

# THE STAMFORD AND PETERBOROUGH MINTS

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(Continued from Vol. XXIII, p. 28.)



FIG. 15.

AFTER the foregoing list of Eadweard the Martyr's coins was printed, Messrs. Baldwin purchased on my behalf at the sale of the Drabble collection<sup>1</sup> a penny of Eadweard the Martyr which may be described as follows:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
56 a	+ EADPEARD REX ANGLORX From the same die as No. 56	+ PYLFER MTO STAN. From the same die as No. 56, and Æthelred II, No. 8	W. C. Wells [Fig. 15.]

The coin was struck from the same dies as No. 56, but *before* the annulet was cut in the reverse die. Why was the annulet added to the die after it had already been in use? The late W. J. Andrew, *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, pp. 363-4, under "Peterborough", says:

"... It follows that all the money struck by the Abbot's moneyer must bear the name of Stamford as its mint, and the contemporary identification of his money would of course be apparent from the moneyer's name upon it. But it might happen that a King's moneyer who had been coining in a certain type was, owing to the death of his ecclesiastical colleague, transferred to the Abbot, and continued to issue the same type for him, or, again, upon the appointment of a new Abbot the moneyer of his predecessor might similarly continue the current type. In either of these cases, it will be patent to all, that unless the Abbot was prepared to accept responsibility for money issued before it was under his own control, some mark upon the new money was necessary for identification, and the same necessity would arise when a moneyer succeeded another of the same name. This was readily effected by the addition of a small ornament or device to the existing die.

"Such is a very simple explanation of an old but unsolved

<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Glendining's, 5 July 1939, lot 440.

problem. . . . The spiritual lords usually chose some ecclesiastical symbol such as a small cross or annulet—their ring of investiture.

‘Lay down thy cross and staff,  
Thy myter and thy ring I to thee gaff.’

“ . . . The reader . . . will find numerous examples of the cross and annulet upon the coins of the Stamford mint ; which coins no doubt represent some of the money of the Abbots of Peterborough. The annulet, or ring of St. Peter, was the symbol of investiture, and as such was especially applicable in the cases of St. Peter’s at York and St. Peter’s at Burh.”

Prima facie, the discovery of the above-described coin, in conjunction with the specimen from the same dies previously described (Eadweard the Martyr, No. 56), would appear to confirm the foregoing theory and would appear to indicate that the moneyer Wulfgar, during the issue of this type, was coining on behalf of the king, but was transferred to the abbot, in succession to Jole, Wine, Man or Wacer ? and to denote such transference the annulet was cut in the reverse die to facilitate the identification of coins struck on the abbot’s behalf subsequent to the moneyer’s transference. Wulfgar also used the same reverse die to strike coins in Æthelred II’s first type (see No. 8, *post*).

According to the “Andrew” theory the foregoing would indicate that Wulfgar was appointed the abbot’s moneyer in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and so continued into the first, second, and third types of Æthelred.<sup>1</sup> But there would be no reason to continue the annulet on coins of the first type of Æthelred as Wulfgar was already the abbot’s moneyer, and the change of monarch would further obviate the necessity for the use of the annulet. It may, however, be accounted for on the assumption that the previous reverse type was being continued, and that Wulfgar, already in possession of a reverse die, continued to use it in the new coinage, without consideration of the annulet and its significance. But the above assumption would create a difficulty, for, although the abbot was at that time entitled to only one moneyer, claims similar to those for Wulfgar could be made on behalf of three other moneyers, viz., Ælfwald, Wulfstan, and Leoving, as will be seen by the table on page 71.

*Ælfwald* was working at the Stamford mint from the latter part of Eadgar’s reign and continued there until the “Crux” type of Æthelred II. We have his coins of Eadgar, and of Eadweard the Martyr, without the annulet on the reverse, and of Eadweard the Martyr, with the annulet, and also of Æthelred’s first type, with the annulet. *Wulfstan* may have been coining at Stamford in the reign of Eadgar ; we have his coins minted there in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, without annulet, and of Æthelred’s first type, with the

<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere, the author assumes that a moneyer once appointed to the abbot’s service would so continue, probably until his death, retirement, or removal to another mint.

annulet, and we have also his coins of Æthelred's "Hand" and "Crux" types. Of the moneyer *Leoving* or *Lefing*, we have coins of Eadweard the Martyr, without the annulet, and of Æthelred's first type we have a coin<sup>1</sup> with the annulet on the reverse. He coined also in the "Hand" type of Æthelred. The annulet on Ælfwald's coins in the British Museum and W.C.W. collections appears to have been partially erased, apparently from the die.

Moneyers	Eadgar		Eadweard the Martyr		Æthelred II					
					Type I		Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V
	Without bust	With bust	Without annulet	With annulet	Without annulet	With annulet	1st "Hand" type	2nd "Hand" type	"Benediction" type	"Crux" type
RICULF . . . . .	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
JOLE OR JOEL . . . .	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WINE . . . . .	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MANN, MAN . . . . .	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CNAPA, CNAPE . . . .	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
HILD . . . . .	+	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
ÆSCMAN <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ÆLFWALD, ÆLFWOLD . .	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	+
OGEA <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
WULFGAR, WULGAR . .	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—
BOIA, BOGA, BOGE <sup>3</sup> .	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—
GRIM . . . . .	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
WACER . . . . .	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WULFSTAN, WULSTAN .	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	+
LEFING, LEOVING, LIVING.	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—

According to the "Andrew" theory, Ælfwald's coins suggest that he was working for the king under Eadgar and Eadweard the Martyr, and the annulet's appearance on his coins in the latter reign suggests that he was then transferred to the abbot's service and so continued until Æthelred's "Crux" type.<sup>4</sup> But here again, as in Wulfgar's case, there was no reason for the retention of the annulet on coins of Æthelred's first type. *Leoving*, or *Lefing*, was operating at the Stamford mint in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and we have his coin without the annulet. In Æthelred's first type we have his coin with an annulet on the reverse, which, according to theory, would show that Leoving was working for the king in Eadweard the Martyr's reign and was transferred to the abbot immediately upon Æthelred's succession to the throne and continued in his service until the "Hand" type was in issue.

The coin of Æthelred's first issue, by the moneyer *Hild*, is interesting on account of the attempt to erase the annulet on the reverse.

<sup>1</sup> See Eadweard the Martyr No. 45, Pl. II, fig. 22, and Æthelred II No. 6, Pl. III, fig. 32.

<sup>2</sup> A moneyer Æscman coined at Stamford also in Æthelred II, type IX, and in Canute type I. See table on p. 100, *post*.

<sup>3</sup> See note on p. 76, *post*.

<sup>4</sup> See Table above.

We have coins by this moneyer of the reign of Eadgar and of Eadweard the Martyr, the latter without annulet, but none of the latter reign, by this moneyer, with the annulet. Yet the coin of Æthelred with the annulet clearly indicates that *Hild* had struck coins with the annulet in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and that for some reason, upon the accession of Æthelred, he endeavoured to erase the annulet from either his reverse die or from the coins struck from it. Possibly *Hild*'s coin of Eadweard the Martyr, with annulet, will turn up later.

There was no change of abbot at Peterborough during the period under discussion, consequently, according to the "Andrew" theory, to account for the annulet on the Stamford coins we are reduced to two alternatives: (1) the transference of a moneyer from the king to the abbot or (2) the somewhat remote possibility of a series of Stamford moneyers succeeded by others of the same name. The analysis of coins of the "annulet" period given above completely fails to support alternative (1); quite the contrary. If we accept Wulfgar as the abbot's moneyer in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and of Æthelred II, down to the "Hand" type, by reason of the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr, from the same dies, one with and the other without an annulet, which is quite in accordance with the "Andrew" theory, how can we reconcile that assumption with the fact that the coins of at least three other moneyers, viz. Ælfwald, Wulfstan, and Leoving, exhibit equally conclusive evidence that each of them, one in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and the others in Æthelred's first type, had been appointed the abbot's moneyer and had continued coining for him in the later issues of Æthelred?<sup>1</sup> A fourth moneyer, *Hild*, as stated above, also appears to have been transferred to the abbot in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and was coining also in Æthelred's first type.

That the annulet was placed on these Stamford coins for a definite reason is evidenced by the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr struck from the same dies, one with and the other without the annulet, as previously described, and also by the fact that in at least two instances the moneyer has endeavoured to erase the annulet either from the die or from the coin. However carefully the question is considered it appears impossible to reconcile the Stamford "annulet" coins of the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and of Æthelred II with the theory which Mr. Andrew put forward as "a very simple explanation of an old but unsolved problem". Possibly the problem will be solved by numismatists of the future.

#### ÆTHELRED II, A.D. 978-1016

Upon the death of Eadweard the Martyr, in 978, his half-brother Æthelred "the Unready" succeeded to the throne and was crowned by Dunstan at Kingston on 14 April 978, and within a month of Eadweard's murder. Æthelred was the son of Eadgar and Ælfthryth, and was born in 968 or 969.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 71, *ante*, and table on the same page.

Æthelred had not been long on the throne when the Danish invasions began—a series of invasions which led eventually to the submission of all England to a Danish king. From 980 to 982 several descents were made on different parts of the coast by the Danes and Northmen. In 988 the attacks were renewed and the invaders began to settle in the country. In 991 a more formidable invasion was made by a powerful Norwegian force, and then commenced the disastrous policy of trying to buy off the invaders. Archbishop Sigeric and the West Saxon ealdormen Æthelweard and Ælfric promised to pay them ten thousand pounds of silver. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 991 says:

“And in that year it was first decreed that tribute should be paid to the Danish men, on account of the great terror which they caused by the sea-coast: that was at first ten thousand pounds.”<sup>1</sup>

In 994 came the formidable combined invasion of Anlaf Tryggveson of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark. At the head of ninety-four ships the two northern princes sailed up the Thames and laid siege to London. The assault was beaten off by the Londoners with great slaughter of the besiegers. Æthelred resolved to offer tribute on condition that the enemy should depart. The Northmen accepted the terms and spent the winter at Southampton while £16,000 was being collected to pay them off, which was done in the following year, 995. In 1001 the enemy were again raiding the western coast. Again Æthelred met the invaders by offering to bribe them to depart, by a third payment of tribute even heavier than those of 991 and 995. This time the Danes extorted no less than £24,000 before they departed, in 1002. In 1003 they returned again with Sweyn at their head. In 1005 they returned home, apparently without exacting a ransom.

