

appears to be no. 1, which was probably struck towards the end of the Short Cross issue to judge from the weight distribution of this and die-linked specimens. On this basis a date of c. 1035 for the loss or deposition of the group seems reasonable.

It remains to consider whether the coin of Æthelred II is likely to have been part of the same deposit. As we have already indicated, the pattern of English hoards is that finds of the period c. 975–1040 generally consist of only one issue or of two successive issues, while after c. 1040 although the smaller finds are usually of single or dual types, larger ones often include a considerable number of older coins. The significance of this pattern has been much debated, and it remains an open question the extent to which older coin types remained in circulation during the reigns of Æthelred and Cnut.<sup>2</sup> There is only one multi-type hoard of this period, from Welbourn,

Lincs., and that spanned at least fifteen years, from Æthelred II's First Hand to Long Cross types.<sup>3</sup> It is conceivable, then, that the Æthelred coin from Polstead could have been lost with the four Cnut coins, but given the unusual nature of such a hoard, for the present we should perhaps assume that it was an independent loss.

A summary of the find in modified *Inventory* format is as follows:

Polstead, Suffolk, c. 1980–90.

4 (or 5?) AR Anglo-Saxon, deposit c. 1035.

KINGS OF ENGLAND: Cnut, Short Cross type – Lincoln, Lifinc 1; Norwich, Ægelferth 1; Wallingford, Ælfwine 1; uncertain mint, Ælfræd 1. Possibly part of the hoard: Æthelred II, Helmet type – London, Wulfstan 1.

*BNJ* 61 (1991), 124–5.

*Disposition*: with the finder.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See most recently I. Stewart, 'Coinage and recoinage after Edgar's reform', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, pp. 455–85; and M. Blackburn, 'Æthelred's coinage and the payment of tribute', in *The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991*, edited by D.G. Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 156–69.

<sup>3</sup> M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The Welbourn (Lincs.) hoard 1980–82 of Æthelred II coins', *BNJ* 55 (1985), 79–83.

<sup>4</sup> We would like to thank the finder, who wishes to remain anonymous in order to protect the identity of the site.

## A SMALL PURSE HOARD OF HARTHACNUT COINS FROM BOWTHORPE, NORFOLK

MARK BLACKBURN and ANDREW ROGERSON

In September 1991 Mr A. Webster found three coins of Harthacnut while searching with a metal-detector on a ploughed field at Bowthorpe, a village five kilometres west of Norwich on the edge of the city's suburbs. The findspot is recorded on the Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record; Costessey parish, site no. 9310. He took the coins on 23 September to show at the Norwich Detectors Club, which one of us (A.R.) attends regularly in order to record finds for the Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record. Mr Webster kindly lent the coins to us for study and gave permission for them to be published here. A few weeks earlier while detecting on the same field at Bowthorpe, Mr L.P. Carriage had found two other Anglo-Saxon coins, one of Beonna of East Anglia (749–57 or later) and the other of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), which he had shown at the Norwich Castle Museum on 16 September 1991. These are described in the 'Coin Register' elsewhere in this volume (nos 119 and 124).

The three Harthacnut coins were each of the Arm and Sceptre type, struck during his second reign, 1040–42. They are illustrated on **plate 13** and may be described as follows:

1. Norwich, moneyer Leofwine.  
*Obv.* +CNV/T REX ANGL  
*Rev.* +L·EOFPINE ON NOR·  
Weight: 1.06g (16.4gr.). Die-axis: 270°.  
From the same dies as *SCBI* Stockholm iv 1903.
2. Norwich, moneyer Leofwine.  
*Obv.* +HAR|J  
*Rev.* +|N·NORD  
Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr.), fragment. Die-axis: 90°.  
From the same dies as *SCBI* Stockholm iv 1688.
3. Norwich, moneyer Rinulf (*Hringwulf*).  
*Obv.* +CNV/T REX ANGL  
*Rev.* +RINVL·F ON NOR·DP  
Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr.). Die-axis: 320°.  
From the same dies as *SCBI* Stockholm iv 1906.

