

THE TWELFTH OF THE AGNUS DEI PENNIES OF ÆTHELRÆD II

ON pp. 338-9 of P. A. Clemons and K. W. Hughes, edd., *England before the Conquest* (Cambridge, 1971), summary details were given of ten true coins of the so-called Agnus Dei issue of Æthelræd II (Hild. G; *BMC* x; Brooke 6; North 776; Seaby 671) which it was suggested belongs to the early autumn of 1009. A slightly fuller listing runs as follows:

1, 2. *Derby*, Blacaman. Die-duplicates in the British Museum (*ex* Lockett (1955), lot 713, etc., found

in London) and in the Bergen University collection (*ex* 1891 Nesbø hoard).

3. *Hereford*, Æthelwig. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 1332—hoard-provenance unrecorded but most probably from the great 1866 discovery at Johannishus in Hjortsberga parish, Blekinge).
4. *Leicester*, Ælfric. Royal Coin and Medal collection, Copenhagen (*SCBI* 7, 507—*ex* 1859 Kelstrup hoard).
- 5, 6. *Malmesbury*, Ealdred. Die-duplicates in the British Museum (*ex* Rashleigh (1909), lot 298, etc., 'bought at [and ? found near] Boulogne' c. 1840) and the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 3086—hoard-provenance unrecorded but again most probably from the great 1866 discovery at Johannishus).
7. *Northampton*, Wulfnoth. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 1284—*ex* 1838 Stale hoard from Rone parish, Gotland).
- 8, 9. *Nottingham*, Oswald. Die-duplicates in the Royal Coin and Medal collection, Copenhagen (*SCBI* 7, 1107—*ex* 1849 Enner hoard) and—cut farthing wrongly given to 'Hamtune'—Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 1293—again *ex* 1838 Stale hoard).
10. *Stafford*, Alfwold. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 3423—*ex* 1874 Nygård's hoard from Västerhejde parish, Gotland).

An eleventh true coin of the type is known today only from an early nineteenth-century drawing:

11. *Stamford*, Æthelwine. Cf. K. F. W. Erbstein, *Numismatische Bruchstücke en Bezug auf sächsische Geschichte*, iii (Frankfurt-a-M., 1828), pl. ii, 23

but may safely be accepted inasmuch as it receives corroboration from a unique mule in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 3445) which is by the same moneyer, and which may even be from the same obverse die.¹

The purpose of the present note is to record the rediscovery of a twelfth coin of the type to which allusion only could be made in a footnote on p. 339 of the 1971 discussion. The piece is that published as no. 7 on p. 8 of W. Anderson, 'Achtzig neue Münzen aus dem Funde von Naginščina', *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis)*, xxxvii. 4 (1935), a rare enough work, especially where complete runs are concerned, in Western European libraries, and it was there illustrated as no. 7 on the accompanying plate. The

¹ Cf. W. C. Wells in *BNJ* XXIV. ii (1942), pp. 95-7.