Near the end of 1006 the Danes returned and renewed their work of destruction. Again it was decided to purchase peace. This time no less than £36,000 was paid to the invaders. This was paid in 1007 and the enemy left England.

In 1009 the Danes arrived once more, and for the space of two years they ravaged the country and slew the inhabitants, and in 1012 they received, as tribute, the large sum of £48,000.

The total tribute paid to the Danes between the years 991 and 1012 reached the enormous sum of £146,000, or 35,040,000 pennies, the greater part of which was doubtless paid in coined money. To produce even a moderate proportion of this huge sum in coined money the mints throughout England would necessarily work at high pressure; many dormant and semi-dormant mints would be pressed into service and new mints instituted. The collecting of this huge sum must have drained England of silver and silver coin, which probably accounts for the discovery of so few coins of Æthelred II in English hoards.

<sup>1</sup> The amount of the tribute appears to have been subsequently increased, for the text of this treaty has been preserved and is translated in Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. i, pp. 220–3. It names £22,000 instead of the £10,000 of the *Chronicle*.



On the other hand, many large hoards of coins, largely composed of those of Æthelred II, have been discovered in Scandinavia. These hoards undoubtedly represent some small proportion of the actual coins paid as tribute to the Danes and their allies, and they were probably hidden by men who had taken part in the raids on England and had received these coins as part of their share of the plunder.

Hildebrand, in the second edition (1881) of his *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm*, describes no less than 4,389 varieties of coins of Æthelred II, all of which were discovered, principally in hoards, in Sweden. In addition, there are thousands of coins of this reign in public and private collections in England, Scandinavia, and elsewhere, of which probably 90 per cent. have been derived from Scandinavian hoards. On the face of many coins of this reign are to be found small cuts or "nicks", varying in number from one or two to six or eight. The coins so defaced are, apparently, invariably derived from Scandinavian hoards. These cuts were obviously made with the point of a knife, and were probably made by the Scandinavian owners as a rough-and-ready method of testing the quality of the silver of which the coin was composed, the cut metal being turned back to expose the underlying metal. Hildebrand in his catalogue describes 147 varieties of coins struck at the Stamford mint during the reign of Æthelred II. These and other Stamford coins found in other parts of Scandinavia undoubtedly formed part of the levy imposed upon the inhabitants of the Stamford Baron and Peterborough districts for the payment of tribute to the Danes and Northmen.

In 1013 Sweyn came over with a fine fleet and received submission of all northern England. The Danes again marched into the west and Sweyn was formally chosen as king. No coins, however, appear to have been struck bearing his name. When Sweyn had conquered the greater part of England, in the latter part of 1013, Æthelred's queen, Ælfgifu-Emma, took refuge with her brother Richard, Duke of the Normans, at Rouen. She was accompanied in her flight by Ælfsige, Abbot of Peterborough. In January 1014 Æthelred crossed over to Rouen to join his queen. Sweyn died in the following month, and the Danish fleet immediately chose his son Canute as king, but the witan, clergy, and laity decided to send to Æthelred and request his return. Upon his return Æthelred placed himself at the head of a large force and drove Canute out. When Canute returned later in 1015 Æthelred lay sick at Corsham. His son Eadmund gathered an army to oppose Canute, but Æthelred was unable to join him. Æthelred died in London on 23 April 1016.

With the reign of Æthelred we reach a period when it is possible to demonstrate with some degree of certainty the chronological sequence of the various types of coins. Æthelred's earliest coins are a variety of type *Hawkins*, 205 (*British Museum Catalogue*, type i), and are identical in type with the coins of his predecessor. Indeed, so closely do they resemble the coins of Eadweard the Martyr that

without reading the obverse legend it is impossible to distinguish between the coins of those two issues. These early coins of Æthelred are rarely met with, and were issued from so few mints that undoubtedly they formed an emergency issue for a brief period until a general type had been officially decided upon. The writer once saw a coin of this early variety of *Hawkins*, 205, which had been struck from dies of Eadweard the Martyr, but the king's name on the obverse die had been altered from EADFARD to ÆÐELRED.<sup>1</sup>

Fairly conclusive evidence that this was the first type issued in Æthelred's reign is afforded by the Stamford coins. Of the seven moneyers whose coins are described in the following list Ælfwald or Ælfwold, Hild, and Wulfgar or Wulgar, commenced operations at the Stamford mint in the reign of Eadgar, and Boia, Grim, Lefing or Leoving, and Wulfstan or Wulstan, were working there only from the previous reign, Eadweard the Martyr. Wulfstan continued operations until type VI (*Hks.* 207), was in issue, Ælfwald continued into type V (CRVX), Boia into type III (*Hks.* 206), Grim, Lefing or Leoving, into type II (1st "Hand" type), and Hild, who had worked there since the early type of Eadgar, apparently failed to carry his operations beyond type I of Æthelred.<sup>2</sup>

Coin No. 8 in the following list was struck from the same reverse die as that of Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 56 and 56 *a*, *ante*, and the reverse of No. 5 in the list, HILD MTO STANFO, also has every appearance of having been struck from a die of Eadweard the Martyr. The writer possesses two coins of Eadweard the Martyr with similar reverse readings (Nos. 42 and 43 in list, *ante*), but neither is from the same die, nor does there appear to be a record of a coin of Eadweard the Martyr from this reverse die, in the field of which is an annulet, partially erased, but it is difficult to decide whether the attempted erasure was made in the die or on the coin. It is highly probable in consideration of the partially erased annulet that the reverse die was actually used in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and that a coin of that reign with this exact reverse will turn up eventually.

Some of the dies for Æthelred's first type are of excellent work, equal to the best of those of Eadweard the Martyr, while others are obviously of local work, particularly those of the Lincoln and York mints. The inscriptions on both obverse and reverse of some specimens are either very incorrect or practically unintelligible, and many of the letters are badly formed and retrograde.<sup>3</sup> A feature of these coins of type I, which proclaims their early issue, is that a good percentage read REX ANGLORX and on the reverse the moneyer's name and that of the mint are invariably connected by the form MTO, each frequently more or less blundered. Only one specimen of the early

<sup>1</sup> In the sale of the Drabble collection (Glendining, 5 July 1939) were two coins of this early type of Æthelred II, lots 445 (Lincoln), and 448 (Torksey). In each case the cataloguer suggested that "the obverse is probably an altered die of Edward the Martyr". The present writer subjected these coins to a close scrutiny but failed to discover any indication of such alteration.

<sup>2</sup> See table of moneyers on p. 71, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Figs. 16 and 17, and Pl. III, fig. 33.

variety is figured in the *British Museum Catalogue*, viz. Pl. XV, fig. 9, + GRIND MTO LINCL.



FIG. 16



FIG. 17



### TYPE I ("Small cross" type)

*Obverse.* Draped and filleted bust of the king to left. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription, commencing above the king's head; the whole within a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle. Around, inscription; the whole within a beaded circle.

*Hawkins* (included in) 205; *British Museum Catalogue* (included in) type i, Pl. XV, fig. 9; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, figs. 5-6, Pl. D, fig. 33; *Hildebrand* (included in) type A.

The recorded moneyers who worked at Stamford in Æthelred II's first type are seven in number, viz. Alfwald or Ælfwald, Boga, Grim, Hild, Leoving or Lefing, Wulfgar or Wulgar, and Wulfstan or Wulstan, all of whom continued coining from the previous reign.

The following varieties have come under the writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
1	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ALFPALD MTO STANF	Royal Cabinet. Copenhagen.
		Variety. Annulet in field.	
2	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ ÆLFPALD MTO STAN	Hildebrand, 3429.
		Variety. Annulet in field.	
3	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ BOGA <sup>1</sup> MTO STANF	Brit. Mus. (Chester hoard). [Pl. III, fig. 31.]
4	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ GRIM MTO TO STANOR	Hunter Coll., Glasgow. <i>Ruding</i> , Pl. 22, No. 5. [Fig. 16.]
5	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ HILD MTO STANF	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 17.]
		Variety. Annulet, partially erased, in field.	

<sup>1</sup> See also Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 19-26, *ante*, and Æthelred II, Nos. 16-22, and 50, *post*. It is highly probable that coins reading OGE &c. (see note 1, p. 77) were struck by the same moneyer, the initial B, however, in each case having been omitted. A Canterbury coin of Eadgar (Carlyon-Britton sale, part I, 1913, lot 434) gives the form *Bogea*, and a coin of the same mint from the Chester hoard, now in the British Museum, discloses *Boea*. BOIA on the Stamford coins presumably denotes the same as BOGA &c. *Boia* (whence probably "boy") is written in Old English as *Boga* &c., with the palatal g (= y).



No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
6	✠ ÆDELRED REX ΛNƆ[L]O	✠ LEOVINƆ MƆ ΣTΛ[N]FOR <i>Variety.</i> Annulet in field.	Brit. Mus. (Chester hoard). [Pl. III, fig. 32.]
7	✠ ÆDELRED RE+ ΛRF	✠ OEE' MƆ ΣTΛNFO	Brit. Mus. [Pl. III, fig. 33]
8	✠ ÆDELRED REX ΛNƆLO Inscription begins in front of bust, below.	+ PVLƆΛR MƆ ΣTΛIF <i>Variety.</i> Annulet in field. From the same die as Eadweard the Martyr, No. 56, and 56 <i>a</i> .	Brit. Mus. (Chester hoard). [Pl. III, fig. 34.]
9	✠ EDELRED MEX ΛNƆL <i>Variety.</i> Three pellets before the face.	✠ PVLƆΛR MƆ ΣTΛNF	Hildebrand, 3562.
10	✠ ÆDELRED REX ΛNƆLO	✠ PVLΣTΛN MƆ ΣTΛNFO <i>Variety.</i> Annulet in field.	Hildebrand, 3573.
11	(Unrecorded)	✠ PVLƆΣTΛN MƆ ΣTΛN <sup>2</sup>	Montagu sale cat. 11.5.96, lot 4.

It will be observed that although the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 56 and 56 *a*, and the penny of Æthelred II, No. 8, are described as having been struck from the same reverse die, the two coins of the former reign are described as reading ✠ PVLƆΛR MƆ ΣTΛN, while that of the latter reign is described as reading ✠ PVLƆΛR MƆ ΣTΛIF.