They were apparently found close to each other in the field, and since coins of Harthacnut are generally scarce as finds, there can be little doubt that these were associated losses. No further specimens have turned up despite intensive searching of the area, and it is likely that the three coins belonged to a small

purse hoard lost accidentally, rather than being part of a larger deposit deliberately concealed. The absence of eleventh-century pot sherds on the ploughed surface of the field indicates that the coins were not lost within an area of contemporary settlement.

The three coins are all of the local Norwich mint, but one bears Harthacnut's name in full while the other two have the shorter version, 'Cnut'. Talvio has hinted that the coins reading 'Cnut' may have been struck after those with 'Harthacnut',<sup>1</sup> a theory which he plans to develop in a special study of the Arm and Sceptre type. The weights of the two 'Cnut' coins here are on the lighter end of the weight distribution for

the type generally and for the Norwich mint itself,<sup>2</sup> which would support Talvio's suggestion that they belonged later in the issue. It would seem then that the small Bowthorpe hoard was probably lost during 1041 or 1042 rather than 1040.

A summary of the find in modified *Inventory* format is as follows:

BOWTHORPE, Norfolk, Sept. 1991

3 AR Anglo-Saxon. Deposit c. 1042.

KINGS OF ENGLAND: Harthacnut, Arm and Sceptre type – Norwich, Leofwine 2, Rinulf, 1.

*BNJ* 61 (1991), 125–6.

*Disposition*: with the finder.

<sup>1</sup> T. Talvio, *SCBI 40. Stockholm iv, Anglo-Saxon Coins. Harold I and Harthacnut 1035–1042* (Oxford, 1991), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> H.B.A. Petersson, 'Coins and weights, late Anglo-Saxon pennies and mints, c. 973–1066', *Studies in Late*

*Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, edited by K. Jonsson (Numismatiska Meddelanden 35; Stockholm, 1990), pp. 207–433, at pp. 308 and 347.

## THE LOCATION OF EDINBURGH MINT, 1358 TO 1463 – AND LINLITHGOW MINT

JOAN E.L. MURRAY

THE first two of the moneyer's accounts rendered in James II's reign give details of the location of the mint in Edinburgh. Later such accounts, however, include rents which are puzzling at first sight, and which have, understandably, been taken to indicate the use of different houses for the Edinburgh mint.<sup>1</sup> In fact, there are other contemporary records, by which one can establish that the mint was in the same location up to 1448 and also in 1463. Likewise there is some evidence that this was also the case from 1358.<sup>2</sup> The main reason for the present article is the recent discovery of records by which one can deduce some dates for the use of Linlithgow as a mint; the evidence of the Edinburgh rents is relevant to the interpretation of these records.

In the table of mint rents, brackets have been used for the few cases where the source is other than the

moneyers' accounts.<sup>3</sup> The accounts of Robert Gray are available for 1434 to 1450, with a gap of one year, for which the exchequer rolls are missing. His tenure probably also covered the earlier years of the Fleur-de-lis coinage, since he was granted quittance under the great seal in 1427 for his dealings with the exchange and fabrication of new money. Two other Edinburgh burgesses, William Cameron and Robert Lauder, had similar quittances at the same time.<sup>4</sup> The accounts of all three may have been rendered to the treasurer, an office introduced into Scotland at the beginning of James I's personal reign.<sup>5</sup>

There is a real distinction between the two types of rent occurring in these accounts, although this may not be clear from the basic meaning of the Latin terms. The *ferme* – *firma*, a fixed payment – was in this case a rent paid to the owner by the occupier. The

<sup>1</sup> Ian Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', in *Mints, Dies and Currency, Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R.A.G. Carson (1971), p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> This was discussed in a short paper read to the British Numismatic Society in June 1979. The conclusions were included in: N.M. McO. Holmes, *Weill Wrocht & Cwneyit: The Edinburgh Mint and its Coinage*, (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 17–18.

<sup>3</sup> The table gives detailed references (which are not repeated) to *ER – The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vols i, ii,

iv and v, edited by G. Burnet (1878–82). The moneyers' accounts, except for 1438–40, are also in R.W. Cochrane, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, i (Edinburgh, 1874), under the reign, but the rents are omitted in a number of cases. The sums have been converted to merks, where this makes for greater clarity.

<sup>4</sup> *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, ii, edited by J.B. Paul (1882), nos 96–98.

<sup>5</sup> The treasurer's accounts are not available until James IV's reign, except a fragment for 1473.