformed coinage in 755 ... in general, to argue for or against the existence of individual Frankish settlers who gave their names to place-names in early Anglo-Saxon England is probably redundant in the present case.

I have identified the charter cited by Mawyer and Stenton as Sawyer no. 124, a grant of land at Aldenham, Hertfordshire, by Offa King of Mercia to St. Peter's Westminster. The comments noted by Sawyer suggest that the charter is of doubtful authenticity. The fuller list of com-

⁶³ Dobson, 'The etymology and meaning of *Boy*', pp. 148–50; the "relations" are reassessed in F. Colman, 'Kentish Old English /: orthographic 'archaism' or evidence of Kentish phonology?', *English Language and Linguistics*, 8.2 (2004), 171–205 (p. 194), with detailed references.

⁶⁴ Cited in J. Story, *Carolingian Connections. Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia c.750–870* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 28–9; G. Williams, *Early Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Botley, Oxfordshire, 2008), p. 17. The claim is visible in T. S. Brown, 'Merovingian Gaul, c.600', in *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, edited by A. Mackay with D. Ditchburn, (London and New York, 1997), pp. 10–2 (p. 11: map of Merovingian Gaul, *c.* 600).

ments in the Electronic Sawyer is more damning: "spurious", "almost certainly a fake", "probably forged in late 1150s", and so on. ⁶⁵ There is little point in searching for a name-bearer, continental Germanic or otherwise, whose name was given to a place called **Boiwic** existing in 785.

For the later period, however, Dobson's suggestion that place-names in Anglo-Saxon England may have been based on names of continental Germanic moneyers, is supported by the findings of subsequent research into the immigration of continental moneyers, and the status of the moneyers as potential landholders.

6. Conclusions and queries

I have suggested in what precedes, that a moneyer with an English name **Buga** minted in the reigns of Alfred and Edward the Elder. **Buga**'s name was predominantly spelled <BVGA>, but twice (at least) appears as <BOGA>. In subsequent reigns, the form <BOGA> is associated with the (variously spelled) Continental Germanic name **Boia**. The forms <BOIA>, <BOGA>, <BOGE> interchange on coins from the same mint, e.g. at Hertford and Stamford, for Æthelred II, 978–1016.⁶⁶

So much for a conclusion. But, given the ambiguity of the form <BOGA>, the question may be posed as to whether the single form for Alfred, and the form for Edward the Elder could represent **Boia**, intimating the presence of a Continental moneyer by this name before the reign of Edward's successor Æthelstan. The degree of continuity of moneyers' names attested from the reign of Edward through that of Æthelstan would at least allow for the possibility. ⁶⁷ But why would such a moneyer make so brief an appearance in the middle of each reign, each of which is extensively represented by the coins, to resurface in later ones? The phonological plausibility of <BOGA> as a form of OE **Buga** (as well as

⁶⁵ P. H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography (London, 1968), p. 103; The Electronic Sawyer, Prepared by S. E. Kelly, and adapted for the website by S. M. Miller in: The Website of the British Academy / Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters: http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/.

⁶⁶ Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20; Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 47.

⁶⁷ On the continuity see S. Lyon, 'The coinage of Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, edited by N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London and New York, 2001), pp. 67–78 (p. 71).

of **Boia**: section 3 above) makes it perhaps easier to believe we are dealing with the Old English name on the coins of Alfred and Edward.

Another question is whether some instances of <BOGA> on the later coins could represent English **Buga**, rather than Continental **Boia**. Compare von Feilitzen: "[t]he forms *Boga* c. 975 Lib El and (*Edwig*) *boga* c.970 BCS 1244, adduced by Napier and Stevenson, are best explained from OE *boga* 'bow". Some Von Feilitzen thus implicitly equates these tenth-century

boga> forms with **Buga**. My reasons for doubting such an equation for the coin-forms are twofold. I have been unable to trace <BVGA> forms on the post-Edward the Elder coins, and yet <Buga> representing **Buga** continues to appear in manuscripts (above, and section 3 above). And then, given that <BOGA> alternates with <BOIA> at the same mints in the same reigns, we would have to accept the overloading of a mint with an Anglo-Saxon and a Continental Germanic moneyer with similarly spelled names. Again, phonological plausibility inclines towards a variously spelled Continental Germanic name, **Boia**.