It is beyond dispute that the three reverses are from the same die, and the reverse of the Eadweard the Martyr coins (Nos. 56 and 56 *a*) certainly appear to read — MƆ ΣTΛN. The British Museum specimen, No. 56 in the preceding list of coins of Eadweard the Martyr, is described in the *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 196, No. 32, as reading ✠ PVLƆΛR MƆ ΣTΛN, and the present writer accepted that description in his record of Nos. 56 and 56 *a* in the preceding list of Eadweard the Martyr's coins. No. 56 *a*, from the same reverse die and with the same reverse legend,<sup>1</sup> came from the Drabble collection, lot 44. It is illustrated in the sale catalogue, where the reverse legend is given as PVLƆΛR MƆ ΣTΛM.

Careful examination of the alleged Π at the end of the reverse legend of the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr, however, shows that the upper part of the two vertical strokes expand more than usual, and the expanding parts nearly meeting on the inside have the appearance of being connected at their apex and thus appearing to form an Π, but the present writer is not at all satisfied that an Π was intended by the die-sinker.

<sup>1</sup> OEE = OEE. See Eadgar, Nos. 33-4, and Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 48-50, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> The catalogue gives the reading as VVLƆΣTAN MO ΣTAN, but the above was doubtless the actual reading of the coin. Possibly the horizontal bar of the P was faintly struck, or even omitted in the die.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. fig. 15, p. 69, *ante*, and Pl. II, fig. 28.

The penny of Æthelred II, No. 8 in the foregoing list of coins of that reign, came from the Chester hoard, which is described by Dr. (now Sir George) Hill, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, where (p. 160, No. 102), he describes the reverse legend of this coin also as  $\ddagger$ PVLFGAR MTO STAM; and refers to *Hildebrand* (3563), where is described an exactly similar coin, apparently from the same dies, which also is read as PVLFGAR MTO STAM. The coin from the Chester hoard is illustrated on my Plate III, fig. 34, which shows quite clearly that two horizontal strokes have been added to the second vertical stroke of the alleged  $\Pi$ , thus forming an F, while the expansion at the top of the vertical strokes appears smaller, the former assumed  $\Pi$  being thus replaced by IF, the large pellet having disappeared into the broad part of the lower horizontal stroke forming the F, the full legend being thus altered to  $\ddagger$ PVLFGAR MTO STAFIF = STANF, the cross-bar of the N being omitted.



FIG. 18

### TYPE II ("Hand" type)

*Obverse.* Draped and diademed bust of the king to right. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* Hand of Providence issuing from clouds; on either side,  $\bar{\lambda}$ ,  $\bar{\omega}$ . Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle. Occasionally an annulet or a pellet is shown in the clouds.

*British Museum Catalogue*,<sup>1</sup> type ii, var. a; *Ruding*,<sup>2</sup> Pl. 22, figs. 10-12; *Hildebrand*,<sup>3</sup> type B.1; *Brooke*,<sup>4</sup> Pl. XVI, fig. 7.

The Stamford moneyers who coined in this type number at least nine or ten, viz. Æthestan, Alfwald or Alfwold, Boge,<sup>5</sup> Boia, Godwine, Grim, Leofdag or Leofdæg, Living, Wulfgar or Wulgar, and Wulfstan or Wulstan, of whom Alfwald, Boga, Grim, Living, Boge (?), Wulfgar, and Wulfstan were working at Stamford in type I.

The following varieties of Stamford coins of this type have come under the writer's notice:

<sup>1</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. ii, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, 3rd edition, 1840.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Coins in The Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm*, by B. E. Hildebrand, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> *English Coins*, by G. C. Brooke, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> Boge may be identical with Boia.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
12	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ /EDESTAN MTON ZTAN	Hildebrand, 3447.
13	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 44	✠ ALFFALD MTO STANV	Brit. Mus. [Pl. III, fig. 35]
14	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ALFFOLD MTO STANF.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 36.]
15	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ALFPOLD MO STAN.	Ruding, Pl. 22, fig. 11.
16	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ BOIA MTO ZTANFORD	Hildebrand, 3456.
17	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ BOIA MTO STANFOR.	Roy. Cab. Berlin.
18	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ BOIA MTO STANFOR Variety. Pellet in cloud.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 37.]
19	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ BOIA MTO STANFO	Hildebrand, 3455.
20	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ BOIA MTO STANFO Variety. Cuff of sleeve showing above cloud.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 38.]
21	(Unrecorded.)	✠ BOIA MTO STANF	Montagu sale cat. II.5. 1896, lot 9.
22	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ BOGE' MTO STANFORD	W. C. Wells.
23	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODFINE MTO STEANFO <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3521.
24	✠ /EDELRED [RE]X ANGLOR	✠ GOD[PIN]E MTO STANF	W. C. Wells. (Fragment.)
25	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODFINE MTO STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 39.]
26	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODPINE MTO STAN	W. Webster.
27	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE MTO STAN Variety. Pellet in cloud.	W. C. Wells.
28	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	GRIM MTO STANFOR	W. C. Wells.
29	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GRIM MTO STANFOR	W. Webster.
30	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ LEOFDAG MTO STEANF <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3528.

<sup>1</sup> Boge may be identical with Boia.

<sup>2</sup> Steanford is the Mercian dialectal form of West Saxon Stanford.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
31	✠ /EDELRE[ . . . . . ]E :	[ . . . . ]FDEE M <sup>o</sup> ST[ . . . ] <sup>1</sup>	W. C. Wells. (Fragment.)
32	✠ /EDEERED REX ANGLON	✠ LIVING M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 18.]
33	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ LIVING M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. Webster.
34	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLFGAR M <sup>o</sup> STAN <i>Variety. Pellet under W.</i>	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3564.
35	✠ /EDELRED R[       ]	✠ FVLFGAR M <sup>o</sup> [       ]	W. C. Wells (cut half-penny. [Pl. III, fig. 40.]
36	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ FVLGAR M <sup>o</sup> STEANFO <sup>3</sup>	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3572.
37	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLGAR M <sup>o</sup> STANF	Roy. Coll. Copenhagen. <sup>2</sup>
38	✠ /EDELRED REX 'A'NGLOX	✠ FVLGAR M <sup>o</sup> STANF	W. C. Wells.
39	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ FVLGAR M <sup>o</sup> STEANF <sup>3</sup>	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3571.
40	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ FVLGAR M <sup>o</sup> STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3570.
41	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ FVLGAR M <sup>o</sup> STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3569.
42	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ FVLSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STEAN <sup>3</sup>	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3565.
43	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLSTAN H <sup>o</sup> STAN	H. A. Parsons.
44	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO <sup>4</sup> From the same die as No. 13, <i>ante</i> .	✠ FVLSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAN From the same die as No. 45.	Brit. Mus. W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 41.]
45	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 46.	✠ FVLSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAN From the same die as No. 44.	Brit. Mus. [Pl. III, fig. 42.]
46	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 45.	✠ FVLSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAT	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 43.]
47	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ FVLSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STA	Brit. Mus. (Ex Ipswich hoard and Sir J. Evans coll.)

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Leofdeg*; see also the previous coin.

<sup>2</sup> The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen. Particulars of the Stamford coins in this collection were furnished by MM. Müller and Herbst in the sixties of last century, to Samuel Sharp, who incorporated those descriptions in his paper, "The Stamford Mint", *Numis. Chron.*, 1869.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2 on previous page.

<sup>4</sup> The British Museum specimen is from the same obverse die as No. 13, *ante* (compare Pl. III, figs. 35 and 41), the W.C.W. specimen, however, is from a different obverse die.



FIG. 19

## TYPE III (Second "Hand type")

*Obverse.* Bust to right, diademed; in front of bust, sceptre, cross pommée. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head, between two circles, the outer one beaded.

*Reverse.* Hand of Providence issuing from clouds; on either side,  $\bar{\lambda}-\bar{\omega}$ ; lines curved outwards issuing from clouds on either side of Hand. Around, inscription between two circles, the outer one beaded.

*Hawkins*, 206; *British Museum Catalogue*, type ii, *var. d*; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 13; *Hildebrand*, B. 2; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 2.<sup>1</sup>

The moneyers known to have been working at the Stamford mint in this type are Ælfwold, Æthelwyrd, Boga, Godwine, and Wulfstan, all of whom, with the exception of Æthelwyrd, were coining in type II. Æthelwyrd does not again appear as a Stamford moneyer.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
48	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ /ELFOLD M <sup>o</sup> STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3430.
49	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ /EDELFYRD M <sup>o</sup> ST	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3446.
50	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ BOGA M <sup>o</sup> STANFO	Roy. Cab. Copenhagen.
51	✠ /EDELRED REX ANLOX	✠ GODFINE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3523.
52	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLX	✠ GODFINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3522.
53	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ FVLSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3566.

Stamford coins of this type are of considerable rarity, no specimen of this type, of the Stamford mint, having appeared in the dispersal of any British collection, large or small, during the past fifty years. The writer has not seen a specimen, nor does he know of any British collection containing one. The foregoing six examples from the Stamford Mint, in foreign collections, appear to be all that have been recorded, consequently the writer has found it necessary, owing to exigencies of the war, to illustrate a coin (Fig. 19) struck at a mint other than Stamford. This remark also applies to the succeeding type.

<sup>1</sup> *The Coinage of England*, by Sir Charles Oman, 1931.





FIG. 20

## TYPE IV ("Benediction" type)

*Obverse.* Draped, but not diademed, bust of the king to right; in front of bust, sceptre, cross pattée; plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* Hand of Providence giving the Latin benediction, i.e. third and fourth fingers closed, issuing from clouds. Cross pattée in cloud. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*British Museum Catalogue*, type ii, var. f.; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 15, Pl. D, fig. 37; *Hildebrand*, type B 3.

The following is the only Stamford coin of this type that has come under the present writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
54	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOꝝ	✠ ALFGAR M <sup>o</sup> STANF	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3448.

This is the first appearance of the moneyer Alfgar's name upon a Stamford coin. He coined also in type V, but his name does not appear subsequently.



FIG. 21

## TYPE V ("Crux" type)

*Obverse.* Draped bust, without fillet, of the king to left; in front of bust sceptre, cross pommée. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* Short cross voided, in the angles CRV+ commencing in the second (heraldic) quarter. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*British Museum Catalogue*, type iii; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 4; *Hildebrand*, type C; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 8.