FIG. 1

Naginščina hoard came to light in March 1895 near a tributary of the river Luga in the old Baltic province of Ingria to the south-west of the modern Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and just to the east of the present border between Esthonian Republic and the region of Novgorod in the U.S.S.R. A useful if summary account of the find will be found in V. M. Potin's paper concerning Western European coins of the tenth to thirteenth centuries found on Ancient Russian soil.² Listed in various places have been no fewer than 1,016 coins from the hoard which Dr. Potin opines to have been concealed *c.* 1055. Anderson's paper of 1937, on the other hand, lists no English coin later than the middle of the 1040s, and precisely the same pattern is exhibited by the other parcels which are quite remarkably uniform in their inclusion of no more than the first two issues (Pax and Radiate Small Cross) of Edward the Confessor. The coins from all the other series represented in the find—Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, Polish, etc.—appear all to be consonant with the date of concealment suggested by the English element, and even on the strictest of interpretations do not seem to us to demand concealment any later than the end of the 1040s. Even for Dr. Potin, too, the *Schlussmünzen* have their *terminus antequam non* no later than 1047, while most recently Dr. K. Skaare has come up with a dating of the hoard 'after 1047'.³ There are grounds, too, for questioning whether the Danish coins in the hoard that have been attributed to Sven Estridsen really do necessitate a date of concealment much later than *c.* 1045. The coins in question are of the types Hauberg nos. 6 (2 examples), 35, 57 (cf. T. G. Applegren sale, Stockholm, 9 October 1913, lot 275), 68 or 69, and 70. All have blundered legends, and those which do not exhibit Byzantine influence could even belong to one or other of his predecessors. Even those with Byzantine motifs need not belong quite as late as has sometimes been supposed. The Harald Sigurdsson prototypes—or analogues?—must surely antedate the Norwegian king's return to Norway towards the end of 1047. One of the six extant specimens occurred in the 1880 Espinge (Äspinge) hoard from Skane where the substantial and critical English element is confined to the first three only of Edward the Confessor's issues, and where the thirty or so Danish coins of

Sven are dominated by those of pseudo-Byzantine type.⁴ Bearing in mind, then, the fact that both the Edward the Confessor types—but no more than the two—are present at Naginščina in some quantity, we would feel happier were the concealment of the hoard to take the form 'shortly before 1050'.

Naginščina, of course, had long ago joined all the other hoard-provenances in being useless for establishing the place of Agnus Dei within the sequence of Æthelræd's substantive issues. The Nesbø find had for its latest English type Pointed Helmet of Cnut, and is dated by Dr. Skaare 'after *c.* 1023'.⁵ The same holds good for the Kelstrup hoard, while the Enner find ends even later with Short Cross of the same reign. Not one of the non-Swedish hoards, then, can be dated earlier than a whole decade after Æthelræd's death. As regards the Swedish material, the Johannishus hoard has been dated by G. Hatz to the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century,⁶ and so is clearly irrelevant, while Dr. Skaare suggests a date 'after 1070' for the only less massive treasure from Stale⁷ which again agrees exactly with the German estimate. We are left with the Nygårds hoard dated by Dr. Hatz 'after 1036',⁸ though here the latest English coin appears to be of the Fleur-de-lis type of Harold I which would suggest a date rather nearer 1040.

Anderson's illustration of 1937 was of very uneven quality, the reverse in particular being quite indistinct. It was for this reason that the 1971 citation of it was reluctant to reproduce his transcription of the legends lest perhaps the Baltic scholar had been unduly influenced in his readings by the coin at Copenhagen. In June 1975, however, one of us (T. T.) was able both to inspect and to photograph the actual coin which in the interval had passed from the cabinet of a Tartu (Dorpat) businessman into the collections of the Historical Department of what has become the Esthonian Academy of Sciences at Tallinn (Reval). As enlarged prints (Fig. 1) make abundantly clear, the coin is in reality one of the very best preserved of all the extant pennies of the issue. The weight is 1.76 gm. (27.2 gr.), and the readings are:

Obv. ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM

and

Rev. ÆLFRI | ELE | HE | RÆCESTR

² V. M. Potin *Trudy Gosndarstvennogo Ermitasha*, ix (1967), pp. 128–9.

³ K. Skaare *Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway*, Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø, 1976, p. 187.

⁴ Skaare, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–8 and 120 n. 273; cf. P. Hanberg, *Myniforhold og Udmyntinger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Copenhagen, 1900, pp. 51 and 171, etc.

⁵ *recte* 1024? cf. *Fornvännen*, 1968, pp. 116–19.

⁶ G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit*, Stockholm, 1974, p. 231.