Whether the bearer of this name could have been English is another issue. "We always need to be clear in distinguishing *names* from *persons*, in referring to ethnicity". ⁶⁹ Nevertheless, there are no linguistic objections to including Smart's **Boigalet** among the "economic migrants" involved in the tenth-century English coinage.

The conclusions drawn here about **Buga** and **Boia** are based largely on linguistic arguments, with appeal to support from non-linguistic considerations within my competence. Numismatists and historians may well have non-linguistic grounds for querying the pedigrees of the names and the moneyers in question.

⁶⁸ Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 205, n.1; Lib El = *Liber Eliensis*, edited by D. J. Stewart (London, 1848); BCS = *Cartularium Saxonicum 1-3 plus index*, edited by W. de Gray Birch (London, 1885–99). Feilitzen's reference is to *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, edited by Napier and Stevenson, pp. 130–1 [FC].

⁶⁹ Smart, 'Economic migrants? Continental moneyers' names on the tenth-century English coinage', p. 115.

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APPENDIX I

Alfred, King of Wessex 871–99

Edward I (the Elder), King of Wessex 899–924

Æthelstan, King of England 924–39

Edmund, King of England 939-46

Eadred, King of England 946-55

Eadwig, King of England 955–7, King of Wessex 957–9

Edgar, King of Mercia 957–9, King of England 959–75

Edward II (the Martyr), King of England 975–8

Æthelred II, King of England 978–1016

Cnut, King of England 1016–35

Harold I (Harefoot), King of England (joint reign) 1035–7, (sole reign) 1037–40

Harthacnut, King of England (joint reign) 1035–7, (sole reign) 1040–2

Edward III (the Confessor) King of England 1042-66

APPENDIX II

Alfred, West Mercia; ¹ Edward the Elder, North BVGA/BYGA

West Mercia: ?Chester or Shrewsbury²

Alfred, "other styles;" Edward the Elder, North **BOGA**

West Mercia: ?Chester or Shrewsbury; 4 Eadred (BOGAES), ?Chester or Derby; 5 Æthelred II, Hertford, Lincoln, London, Southwark, Stamford;⁶ Cnut, Dover; Harold Harefoot, Dover; Harthacnut, Dover, Taunton; Edward the Confessor, Dover; Dover;

Taunton⁶

Edmund, ?Chester⁸ **BOGAI**

Æthelstan, Chester, Derby; Edmund, ?Chester; **BOIGA**

Eadred, ?Chester or Derby (BOIGAES); 10 Eadwig, Midlands and south; 11 Bedford; 12 ? Chester or Derby

(BOIGAES); 13 Edgar, Derby (BOIGAES), 14 (BOIGA), 15 York (FASTOLF BOIGA) 16

<u>Edmund</u>, ?Chester¹⁷; <u>Æthelred II</u>, Chester, Stamford, Thetford⁶ **BOGE**

BOIA

<u>Eadwig</u>, Midlands and south, ¹¹ Hampton; ¹⁸ <u>Edgar</u>, Canterbury, ¹⁹ Chester, ²⁰ Derby, ²¹ Wilton; ²² <u>Edward</u> the Martyr, Stamford; Ethelred II, Canterbury, Hertford, Lincoln, Stamford; Harthacnut, Stamford; Edward the Confessor, Taunton²³