The recorded moneyers whose names appear upon Stamford coins of the "Crux" type are: Ælfgar, Ælfget, Alfwold, Aeswy[g], Brun, Cristhin, Godelef or Godeleof, Godwine, Swartgar, and Wulfstan, all of whom are new to the Stamford mint with the exception of Alfwold, Godwine, and Wulfstan who were coining there previously. That this is the correct chronological position of the "Crux" type is shown by the "mule" coin figured by *Hildebrand*, as type C, variety *d*, which comprises the obverse of the "Benediction" type combined with the reverse of the "Crux" type.

The following varieties of Stamford coins of this type have come under the writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
55	✠ /ÆÐLELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ /ELFEAR M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 44.]
56	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFEAR M <sup>o</sup> O TAM	Holmboe <sup>1</sup>
57	✠ /ÆÐER/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ /ELFEET M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in third quarter.	W. C. Wells.
58	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ ALFPOLD M <sup>o</sup> O STAN.	W. C. Wells.
59	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ ALFPOLD M <sup>o</sup> O STF	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 345 <sup>1</sup> . Roy. Coll. Copenhagen.
60	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED RE+ ANGLORX	✠ AESPY M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <i>Variety.</i> " before E in "CRV+".	S. Sharp.
61	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ BRVN M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <sup>2</sup>	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 21.]
62	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ CRISÐIN M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 45.]
63	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODELEOF M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3497.
64	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODELEF M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 359 <sup>1</sup> .
65	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODFINE M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	Roy. Coll. Copenhagen.

<sup>1</sup> *Munter fra Milderhalderen, funde ved Egerfund*, Christiania, 1836, being a description of 1,500 coins, 725 of which were Anglo-Saxon, found in Norway in February of that year.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only Stamford coin of any type or reign, by a moneyer BRVN, that has come under the author's notice. The name *Brun* appears upon Exeter coins of type II of this reign and upon London coins of the reigns of Canute, Harold I, and Harthacnut; and upon Ipswich and Winchester coins of the reign of Eadweard the Confessor.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
66	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODFINE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. C. Wells.
67	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODFINE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. C. Wells.
68	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODPNE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 46.]
69	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ SFARTEAR M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Cuff sale, 1854.
70	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ FVLFFSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
71	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ FVLFFSTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Roy. Coll. Copenhagen.



FIG. 22

## TYPE VI ("Long cross" type)

*Obverse.* Draped bust of the king, to left, without fillet or diadem; the hair is stiffly brushed up and resembles a comb or helmet; around, inscription which commences above the king's head. No inner circle. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* Long cross voided and extending to the edge of the coin, generally with a pellet in the centre, each limb terminating in three crescents; around, inscription divided into four sections by arms of the cross. No inner circle. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*Hawkins*, 207; *British Museum Catalogue*, type iv, var. a; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, figs. 2-3, Pl. 28, fig. 1, Pl. 30, fig. 24; *Hildebrand*, type D; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 10; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 4.

During the issue of this type the Stamford mint employed at least fifteen moneyers, viz. Ælfget, Ælfrerd (Ælfwerd), Ælfwine or Elfwine, Ascwge or Ascwig, Cristin or Cristhin, Eadwi[ne], Elebriht, Godæg, Godleof or Godeleof, Leofwine or Lefwine, Lifinc, Liofnea (?), Scot, Swartgar or Swertgar, and Wulfstan, of whom Ælfget, Ascwig, Cristin, Godeleof, Swartgar, and Wulfstan were coining at Stamford in the previous type. Elebriht is new to this mint and his name does not occur again on later types.

The large increase in the number of moneys issuing this type undoubtedly indicates a greatly increased demand for coin in order to meet one of the larger danegelt payments.

The following varieties of this type have come under the author's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
72	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN <sup>1</sup>	Cuff sale, 1854.
73	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O S/TAN <sup>1</sup>	W. C. Wells.
74	✠ EDELRED R/EX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	Hildebrand, 3428.
75	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
76	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
77	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. Webster.
78	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
79	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
80	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
81	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	S. Sharp.
82	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From same die as No. 83.	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
83	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From same die as No. 82.	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
84	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	Brit. Mus.
85	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	Hildebrand, 3453.
86	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. Webster.
87	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	Hildebrand, 3452.

<sup>1</sup> The transverse lines indicate where, on the obverse, the inscription is intersected by the king's bust and, on the reverse, where the inscription is intersected by the arms of the cross. These divisions are not generally indicated in printed lists (e.g. *Hildebrand*), nor in sale catalogues, hence their frequent omission in these lists from descriptions of coins not personally verified.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
88	(Unrecorded.)	✠ ASCPE MO STĀ <sup>2</sup>	..
89	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTAN M <sup>o</sup> STAN <sup>2</sup>	Upsala, Sweden. <sup>1</sup>
90	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 91.	✠ CRI/STIN/MO/O/ STAN <i>Variety.</i> Small pellet in third and fourth (her- aldic) quarters.	W. C. Wells. [PI. IV, fig. 47.]
91	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 90.	✠ CRI/STIN/MO/O/ STAN <sup>2</sup>	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
92	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTIN MO STAN	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
93	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTINE MO STAN	W. Webster.
94	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTIN M <sup>o</sup> STAN <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3459.
95	✠ /EDEL RDE REX ANGL	✠ CRISTIN M <sup>o</sup> STAN <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3457.
96	✠ /EDEL RED REX ANGL	✠ EADPI M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Bury St. Edmunds Mus. <sup>3</sup>
97	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ EADPI/M <sup>o</sup> /STA	W. C. Wells.
98	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ ELE3 <sup>4</sup> /BRIH/T M <sup>o</sup> /STAN	Brit. Mus.
99	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ EOD/EG MO STAN <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3486.
100	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ EOD/EG M/OO S/TAN <i>Variety.</i> Annulet enclos- ing pellet, in second (heraldic) quarter.	W. C. Wells. [PI. IV, fig. 49.]
101	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL <sup>o</sup> From the same die as No. 102.	✠ EOD/EG/ M <sup>o</sup> S/TAN	W. C. Wells. [PI. IV, fig. 48.]

<sup>1</sup> The Collection of Coins of the University of Upsala, Sweden—from the Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins by Schröder, 1825; also "Schröder, *Numorum A.S. Centuria Selecta*, Upsalæ, 1847".

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> This coin was found at Whepstead, Suffolk. In 1865 it was in the Museum at Bury St. Edmunds, where it was seen by Samuel Sharp. The coin, however, has been missing many years.

<sup>4</sup> This 3-like character appears to have no reference to the legend and, consequently, is redundant. The name was probably *Elfbrigt* or *Æthelbrigt*. It occurs elsewhere upon Ipswich coins of the reign of Canute, Harold I, and William I, where the forms used are *Elbrigt*, *Ælbrht*, *Ælbrigt*, *Æthlbrigt*, *Æglbrht*, *Ægelbrigt*, &c.



No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
102	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 101.	✠ GO/D/EG/ M'Q S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
103	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GOD/EG M'Q STAN <sup>2</sup>	J. Phillips. <sup>1</sup>
104	✠ EDELRED REX LI From the same die as No. 107.	✠ GO/D/EG/ M'Q S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
105	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GOD/EG M'Q STAN <sup>2</sup>	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
106	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GOD/EG M'Q STAN <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3483.
107	✠ EDELRED REX LI From the same die as No. 104.	✠ GO/D/EG/M'Q/STAN	W. C. Wells.
108	✠ EDELRED REX LI	✠ GOD/EG MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3484.
109	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 130.	✠ GOD/ELEO/F M'Q/ STAN	[Pl. IV, fig. 50.]
110	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 118.	✠ GOD/ELEO/F M'Q/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
111	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GOD/ELEO/F M'Q/ STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
112	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GOD/LEOF/MQO/ STAN	R. C. Lockett.
113	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ CODELEOF M'Q STAN <sup>2</sup>	Hildebrand, 3501.
114	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GO/DLEO/F M'Q/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
115	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODLEOF MQO STAN	Hildebrand, 3506.
116	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODLEOP MOO STAN <sup>2,3</sup>	Hildebrand, 3508.
117	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GO/DELO/F M'Q/ STAN	Brit. Mus.

<sup>1</sup> The late Joseph Phillips, Stamford.<sup>2</sup> See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.<sup>3</sup> In Hildebrand, p. 490, No. 97, is described a penny of Sihtric III, King of Dublin, 989-1029, inscribed on the obverse, SIHTRE RE+ DYFLNI, and on the reverse, + GODLEOP MoO STAN. This coin is probably from the same reverse die as No. 116, above. See also note 2, p. 105, *post*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
118	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 110.	✠ CO/DELE/OF M <sup>o</sup> /O STAN	W. C. Wells.
119	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ CO/DELE/OF M <sup>o</sup> /O STAN	W. C. Wells.
120	✠ /EDELRED REX	✠ LEOPNE M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <sup>1</sup>	Hildebrand, 3529.
121	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ LIFNE M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <sup>1</sup>	Hildebrand, 3532.
122	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ LEPPNE MO STAN <sup>1</sup>	Cuff sale, 1854.
123	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ LIOFNEA M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <sup>1</sup> Inscription retrograde.	Hildebrand, 3533.
124	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN From the same die as Nos. 125 and 126.	W. C. Wells.
125	OTX +ER DERLEBEX ✠ (= ✠ /EDELRED RE+ ANGLOR)	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN From the same die as Nos. 124 and 126.	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Fig. 23.]
126	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SC/OT M/O STAN From the same die as Nos. 124 and 125.	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 24.]
127	✠ EDELRED RE+ AN <sup>2</sup>	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN	Hildebrand, 3539.
128	✠ EDELRED REX L	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN	Hildebrand, 3538.
129	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ SPARTCAR M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <sup>1</sup>	Hildebrand, 3541.
130	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 109.	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M <sup>o</sup> O/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
131	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M <sup>o</sup> O/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
132	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M <sup>o</sup> O/ STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 22.]
133	X EDELRED EX[?] ANGLOR	✠ SPERTCAR M <sup>o</sup> O STAN <sup>1</sup>	S. Sharp.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 85, ante.