⁷ Skaare, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁸ Hatz, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

What comes as a major surprise is that both the obverse and the reverse dies should differ from those of the chipped coin of the same mint and moneyer in Copenhagen, even though it is clear that both pairs of dies were cut by one and the same hand. On both coins the tablet beneath the Lamb takes the same trapezoidal form, while its inscription is in each case without punctuation, but even in such minutiae the differences between the two dies should be obvious—the Tallinn coin, for example, reads AG | HV where the Copenhagen specimen has AG | NV. On the reverse particularly to be noted is the omission of the copulative, while the wings and tail of the Dove break the legend very differently.

The 1977 situation, then, is that there are known today a round dozen of Agnus Dei pennies or portions thereof, together with one cut-halfpenny mule where an obverse of the type is combined with what is demonstrably an early Last Small Cross reverse die of Stamford. The eleven true coins and one mule that are available for our inspection prove

to be from nine obverse dies with the Lamb and seven reverse dies with the Dove. In itself this is enough to suggest that we are faced with an intended substantive coinage which was early interrupted, and not with a series of patterns. Reinforcement for this line of argument comes from the circumstance that two pairs of dies should have been prepared for (and presumably supplied to) the one Leicester moneyer, and there is no doubt that the rediscovery of the Naginščina specimen has given a new dimension to our comprehension of one of the most celebrated, if also more widely misunderstood, of Anglo-Saxon coin-types. It is for this reason that we would like to express more than purely formal thanks to the Keeper of Coins at Tallinn, Dr. A. Molvõgin, for his kindness in making available what must be one of the jewels of a collection still insufficiently known to international scholarship. Our warmest thanks also are due, of course, to the British Academy for a research grant which made possible the visit of one of us (T. T.) to the Tallinn cabinet.

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SOME MONEYPERS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR IN HILDEBRAND'S CATALOGUE¹

SEVERAL moneyers listed in Hildebrand's catalogue are recorded for their mint by one coin only. The occurrence of such a moneyer's name in the systematic collection in Stockholm may throw Hildebrand's attribution of the coin into doubt. Since the date of his catalogue many more coins of the reign of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042-66, have come to light, and much work has been done on die-links and moneyers' names which has prompted alterations in early catalogues. A list of reattributions for the Anglo-Saxon coins in Hildebrand has already been published.² A systematic examination of the moneyers in this catalogue is warranted, not because of any ineptitude on the part of the well-respected numismatist, but because of the increase in material and improvement in methods at the disposal of the student today. In some cases this examination shows that a moneyer has to be deleted from the list of a mint for which, on the basis of Hildebrand, he has been recorded; in many cases the Hildebrand reading is vindicated, or at least not proved wrong.

Bristol. BEH 25 PACX SNEWINE. A moneyer called Sæwine is known for Cnut, Harold I, and Harthacnut. Ref. North p. 123.³ It is likely that the name on this coin of the first type of Edward the Confessor is misspelt, with an epigraphical substitution of NE for Æ in the name Sæwine. That Snewine is Snæwine is unlikely. The name-element *Snæ-* is recorded,⁴ but not in combination with the element *-wine*.

BEH 26 PACX WULFWINE. Wulfwine is known for Cnut, Harold I, and Harthacnut. Ref. North p. 123. His appearance on one coin of the Confessor is not surprising.

Canterbury. BEH 35 Trefoil-Quadrilateral EANWERD. The moneyer's name is unknown elsewhere for Edward, or for Harold I, Harthacnut, or Harold II; but the reading of the name is clear on the coin.

Chester. BEH 258 PACX ARGRIM. This name is not recorded elsewhere on coins, but Fargrim is known for Edward's Expanding Cross type (*SCBI* Chester

¹ B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiske Mynt*, 1881 (B. E. H.).

² G. Van der Meer, Some corrections to and comments on B. E. Hildebrand's *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Swedish Royal Coin Cabinet*, in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. Michael Dolley (London, 1961).

³ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, i (London, 1963).

⁴ H. B. Woolf, *Old Germanic Principles of Name Giving*, Baltimore, 1939, pp. 174 and 176; and Olof von Feilitzen, *The pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Uppsala, 1937, p. 368.