Æthelred II. ?Wilton⁶ BOGIA

BOIAI Æthelred II, Hertford⁶

Edgar, Canterbury²⁴ BOGEA

Edward Martyr, Chester⁶ **BOIGEA**

Notes to Appendix II

- 1. Mark Blackburn, 'The London mint in the reign of Alfred', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances. History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, edited by Mark A. S. Blackburn and David N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), 105–123 (p. 110, Table 2); Mark Blackburn, *Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles*, British Numismatic Society Special Publication 7 (London, 2001), p. 343, n. 101.
- 2. BSL, p. 21: "Chester and Shrewsbury" in West Mercia; Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 17: Brady, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins in American Collections*, no. 326 <BYGA>, "N[orth] W[est] Mercia" (not in BSL: compare BSL, p. 63, no. 120, NW Mercia; BSL, p. 75, no. 327, NW Mercia.
- Blackburn, 'The London mint in the reign of Alfred', p. 110, table 2: 3. "other styles", "a number of smaller stylistic groups to be found within the Two-line issue, each associated with one or two moneyers and which presumably represent the work of other mints in Greater Wessex or Mercia, including one may suppose Exeter, Gloucester, Oxford, and perhaps Bath, attested from mint-signed coins of Alfred or Edward the Elder". Table 2 cites "Boiga" for Alfred; compare Blackburn, Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles, p. 345, n. 16: the list of moneyers as in Blackburn, 'The London mint in the reign of Alfred' table 2 has "Boga" (not "Boiga"), compare Keary and Grueber, A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, II, p. 61, no. 215 <BOGA>. The citations "Boiga" and "Boga" may reflect editorial interpretations of the name represented by the coin spelling. It is notable that, in the EMC website, the coin-spelling given as <BVGA> (or <BUGA>) for the reign of Alfred, is invariably glossed as "Boia / Boga". There are no instances of Alfred's coins in EMC with a moneyer's name spelled <BOIA> or <BOGA>. or BOIGA>.
- 4. BSL, p. 76, no. 330: BOIGA (= BO | GA), North-West Mercia (Chester).
- 5. Smart, Index 1–20, p. 20; Robert B. Stevenson, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh 1. Anglo-Saxon Coins (with Associated Foreign Coins) (London, 1966), no. 274 = BSL, p. 142, no. 121. BSL, p. 142, nos. 120, 121, subsume under

⁷⁰ EMC = Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds and Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles databases (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) http://www.fitzmuseum.cam. ac.uk /coins/emc/>.

- "BO(I)GA(ES)" both BOGAES, citing Archibald and Blunt, no. 604⁷¹ (Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46) and BOIGAES, see n. 10 below. Mints most frequently involved in this type are Chester and Derby (BSL, p. 135).
- 6. Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20; Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 47.
- 7. Colman, Money Talks, p. 252 (Dover), p. 322 (Taunton).
- 8. Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46: Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 408. Cited as "Boiga Chester?" in BSL, p. 128, no. 179.
- 9. Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46: Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 407, BOIGA. Cited as "Boiga Chester?" in BSL, p. 128, no. 179 (BSL cites also Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 409, not listed in Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46).
- 10. Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20: Stevenson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 273, BOIGA[] S; Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46: Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 603 (cited in BSL, p. 142, no. 120: see n. 5 above).
- 11. BSL, p. 152, no.6: two specimens of "Boi(g)a" are cited as "Midlands and South": Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 723, 724. These are cited in Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46 as "BOIGA"; compare Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20: "BOIA", "North- or Southampton", see BOIA, Appendix II.
- 12. BSL, p. 154, no. 72: 2 specimens. One is Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 797, cited in Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 47, but, presumably a slip, for Edgar, not Eadwig. The coin-type, HT3, is not known for Edgar: BSL, p. 157.
- 13. BSL, p. 150: the coin-type, HR1, is known mainly for Derby. BSL, p. 155, no. 102, cited as "Boiga(es)": Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 820, cited in Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46 as BOIGAES; compare BSL, p. 155, no. 115 "Boiga(es)", Chester.
- 14. BSL, p. 167, no. 101: "Boiga(es)", Derby. Two specimens, one of which is Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 1011, Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46: BOIGAES.
- 15. BSL, p. 187; p. 189, no. 313; Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20.
- 16. BSL, p. 184, no. 296; p. 178: "Fastolf for the most part worked alone but on some rare coins is found coupling his name with those of Boiga, Oda, or Rafn". Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 47. On the interpretation of the double names in these instances as identifying separate moneyers, see Veronica Smart, 'Osulf Thein and others: double moneyer's names on the late Anglo-Saxon coinage', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage. In*

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⁷¹ M. M. Archibald and C. E. Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Coins V. Athelstan to Edgar's Reform* (London 1986).

- *memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, edited by Kenneth Jonsson (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 435–453 (p. 438).
- 17. BSL, p. 127, no. 145.
- 18. BSL, p, 154, no. 80; also Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20: A.379 (A = J. D. A. Thompson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Anglo-Saxon Pennies* (London, 1967)).
- 19. BSL, p. 181, no. 209 (cited p. 173 as "the only recorded Canterbury penny"; compare note 24 below).
- 20. BSL, p. 187, p. 189, no. 326; Smart, *Index 21–40*, p. 46: Archibald and Blunt, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, no. 1052.
- 21. BSL, p. 170, no. 195.
- 22. BSL, p. 182, no. 235.
- 23. Colman, Money Talks, p. 322.
- 24. Smart, *Index 1–20*, p. 20.