<sup>2</sup> Bust and inscription retrograde. This coin is possibly from the same dies as No. 125, the obverse legend having been slightly misread.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
134	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL.	✠ SPERTCAR M'O STAN	Hildebrand, 3559.
135	✠ EDELRED RE ANGO	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M'O/ STAN	Hildebrand, 4382.
136	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR M'O STAN	Hildebrand, 3560.
137	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL.	✠ SP/ERC/R 'MO/ STA	W. C. Wells.
138	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX AN	✠ SPERTCAR MO STA	Hildebrand, 3556.
139	✠ /EDELRED REX AIG	✠ SPERTCAR MO STA	Hildebrand, 3557.
140	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX AEL	✠ SPERTCAR MO STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
141	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ SPERTCAR M'O STA	Hildebrand, 3558.
142	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ PVL/FSTAN/M'O/ STA	W. C. Wells. (Ex Rashleigh Coll.)
143	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ PVLFASTAN M'O STA	Hildebrand, 3568.

The chronological sequence of types VI (*Hawkins*, 207) and VII (*Hawkins*, 203) has been a subject for discussion amongst numismatists and it has been generally assumed that type *Hawkins*, 203, preceded type *Hawkins*, 207. The evidence of the contents of finds has been adduced in an attempt to show that that was the correct sequence, but the evidence thus advanced fails to throw any weight on either side. The question of M'O, MΩO &c, and ON connecting the moneyer's name with that of the mint has also been advanced, to the same end, but again the evidence is of no value in helping to decide the correct sequence of those two types. There is, however, an item of evidence which definitely proves that the issue of type *Hawkins*, 207, preceded that of *Hawkins*, 203.

Elsewhere<sup>2</sup> I have demonstrated that *Hamwic* was an early name of Southampton, and also that the much debated coins inscribed with the mint name *Hamwic*, and its contractions, ranging in point of date from the last coinage of Eadgar to the latter part of the reign of Æthelred II, were struck at the tenth and early eleventh century representative of Southampton, and that the series reading HAMTVN, and its contractions, previously attributed to Southampton, emanated from the Northampton mint.

The *Hamwic*, or Southampton mint, was subordinate to that of Winchester, whence the moneyers would be supplied to *Hamwic*.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvii, p. 13 *et seq.*

One of these moneyers was *Spileman*,<sup>1</sup> who issued coins at Hamwic in type VI (*Hawkins*, 207), and during the issue of that type, upon the total destruction of Hamwic<sup>2</sup> (in 1014?), *Spileman* was transferred to the Winchester mint where he continued to coin in type VI and the succeeding types, VII and IX, of Æthelred. He also continued to coin at Winchester through the reigns of Canute, Harold I, and Eadweard the Confessor. This *Spileman* is the only moneyer of that name on record, and the fact that during the issue of type VI he was transferred from Hamwic to Winchester, where he continued his coining activities in the same and in later types, including *Hawkins*, 203, definitely proves that *Hawkins*, 207, preceded *Hawkins*, 203.



FIG. 23



FIG. 24



Occasionally we find coins on which the obverse or the reverse legend is retrograde, and sometimes the bust also is retrograde. This peculiarity is generally the result of the die-sinker having had before him as a model a coin which he copied directly on to his die, and in consequence, when a coin was struck from the die the whole design was retrograde. No. 125 in the foregoing list, a penny of Æthelred II, type VI (*Hks.* 207), in the writer's collection, is an excellent example of a coin of this description. On the obverse the king's bust is turned to the right instead of to the left and the legend reads  $\alpha\iota\kappa + \epsilon\delta\epsilon\lambda\text{red} \text{re} + \pi\iota\sigma$  (=  $\text{ÆDELRED RE} + \text{PIO}$ ) (see Fig. 23), and the reverse, which is of quite normal workmanship, is inscribed  $\text{SCOT MCO STAN}$ . Another coin, also in the author's collection (No. 126), was struck from the same reverse die and the obverse also is quite normal (see Fig. 24). Hildebrand describes two other coins by *Scot* which also appear to have been struck from the same reverse die, but from different obverse dies (Nos. 127 and 128 in the foregoing list).

It has been suggested that the English die-sinkers of this period were well versed in the elementary practices of their art, but that those engravers of dies from which the retrograde coins were produced were unaware of the first principles of their art, and that consequently the coins with retrograde obverses or reverses, or both, must be classed as contemporary forgeries. There is, however, nothing to indicate that No. 125 in the foregoing list is of the class indicated. The reverse is from a die of normal official workmanship with which several different obverse dies were used, and the coin in question is of excellent silver and weighs 21 grains. That also applies to another coin from the same dies formerly in the author's cabinet, afterwards

<sup>1</sup> Generally but erroneously rendered **SPILEMAN** = Swileman.

<sup>2</sup> See *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvii, pp. 19-23.

in the Barnett collection and now in the British Museum (Barnett bequest).

### FORGERY BY OFFICIAL MONEYPERS

From very early times official moneyers have been guilty of falsifying the coin, for the purity and good weight of which they were held responsible. In Great Britain and in Ireland have been discovered specimens of ring money of the first and second centuries B.C., supposed to be of solid gold but which upon close examination have proved to be composed of a copper core covered with a thin sheet of gold. The writer possesses several ancient British coins of a similar character, including an uninscribed specimen, found at Colchester, supposed to be of silver but which is of copper plated with silver, and a striking in copper from a die for a stater of Cunobeline. These coins were struck from official dies, and the latter piece was undoubtedly originally plated with gold. Sir John Evans in his *Coins of the Ancient Britons* has recorded several coins of a similar nature. Saxon sceattas of the eighth century composed of a copper core plated with silver are not at all uncommon.

In Anglo-Saxon and later times falsification by official moneyers generally took the form of issuing coins in silver of very low standard or of low weight,<sup>1</sup> or both. Sometimes the coin has a base metal centre with a thin plate of silver on each side.

The foregoing list of coins of type VI, of Æthelred II, includes two examples of false coining by official moneyers, viz. Nos. 76 and 124. These coins, both of which are in the writer's collection, were undoubtedly struck from official dies, are of very base silver, and in each case weigh only 13½ grains. No. 76 is inscribed ✠ÆLFRED MO ST (= ÆLPERD MO ST), and No. 126, SCOT MƆO STAN. The former is the only Stamford coin by the moneyer Ælfwerd, issued in any reign, of which the writer has a record. Possibly Ælfwerd's fraudulent practices were quickly detected and probably he lost his right hand, or even his life, as a result, which would, in either case, account for his name failing to appear upon Stamford coins of later issues. The second coin, also of type VI, is inscribed ✠SCOT MƆO STAN. In the case of this moneyer the writer has a record of several other varieties of obverse readings, two of which are in his collection, and both are of normal weight and of good silver.

<sup>1</sup> From the Norman Conquest down to the 28th year of Edward I, the recognized weight of the penny was 24 grains Tower, or one pennyweight, so that a pound of silver coin was a pound both in weight and tale; and as the Conqueror does not appear to have made any alterations in the conditions governing the mints of this country when he arrived here, we may safely conclude that the recognized weight of the penny in late Anglo-Saxon times was 24 grains Tower. The pound Tower, which was in use in the English mints down to the 18th year of Henry VIII, when it was abolished by proclamation and the pound Troy substituted, differed from Troy in weight only, for it consisted of 12 ounces, each ounce of 20 pennyweights and each pennyweight of 24 grains. But the pound Troy equalled 12 ounces 15 pennyweights Tower, the pennyweight thus equalling about 25¼ grains Tower.

The fineness appears to have been nearly equal to the standard previous to 1220, viz. 11 ounces and 2 pennyweights fine and 18 pennyweights of alloy.



Scot's name likewise fails to appear upon Stamford coins of subsequent issues, so possibly he also suffered the usual punishment inflicted upon detection. The reason for placing upon the coin the moneyer's name together with the name of the mint at which he was working, was to enable the exchequer authorities to fix responsibility when a fraudulent coin was detected, and our two Stamford moneyers could hardly expect to avoid detection when their coins of base silver and of light weight were plainly inscribed with the statement that they were made by the moneyers Ælfwerd and Scot at Stamford. From the time of Æthelstan onward many laws were passed forbidding the falsification of the money, directed against the ordinary counterfeiter as well as the falsifying official moneyer. The earliest edict of the kind with which we are acquainted dates from the reign of Æthelstan, in whose laws, it is ordained that:

"If the moneyer be guilty [of striking base coin], let the hand be struck off with which he wrought that offence, and be set on the money-smithy; but if an accusation, and he is willing to clear himself; then let him go to the hot-iron, and clear the hand therewith which he is charged that fraud to have wrought. And if at the ordeal he should be guilty, let the like be done as is here before ordained."<sup>1</sup>

In the *Laws of Canute* we find that:

"One [kind of] money shall pass over all the nation, without any counterfeit, and let no man that refuse; and he who after this shall make false [coin], let him forfeit the hands with which he wrought that false [coin], and not redeem them with any thing, neither with gold nor with silver."<sup>2</sup>

And in the *Laws of Æthelred II*, it is ordained that:

"Every moneyer who is accused of striking false money since it was forbidden shall go to the three-fold ordeal; and if he be foul [*i.e.* if he be found guilty], let him be slain."<sup>3</sup>

The "three-fold ordeal" is explained in the *Laws of Æthelstan*, where he says:

"We have ordained . . . that the ordeal-iron be increased so that it weigh three pounds; and that the man who is accused shall go thereto."<sup>4</sup>

And in the *Laws of Eadgar* we find it enacted that:

"The iron that is for the three-fold ordeal [shall] weigh three pounds; and for the single one pound."<sup>5</sup>

Ordeal by fire such as was imposed upon alleged fraudulent moneyers was performed by taking up in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, of one, two, or three pounds weight; the accused was compelled to carry

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

the red-hot iron usually for a distance of 9 feet, and if he escaped being burned by it he was adjudged innocent; but if it happened otherwise, as without collusion or trickery it always did, he was condemned as "foul" or guilty.

In the *Laws of Æthelstan*, we find a description of the method employed at a trial by fire ordeal, which is as follows:

"And concerning the ordeal we enjoin by command of God, and of the archbishop, and of all bishops: that no man come within the Church after the fire has been borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the mass-priest and him who shall go thereto: and let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark by the man's feet who goes thereto. . . . And when the ordeal is ready, then let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is so hot as we have before said. And let go in of equal number of men of either side, and stand on both sides of the ordeal along the church; and let these all be fasting, and abstinent from their wives that night; and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy water over them all and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and image of Christ's rood to kiss: and let no man mend the fire any longer when the hallowing is begun; but let the iron lie upon the hot embers till the last collect: after that let it be laid upon the 'stapela'; and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God he make what is soothest. And then let him go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day whether it be foul or clean within the envelope."<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 25

#### TYPE VII<sup>2</sup> ("Helmet" type)

*Obverse.* Bust of the king to left in chain armour and radiate helmet and descending to the edge of the coin. No inner circle. Around, inscription, which commences at the left of the coin. The whole enclosed by a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* Quadrilateral ornament with incurved sides and three pellets at each corner; over it, bisecting the sides, a long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents and extending to the outer circle. A pellet in the centre. No inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the correct chronological sequence of types VI and VII, see pp. 89-90, ante.

within a beaded outer circle (similar to the reverse of the previous type (type VI), but with the addition of the quadrilateral ornament.

*Hawkins*, 203; *British Museum Catalogue*, type viii; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 1; *Hildebrand*, type E; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, figs. 4, 9; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 5.

The recorded moneyers who coined at Stamford in this type are seven in number, viz. Æscwig, Edwine, Escea, Godæg, Godleof, Godric, and Swertgar, all of whom coined there in the previous type with the exception of Escea and Godric. The former does not occur again, but the latter continued to work at Stamford until the fifth type of Eadweard the Confessor.

The following varieties of this type have come under the author's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
144	✠ /EÐELR/ED REX ANGL'Ð	✠ /ESC/PIC M/ÐO S/TAN	H. A. Parsons.
145	✠ /EÐELR/ED RE+ ANGL O	✠ /ESC/PIC M/ÐO S/TAN	Brit. Mus.
146	✠ /EÐELR/ED REX ANGL	✠ /E S/CPIC/ M Ð'O/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
147	✠ /EÐELR/ED REX ANGL	✠ /ESC PIC M ÐO STAN¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3435.
148	✠ /EÐELR/ED REX ANGL O	✠ /ESC PIC M ÐO STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3433.
149	✠ EÐELR/ED RE+ ANGL	✠ AS/CPCE/M'O/STAN	W. C. Wells.
150	✠ /EÐELR/ED REX ANGL O	✠ EDPINE M ÐO STANFOR¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3469.
151	✠ EÐEL·RED REX ANGL O	✠ ESC/EA M/ÐO S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
152	X EÐELRED RE+ ANO	X ESC/EA M/ÐO S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
153	X EÐELRED REX ANGO <i>Variety.</i> Large lozenge- shape pellet before the king's chin.	X ESC/EA M/ÐO S/TAN¹ <i>Variety.</i> Large lozenge- shape pellet in the 4th (heraldic) quarter.	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 51.]
154	✠ EÐELRED REX ANGO	✠ ESC EA M ÐO STAN¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3473.
155	✠ EÐELRED REX ANGL O	✠ ESC EA M ÐO STAN¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3472.
156	✠ /EÐELR/ED REX ANGL	✠ ESC EA M ÐO STAN¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3470.

¹ See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
157	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EO/D/EG M/ΩO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 52.]
158	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EO/D/EG M/ΩO/ STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 53.]
159	✠ EDERLEDI EX ANGO	✠ EODEG MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3490.
160	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EO/DEG M/ΩO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells.
161	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EOD/LEOF M'O Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 54.]
162	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ EO/DRIC M/ΩO/ STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 25.]
163	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SPARTER MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3543.
164	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ SPARTER M'O/STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 55.]



FIG. 26

## TYPE VIII ("Agnus Dei" type)

*Obverse.* The "Agnus Dei" to right with halo and cross banner; below,  $\overline{\text{K}} \text{E}$ , or  $\overline{\text{K}} \text{EN}$ , within a border of dots. No inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*Reverse.* A bird "displayed". It has more the appearance of a raven, but, taking into consideration the type of the obverse, it is probably intended to represent the "Holy Dove". No inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

*British Museum Catalogue*, type x; *Hildebrand*, type G; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 5; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 6.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
165	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLORVM	✠ /EDELNV STANFORDAN	Erbstein, <i>Numismatische Bruchstücke</i> , p. 96, Pl. II, fig. 23. [Fig. 26.]

The above is the only recorded Stamford coin of this type. It is

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

described and figured by K. F. W. Erbstein in *Numismatische Bruchstücke*, Pl. II, fig. 23, where it is allocated to Frankfort, and is ascribed to the fifteenth century. Erbstein (op. cit., p. 97) says he gives this information "for the benefit of ardent collectors of mediæval coins who may not be so well acquainted with the subject as he is"! The reverse legend as shown in Erbstein's illustration is ✠ÆDELNV STANFORDA, but there can be no doubt that the inscription was misread and that the moneyer's name was *Æthelwine*, and that the coin was struck by the moneyer who also issued the "mule" coin which connects this specimen with *Æthelwine*'s coins of type IX (Nos. 166, 179/80, *post*). The coin is pierced and appears to have suffered considerably from wear as a fob-chain or bracelet charm, which probably accounts for Erbstein's obvious misreading of the reverse legend and also for the incorrect drawing of the coin.

Coins of this type are very rare, only ten specimens being known. Hildebrand describes five specimens, viz. Northampton two (wrongly allocated to Southampton), Hereford, Malmesbury, and Stafford one each, as being in the Royal Collection at Stockholm, and he refers to a specimen struck at Nottingham, in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. An imperfect example struck at Malmesbury, and apparently from the same dies as the Stockholm coin, was in the Rashleigh Collection; another, of the Derby mint, was in the Hilton-Price Collection, afterwards in the Carlyon-Britton cabinet, and another, apparently a duplicate of the latter example, is described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893.

These pieces have been described as having been struck as commemorative medallets, and not intended for currency, a suggestion to which the present writer is unable to subscribe. If they were merely a commemorative issue, why do they exhibit the name of the moneyer who struck them and of the mint from which they emanated? And moreover, why was the obverse "muled" with a reverse die which was afterwards used in conjunction with at least two obverse dies of type IX? In the present writer's opinion the latter fact condemns the "medalset" theory.

That these coins are of a commemorative character there can be little doubt, and the special character of their devices shows that some important event, past or anticipated, influenced the selection of those devices. All *Æthelred*'s coins are of a religious nature, nearly all the other types exhibiting on the reverse a cross of some kind, but the device of the "*Agnus Dei*" coins differs entirely from that of any other coins issued in this country before or since. It has been suggested *inter alia* that they were struck in anticipation of the expected millennium, but that is ruled out by their date, for there can be little doubt that they were issued in 1014, the "mule" cut halfpenny showing that they were struck shortly before the issue of type IX, the late small cross type. Undoubtedly these coins were issued on the occasion of some important personal event in the king's life, and the most important event at that time was *Æthelred*'s return to the throne, which was

considered by the superstitious, and apparently by the king himself, to have been brought about by a special intervention of Providence.

As the writer has shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the ealdormen of the large provinces were to all intents and purposes petty princes, and the most important of the ealdormen of the period under consideration was the sly and treacherous Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia, whose territory extended from Bristol on the Avon to Barton on the Humber. There can be no doubt that the ealdormen held control of the coinage issued in their ealdormanry, and it is unlikely that the ambitious Eadric would forgo the exercise of any one of the prerogatives appertaining to his office.

As stated above, the known mints from which the *Agnus Dei* coins emanated are Derby, Hereford, Northampton, Nottingham, Stafford, Stamford, and Malmesbury. Of these mints the first six were within the Mercian ealdormanry, and we are entitled to consider this type a purely Mercian coinage, for Malmesbury, situated as it is near the border of Gloucestershire and several miles north-east of Bristol, would thus be upon the threshold of the ealdormanry of Mercia; and as the *Agnus Dei* coins were evidently issued but a short time before the defection of Eadric, in 1015, when Hampshire and the southern part of Wiltshire was held by Eadric for Æthelred, and was thus temporarily in the ealdormanry of Mercia, it is reasonable to assume that Eadric would exercise his privilege of issuing coins at Malmesbury. It is difficult to define accurately the exact boundary of any ealdorman's territory at a time like this when their spheres of influence fluctuated so often.



FIG. 27

### MULE TYPE VIII/IX

*Obverse.* The "*Agnus Dei*" to right with halo and cross banner; below ÆN within a border of dots, &c., as type VIII.

*Reverse.* A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle, &c., as type IX.

*British Museum Catalogue*, type xi; *Hildebrand*, Pl. 5, type G., variety a.

The following is the only specimen of this combination type known

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
166	[✠/Æ]ÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR]	[✠/ÆDEL]FINE ON STANF.] From the same die as Nos. 179 and 180.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3445. Cut halfpenny. [Fig. 27.]

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvii, pp. 37-8.





FIG. 28



FIG. 29

FIG. 30

## TYPE IX (Late small cross type)

*Obverse.* Draped and filleted bust of the king to left. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head; the whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle (similar to type I, but differing in details).

*Reverse.* A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle. Around, inscription; the whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle (similar to type I).

*Hawkins*, (included in) 205; *British Museum Catalogue*, type i, Pl. xv, fig. 2, &c.; *Ruding*, Pl. D, fig. 34; *Hildebrand*, (included in) type A; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 6; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 1.

To produce this, the most plentiful type of Æthelred's coins, no less than sixteen or seventeen moneyers were employed at the Stamford mint, viz. Æscman, Æscwig, Æthelwine, Edwine or Eadwine, Godæg, Godeleof, Godere, Godric, Godwine, Leofwine, Livegod, Osmund, Swert (possibly a contracted form of Swertbrand or Swertgar), Swertbrand, Swartgar or Swertgar, Thorstan or Thurstan, and Ulfcetel or Ulfgrim, of whom Æscwig, Edwine, Godæg, Godeleof, and Swertgar continued their services from type VII, and Æthelwine continued from type VIII and the "mule" type <sup>VIII</sup>IX. Godere, Livegod, Osmund, and Ulf—were new moneyers to the Stamford mint and their names do not occur on later issues.

This type was to all intents and purposes a reproduction of type I, which was undoubtedly the first type of the reign, but although the general design is the same the execution of the dies and the general character of the coins differs materially.<sup>1</sup> The British Museum authorities have, until recent years at least, always considered *all* coins of this general design to have been the initial issue of the reign and, accordingly, in the *British Museum Catalogue* these coins are

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Figs. 16 and 17 with Figs. 25, 26, and 27.

described as type i. This classification was generally accepted by numismatists, although many collectors found themselves unable to reconcile that classification with the fact that many moneyers whose names occur on coins of this general type continued to work at the same mints through several successive types of Canute and even later reigns. This shows quite clearly that those coins were not coined in the early part of the reign.