APPENDIX III

North-West Mercia BVGA/BYGA: Alfred, Edward the Elder;

BOGA: Edward the Elder

"other styles"? BOGA: Alfred

Bedford BOIGA: Eadwig

Canterbury BOIA: Æthelred II, Edgar; BOGEA:

Edgar

Chester BVGA/BYGA: Edward the Elder (? or

Shrewsbury); BOGA: Edward the Elder (or Shrewsbury), Edmund (?Chester); BOGAI: Edmund (? Chester); BOIGA: Æthelstan, Eadred (BOIGAES) (? or Derby); BOGE: Edmund, (?Chester), Æthelred II; BOGA: Eadred (BOGAES) (? or Derby); BOIA, Edgar; BOIGEA, Edward the Martyr

Derby BOIGA, Æthelstan, Eadred (BOIGAES)

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(? or Chester), Eadwig, (BOIGAES), Edgar

(BOIGAES, BOIGA); BOGA,

Eadred (BOGAES) (? or Chester); BOIA,

Edgar

Dover BOGA, Cnut, Harold Harefoot, Harthacnut,

Edward the Confessor

Hampton BOIA, Eadwig

Hertford BOGA, Æthelred II; BOIA, Æthelred II;

BOIAI, Æthelred II

Lincoln BOGA, Æthelred II; BOIA, Æthelred II

London BOGA, Æthelred II

"Midlands and south" BOIGA, Eadwig; BOIA, Eadwig

Shrewsbury BVGA/BYGA: Edward the Elder (? or

Chester); BOGA: Edward the Elder (or

Chester)

Southwark BOGA, Æthelred II

Stamford BOGA, Æthelred II, BOGE, Æthelred II;

BOIA, Edward the Martyr, Æthelred II,

Harthacnut,

Taunton BOGA: Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor;

BOIA, Edward the Confessor

Thetford BOGE, Æthelred II

Wilton BOGIA, Æthelred II (?Wilton)

York BOIGA, Edgar (FASTOLF BOIGA)

APPENDIX IV⁷²

	BVGA/ BYGA	BOGA	BOGAI	BOIGA	BOGE	BOIA	BOGIA	BOIAI	BOGEA	BOIGEA
WM	Alfred									
"other"	P.JP1.1	Alfred								
NWM Bedford	EdEld	EdEld		Eadred						
Bealora				Eadwig						
Canterbury				Ladwig		Edgar			Edgar	
curio cur y						ÆthII			24841	
Chester or		Eadred		Eadred						
Derby										
Chester				Æthlst		Edgar				EdMart
			Edm	Edm	Edm					
Dankar				/E41-1-4	ÆthII	Edeen				
Derby				Æthlst Edgar		Edgar				
Dover		Cnut		Lugai						
20101		HarI								
		Har'cnut								
		EdConf								

⁷² The following abbreviations are applied: ÆthII = Æthelred II; Æthlst = Æthelstan; EdConf = Edward the Confessor; EdEld = Edward the Elder; EdMart = Edward the Martyr; HarI = Harold I; Har'cnut = Harthacnut.

	BYGA	Dogn	Вооги	Bolon	DOGE	Вонт	Boomi	Вонн	BOGERI	BOIGEII
Hampton	DIGH					Eadwig				
Hertford		ÆthII				ÆthII		ÆthII		
Lincoln		ÆthII				ÆthII				
London		ÆthII								
"Midlands				Eadwig		Eadwig				
& South"										
Shrewsbury										
Southwark		ÆthII								
Stamford		ÆthII			ÆthII	EdMart				
						ÆthII				
						Har'cnut				
Taunton		Har'cnut				EdConf				
		EdConf								
Thetford					ÆthII					
Wilton						Edgar	ÆthII			
York				Edgar						

BOIA BOGIA BOIAI BOGEA BOIGEA

BOGA BOGAI BOIGA BOGE

BVGA/