In 1910<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. A. Parsons challenged the generally accepted classification by putting forward the theory that *all* coins of this general design belong to the latter part of the reign and were in fact the *last* type issued by Æthelred. Again, collectors failed to accept the theory in its entirety, for they discovered that in some cases moneyers whose names appear upon coins of what we now know to be the early issue of this design (i.e. type I), were working at the same mints in the reigns of Eadgar and Eadweard the Martyr,<sup>2</sup> but their names were not to be found upon coins of the same mint issued in the reign of Canute. These facts showed quite clearly that some of the coins were issued at the commencement of the reign and that others, at least 90 per cent. of the whole, were struck at the end of Æthelred's reign. A table is appended showing the moneyers' names which occur upon Stamford coins of this general design, whether of type I or type IX, and showing also the various types in which those moneyers were working before and after the issue of types I and IX, as well as their use of M<sup>TO</sup>, ON, &c., which will illustrate the foregoing and later remarks.

Hildebrand, on page 23 of the 1846 edition of his work and repeated on page 29 of the 1881 edition, remarks, in reference to his type A (*Hawkins*, 205), that:

"Without doubt the same type was in continuous use together with the later ones, during the whole of King Æthelred's reign, in consequence of which the coin has varied much in regard to size, weight and inscription."

Hildebrand's words are somewhat ambiguous. He appears to suggest that this type was introduced at the commencement of the reign and continued to be issued along with the other successive types all through the reign. Hildebrand's suggestion may have been considered reasonable a century ago, when this view was formulated, but in the light of present-day knowledge of numismatics such a view is quite unacceptable. Hildebrand's words may admit of the construction that he intended to convey the idea of several intermittent issues of a similar type. The late Dr. Brooke says: "Hildebrand does not state clearly whether he thinks the type continued incessantly or was recalled into use at urgent periods" for the payment of tributes to the Danes. "The former view", he says, "is so unnatural, and the latter so suitable both to the history of the period and to Hildebrand's

<sup>1</sup> *Numis. Chron.*, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> See table on p. 71, *ante*.

Moneyers	Table showing the contracted forms M <sup>o</sup> , ON, &c. used by the moneyers issuing types I and IX																			
	Eadgar		Eadweard the Martyr		Æthelred II								Canute				Harold I		Harthacnut	
	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	Type VI	Type VII	Type VIII	Type IX	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type I	Type II	Type I	Type II			
WULFSTAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
WULSTAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆLFWALD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆLFWOLD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
WULFGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
WULGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
HILD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
OGEA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
BOGA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GRIM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEFING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEOFING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆSCMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆSCWIG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODELEOF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODELEF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEOFWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEFWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
EADWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODEG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWERTGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWARTGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODRIC	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
THURSTAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆTHELWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWERTBRAND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWARTBRAND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODERE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LIVEGOD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
OSMUND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ULF—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

notes on the coins, that I think he must have had the latter view in his mind."<sup>1</sup>

The late Major Carlyon-Britton was unable to accept Hildebrand's suggestion of a continuous issue of this general type throughout the reign, and adds: "nor do his words '*in continuous use together with the later ones*' admit of the construction that he intended to convey the idea of several intermittent issues of coins of a similar type."<sup>2</sup> That, however, was exactly what Carlyon-Britton himself suggested in the paper quoted above, where he divides this type into four distinct substantive types, viz. his types I, VII, X, and XIII. On the reverse of coins of type Hildebrand A, the names of the moneyer and mint are separated by the contracted forms M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, MO, M<sup>o</sup>ON, M<sup>o</sup>ON, M<sup>o</sup>ON, ON, &c. The form M<sup>o</sup>O is used almost invariably upon the coins of Eadweard the Martyr, on the late coins (with bust) of Eadgar, and also on the early variety (my type I) of Æthelred. All numismatists agree that ON came in at the end of the reign. Carlyon-Britton suggests "as Hildebrand recognized, such a point of custom has some bearing upon the determination of the

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Parsons' Arrangement of the Coin-types of Æthelred II, A Criticism", *Numis. Chron.*, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> "The Chronological Sequence of the Types of Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelræd II", *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvi, 1921-2.

order of the coinages, and it is of particular importance in regard to the separation into distinct types of the several issues which are now classed together as type A of Hildebrand's arrangement". Accordingly Carlyon-Britton's classification of his arrangement of type A rests almost entirely upon the basis of the contracted forms M<sup>-</sup>O, &c. to ON, to the entire exclusion of consideration of the moneyers' names.

The fallacy of this method of arrangement is shown by the list of no less than 31 mints at which, according to Carlyon-Britton, Æthelred's type I (i.e. my type I) "are known to have been struck". As a matter of fact we can produce coins of only twelve mints of this early type, viz. Bedford, Canterbury(?), Chester, Derby, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Stamford, Tamworth, Torksey, Totnes, and York. This list of 31 mints was apparently compiled by going through *Hildebrand* and selecting those coins which exhibit the early contracted form M<sup>-</sup>O (which was, as a matter of fact, in use throughout the reign), ignoring the important evidence afforded by the moneyers' names and classing them all as type I. The classification is obviously not based upon the coins themselves, the style and workmanship of the dies, &c., for the author says: "This is a matter not easy of accomplishment in the absence of an inspection of the actual coins." The present writer considers that type I can only be identified by examination of the actual coins, or of casts or photographs.

Of Carlyon-Britton's types VII and X the author gives no indication of any difference between those two types beyond saying that type VII is similar to type I, but with a shorter rendering of ANELORVM. That would equally describe some coins of type I. He also says that the reverse legends of his type VII exhibit the forms M.O, M<sup>-</sup>O, and MΩO, but he also includes those forms under type X. Under "Type X" he says: "This issue is of the same general design as types I and VII, and in the absence of an examination of the coins recorded by Hildebrand, it is difficult to define in words which specimens belong to type VII and which to type X!"

With all deference, however, the present writer having carefully examined during the past fifty years several hundreds of specimens of Hildebrand's type A is strongly of opinion that that type should be separated into two substantive types only, viz. (1) type I, issued immediately after Æthelred's accession, and (2) type IX, issued at the end of the reign, *circa* 1014-16. A careful study of the moneyers' names shows that arrangement to be correct. The separating of Hildebrand's type A into four substantive types based upon the use of the contracted forms M<sup>-</sup>O, M<sup>-</sup>ON, ON, &c., and distributed through the reign is unworkable as a basis for arranging the chronological sequence of the coins of *Hildebrand* type A. That is shown quite clearly by section II of the table on the opposite page, and a study of the coins of Hildebrand type A issued from a series of mints is even more convincing.

A recent writer,<sup>1</sup> who accepts Hildebrand's suggestion that his type

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xxiv, p. 9.

A was in issue right through the reign, suggests that the variety with four additional crosses on the reverse<sup>1</sup> "may have been employed for some reason to distinguish the later coins from the earlier ones". And he adds "It is a widespread variety and by no means uncommon". This variety, however, was apparently struck at only four mints;<sup>2</sup> thirteen moneyers issued coins of this variety, ten of whom continued coining at the same mints in Canute's reign, five in the reign of Harold I, and two into the reign of Harthacnut. Five of the thirteen moneyers used the form MO, five used ON, two M<sup>-</sup>ON of whom one used both M<sup>-</sup>ON and ON; one used both MO and ON, and one used MΩO. All the foregoing points go to prove that coins of *Hildebrand*, A c and A d (actually one variety) are merely varieties of my type IX, the last type of the reign. Coins of this "widespread" variety being known of only four mints are comparatively rare.

The following varieties of coins of type IX have come under the writer's notice:—

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
167	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCMAN MΩO STANF <i>Variety.</i> A pellet beside each arm of the cross.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3432.
168	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCMAN MΩO STANF: <i>Variety.</i> A pellet opposite each limb of the central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 56.]
169	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCMAN M <sup>-</sup> O STAN <sup>3</sup> <i>Variety.</i> A pellet beside each arm of the cross.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3431.
170	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCPIG ON STANFORD <i>Variety.</i> Small "spur" attached to inner circle.	W. C. Wells.
171	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆSPIG MΩO STANFORD <i>Variety.</i> A pellet in each angle of the cross.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3441.
172	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSPIG MΩO STANFO	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3440.
173	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆSCPIG MO STANFO:	W. C. Wells.

<sup>1</sup> *Hildebrand*, types A c and A d.

<sup>2</sup> See Nos. 216 and 224, *post*.

<sup>3</sup> It is very difficult definitely to allocate this coin without actual examination and it may be of type I, as a moneyer Æscman was coining at Stamford in the reign of Eadgar and of Eadweard the Martyr (see Eadgar Nos. 26-30 and Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 11-18; also Pl. I, figs. 6 and 13), but Nos. 167 and 168, reading — MΩO STANF, are certainly not of type I, as the character Ω did not appear in the reverse legends prior to type VI (*Hks.* 207; *Hildebrand*, D).

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
174	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL.	✠ ÆSCPIG MO STANFO: <sup>1</sup>	W. C. Wells.
175	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆSPIG MO STANFO.	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
176	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ ÆSPIG M'O STANFO	Hildebrand, 3438.
177	✠ EDELRED REX AN	✠ ÆSPIG M'O STANE	Brit. Mus.
178	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3444. <sup>2</sup>
179	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF.	W. C. Wells.
		From same die as Nos. 166 and 180.	
180	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF.	W. C. Wells.
		From same die as Nos. 166 and 179.	
181	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF.	Brit. Mus.
		Variety. — above central cross.	
182	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆDELPINE MO STAN.	Brit. Mus.
183	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG Inscription begins behind the head.	✠ ÆDELPINE M-O STA	Hildebrand, 3443.
184	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆDELPINE M'O ST:	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 29.]
		Variety. W in the field, below the central cross. <sup>3</sup>	
185	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ ÆDELPINE M'O ST.	Hildebrand, 3442.
		Variety. A retrograde S in the field.	
186	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG:	✠ EADPINE MO STANF	W. C. Wells.
187	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ EADPINE M'O STAN	Hildebrand, 3462.
188	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ EADPINE MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3463.
189	✠ ÆDELRED REX AN'E.	✠ EADPINE M'O STAB	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 28.]

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 173 and 174 are duplicate entries.<sup>2</sup> This may be similar to No. 179.<sup>3</sup> See also No. 244 on p. 107, *post*, and the note relating thereto.



No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
190	✠ EDELRED REX AN	✠ EADPINE M <sup>o</sup> STN	Hildebrand, 3465.
191	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ EDPINE ON STANFORD	Hildebrand, 3468.
192	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ EDPINE ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3467.
193	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EDPINE ON STANFOR	W. C. Wells.
194	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG MO STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3481.
195	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3482.
196	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GODIEG ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3505.
197	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GODIEG ON ZTAFOR	W. C. Wells.
198	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG M <sup>o</sup> O STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3480.
199	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M <sup>o</sup> O STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3479.
200	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GODIEG ON ZTANFOD	Hildebrand, 3504.
201	✠ EDELRED REX ANGI	✠ GOD/EG . . O STANFO <i>Variety. Small + in field.</i>	Hildebrand, 3478.
202	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG: From the same die as No. 206.	✠ GOD/EG M <sup>o</sup> O STANFO <i>Variety. Annulet in field.</i>	W. C. Wells.
203	✠ EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG M ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3476.
204	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M—O STANF	W. C. Wells.
205	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 57.]
206	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG: From the same die as No. 202.	✠ GOD/EG M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. C. Wells.
207	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Brit. Mus.
208	(Unrecorded.)	✠ CODEG MO STAN	Montagu sale cat. 23 11. 1895, lot 766.
209	✠ /EDELREDR/ED REX REX ANG	✠ CODELEOF ON STANFI	Roy. Coll., Berlin.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
210	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3494.
211	✠ EDELREDRED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	W. C. Wells.
212	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	W. C. Wells. From the same die as No. 213.
213	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. From the same die as No. 212.
214	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3492.
215	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
216	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF MΩO STAN <sup>1</sup>	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 58.] From the same die as No. 217.
217	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF MΩO STAN	W. C. Wells. From the same die as No. 216.
218	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF MΩO STAN	Brit. Mus.
219	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL	✠ CODELEOF MΩO STAN	Hildebrand, 3493.
220	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ CODEL MΩO STAN Variety. — above the cen- tral cross.	Brit. Mus.
221	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGL <sup>2</sup>	✠ CODERE MΩO STANFO	Hildebrand, 3502.
222	Barbarous. <sup>2</sup>	✠ CODERE MΩO STANFO	W. C. Wells.

<sup>1</sup> Hildebrand, type A, variety c.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that coins of this period exhibiting barbarous and unintelligible legends on either the obverse or the reverse are foreign or Irish imitations of English coins, a suggestion in which the present writer does not entirely concur. There is, however, much to be said in favour of that suggestion when both obverse and reverse legends are unintelligible.

In relation to the former series it has also been suggested that English dies were taken to Scandinavia, or to Ireland, where they were used in conjunction with locally-made dies. Hildebrand (p. 490, No. 96) describes a penny of this type (*Ilks.* 205), of Sihtric III, King of Dublin, 989-1029, the obverse of which reads ✠ NHTRE RE+ and the reverse ✠ CODERE MΩO STANFO. It would appear that these three coins were struck from the same reverse die, which would favour the suggestion that English dies were taken and used

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
223	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODDERE MO STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
224	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANL	✠ GODRIC M <sup>o</sup> STANF <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross opposite each limb of central cross. <sup>1</sup>	R. C. Lockett.
225	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Hildebrand, 3510.
226	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M <sup>o</sup> STAN <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field.	Hildebrand, 3511.
227	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M <sup>o</sup> STAN <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field, opposite the fourth angle of central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 60.]
228	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M <sup>o</sup> STA: <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field, opposite the fourth angle of central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 59.]
229	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE ON STANF	W. C. Wells.
230	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Hildebrand, 3519.
231	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Hildebrand, 3517.
232	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGI	✠ GODPINE ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
233	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STAN	Hildebrand, 3518.
234	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	Hildebrand, 3516.
235	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	W. C. Wells.
236	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	W. C. Wells.
237	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	Hildebrand, 3514.

abroad, as it would appear that Godere struck No. 221 at Stamford after which he went to Ireland, still retaining his Stamford reverse die, and took service with Sihtric, when he struck the + NHTRE RE+ coin and possibly also No. 222 in the above list.

<sup>1</sup> Hildebrand, type A, variety c.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
238	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	City of London hoard <sup>1</sup> (Willett.)
239	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	W. C. Wells.
240	✠ ÆDELRED REX AIG	✠ GODPINE M <sup>o</sup> STA	Hildebrand, 3515.
241	(Unrecorded.)	✠ LEOFPINE MO STANI	Clark sale cat., 1898.
242	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as Nos. 243 and 244.	✠ L'EOFPINE M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	W. C. Wells.
243	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as Nos. 242 and 244.	✠ LEO'EPINE M <sup>o</sup> O STAN Variety. Pellet in field op- posite second and third angles of central cross.	Brit. Mus. [Pl. IV, fig. 61.]
244	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as Nos. 242 and 243.	✠ LEOFRINE M <sup>o</sup> O STAN "W" in field, opposite the lower right-hand angle of central cross <sup>2</sup> .	W. C. Wells, (Fig. 30.)
245	✠ ÆDELRED REX AN	✠ LEOFPINE M <sup>o</sup> O STAI	Dudman sale, 15.12.1913.
246	✠ ÆDERED REX ANG	✠ LIOFPINE M <sup>o</sup> O STA	Hildebrand, 3534.
247	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ LIOFPINE M <sup>o</sup> O STA	W. C. Wells, [Pl. V, fig. 62.]
248	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOZ	✠ LIVEGOD MO SIATN <sup>3</sup>	Hildebrand, 3535.
249	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL <sup>4</sup>	✠ OSMVND M <sup>o</sup> O STAN	The late A. F. Denning.

<sup>1</sup> "On a Hoard of Saxon Pennies found in the City of London in 1872", by E. H. Willett, *Numis. Chron.*, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 379, *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. i, Mr. W. J. Andrew, as editor, referring to this coin, describes the character on the reverse as a Mercian M and adds: "On p. 363 of *A Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I*, Mr. Andrew wrote: 'It follows that all the money struck by the Abbot of Peterborough's moneyer must bear the name of the Stamford mint, and . . . unless the Abbot was prepared to accept the responsibility for money issued before it was under his own control, some mark upon the new money was necessary for identification. . . . This was readily effected by the addition of a small ornament or device to the existing die.' The discovery by Mr. Wells of this coin is direct evidence in support of the above theory, as the letter M obviously stands for Medeshamstede the then name of the Abbey of Peterborough." Mr. Andrew, however, overlooked the fact that the appellation *Medeshamstede* had been abandoned many years prior to the issue of this coin, i.e. circa 1014, the name of the abbey having been changed, in the reign of Eadgar, to *Burh* (see *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xxii, pp. 50-1). See also No. 184, p. 103, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 109, *post*.

<sup>4</sup> While this was in the press the Author was able to compare the two coins. They are from the same dies, No. 250 being the correct reading.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
250	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLX <sup>1</sup>	✠ OSMVND M <sup>o</sup> STAN	W. C. Wells.
251	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ SEERTEBRAND MO S <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field.	Hildebrand, 3540.
252	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANFO	W. C. Wells.
253	✠ EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANFO	W. C. Wells.
254	(Unrecorded.)	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANFO	Fountain's plates, Pl. 1, fig. 27.
255	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3554.
256	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STAN	Hildebrand, 3553.
257	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
258	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR MO STAN	W. C. Wells.
259	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3551.
260	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR MO STAN <i>Variety.</i> A pellet opposite fourth angle of central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 63.]
261	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR M <sup>o</sup> STAN <i>Variety.</i> A pellet in field.	Hildebrand, 3549.
262	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR M <sup>o</sup> ST	Hildebrand, 3548.
263	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ SPERT M <sup>o</sup> STANFO	Hildebrand, 4381.
264	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ SPERT M <sup>o</sup> STANF	W. C. Wells.
265	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SPERT M <sup>o</sup> STANF:	Brit. Mus.
266	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SPERT M <sup>o</sup> STANF	Hildebrand, 3545.
267	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ SPERT M <sup>o</sup> STANF <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field.	Hildebrand, 3546.

<sup>1</sup> See note 4 on page 107.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
268	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ DORSTAN M $\Omega$ O STA	Hildebrand, 3561.
269	✠ /EDEL[. . . . .] EO	✠ VIF[. . . . .] ANF	Holmboe <sup>1</sup> (cut halfpenny?).

The reverse inscription of No. 269, above, may have been a misreading of VIF— for VLF— or other contracted form of *Ulfcetel*, or *Ulfgrim*. Moneyers bearing these names were coining at Lincoln in the reign of Æthelred II and of Canute, and moneyers frequently migrated from Lincoln to Stamford and *vice versa*.

The coin by the moneyer *Livegod*, No. 248 in the foregoing list, may be of type I. The obverse legend as given in *Hildebrand* is ✠ EDELRED REX ANGL $\Omega$ Z, which was evidently intended for ✠ EDELRED REX ANGL $\Omega$ X and clearly points to the coin being of type I, and Hildebrand's rendering appears to indicate roughly worked dies such as we frequently find in connexion with coins of type I, especially those emanating from the mints of York, Lincoln, Northampton, and Stamford. The blundered abbreviation for Stamford also points in the same direction.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately the moneyer's name, *Livegod*, does not help in any way. This appears to be the only recorded occurrence of this moneyer's name at any mint at any time during the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, with the exception of a London coin of this reign described by Hildebrand, also of his type A, with a blundered obverse legend, ✠ EÐFRLED REX ANGL. The moneyer's name is given by Hildebrand as LIVFOD, which is doubtless a misreading, or a blundered rendering of *Livegod*. It is difficult also to allocate this coin, but the blundered obverse reading can leave little doubt that it also is of type I.

If we had coins struck by a moneyer who signed himself *Lifgod* we should feel entitled to go somewhat beyond our evidence and assume that *Livegod* = *Lifgod* = *Leofgod*.<sup>3</sup> The latter form is one which we find upon coins issued from several mints, not including that of Stamford, in the reign of Æthelred II.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 83, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> When the war is over and the coins in the Stockholm Royal Cabinet are again available the writer hopes to obtain a cast of *Livegod*'s coin in order to decide to which type it belongs.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Lifwine* = *Lyfwine* = *Liofwine* = *Leofwine*, on Stamford coins of several reigns.