SOME SCANDINAVIAN COINS IN THE NAMES OF ÆTHELRÆD, CNUUT, AND HARTHACNUT ATTRIBUTED BY HILDEBRAND TO ENGLISH MINTS

By C. S. S. Lyon, G. Van der Meer, and R. H. M. Dolley

Introduction

The problem of identifying those coins in the names of Æthelræd II, Cnut, Harold I, and Harthacnut purporting to be English in origin, which were in fact struck in Scandinavia, is one which has beset students of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian series alike for several generations. Even the great nineteenth-century Swedish scholar Bror Emil Hildebrand was deceived into including many such coins in his famous catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, as it is the object of this study to show, and it is indeed only recently, with the development of our insight into the monetary system of the Anglo-Saxon state, that it has become possible for the Scandinavian coins to be separated from the English with any certainty.

In this context, the most important single development has been the recognition that Eadgar's recoinage of c. 973 not only led to every coin bearing the name of the mint of issue and of the moneyer responsible for its issue, but was followed, for the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond, by similar recoinages at regular intervals involving uniform changes in coin-type throughout the country. There is strong evidence in favour of these changes having taken place sexennially during the reigns of Æthelræd and Cnut, and triennially thereafter. Almost as far-reaching in its consequences has been the realization that variations in die-cutting style within a particular issue during these two reigns have close regional associations, which has made it possible for coins unusual in style for the supposed mint of origin to be detected and their credentials examined. The decentralization of die-cutting which can be inferred from this phenomenon was first noted in connexion with Æthelræd's last issue, although it is equally apparent in Cnut's Quatrefoil issue, no detailed analysis of which has yet been published. With the introduction of the Pointed Helmet type, the variations in style become much less apparent, and it may be assumed that the factors which impelled the extensive delegation of die-cutting control had by then virtually ceased to exist.

Long before recent research on the Swedish hoards led to these discoveries, the order of the main coin-types of Æthelræd and Cnut was propounded with considerable accuracy by Nordman in his scholarly treatise on the Finnish

1 B. E. Hildebrand, Anglosachsiska Mynt, Stockholm, 1881.
hoards.\textsuperscript{1} Nordman improved on Hildebrand’s original classification, but was unable to distinguish the Intermediate Small Cross variety of \textit{Æ}thelræd\textsuperscript{2} or to place the Agnus Dei issue in its rightful place as an unsuccessful attempt at a replacement of the Helmet type:\textsuperscript{3} nor did he appreciate the posthumous nature of the Jewel Cross and Arm-and-Sceptre issues in the name of Cnut, although he did suspect the few Pacx coins of being so.\textsuperscript{4} Nordman agreed with Hauberg\textsuperscript{5} in assigning a number of Hildebrand’s minor varieties of Cnut to Scandinavia, but retained Hildebrand Types A and B (similar to \textit{Æ}thelræd’s Last Small Cross and Long Cross types respectively) within the English series, together with the mules between these types and with the Quatrefoil type, placing them at the beginning of Cnut’s reign. It is one of the aims of this paper to show that, almost without exception, all such coins must have been struck in Scandinavia.

\textit{Æ}thelræd’s last three substantive types were Long Cross (Hildebrand Type D), Helmet (Hildebrand Type E), and Last Small Cross (the bulk of Hildebrand Type A) in that order. Between the last two of these, as has already been mentioned, came the unsuccessful Agnus Dei issue (Hildebrand Type G). Cnut’s three substantive types were Quatrefoil (Hildebrand Type E), Pointed Helmet (Hildebrand Type G), and Short Cross (Hildebrand Type H). None of these six substantive types accounts for fewer than 500 of the coins listed in Hildebrand’s catalogue, and more than 1,000 coins of each of the Last Small Cross, Quatrefoil, and Pointed Helmet types are listed. By contrast, there appear only 12 coins of Cnut Type B,\textsuperscript{6} 10 of Type A, 7 mules of Type A with Quatrefoil (Hildebrand varieties Aa and Eg), and 3 mules of Type B with Quatrefoil (Hildebrand varieties Ef and Ek).

Clearly neither Type A nor Type B can be regarded as a substantive type. Nor does Type B fit happily into the series as a transitional issue, either between Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil or between Quatrefoil and Pointed Helmet. On the other hand, we have to admit the possibility that Type A could be a continuation of Last Small Cross with the substitution of Cnut’s name for \textit{Æ}thelræd’s: this would satisfactorily explain the mules with Type A obverses and Quatrefoil reverses (var. Eg), since it is usual for the reverse of a mule to be of the later type, but would not account for the existence of mules the other way round (var. Aa). There are parallels to indicate that the death of a king did not automatically lead to a change of type, and that a change would only occur in such circumstances if it happened to fall due at that moment in the normal operation of the sexennial or triennial cycle. For example, the First Small Cross type, which began with Eadgar’s recoinage, continued throughout the reign of Edward the Martyr and into the reign of \textit{Æ}thelræd, new obverse dies being distributed for use in each new reign.

\textsuperscript{1} C. A. Nordman, \textit{Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland,} Helsingfors, 1921.
\textsuperscript{3} It is hoped that a monograph by R. H. M. D. on the Agnus Dei issue will appear in a future number of the \textit{Commentationes}.
\textsuperscript{5} P. Hauberg, \textit{Myntforhold og Udmynntinger i Danmark indtil 1146,} Copenhagen, 1900.
\textsuperscript{6} Hildebrand’s summary of the reign (op. cit., p. 316) wrongly includes the ‘Meonre’ coin in Type E. His total of 11 for Type B must be adjusted accordingly.
Again, the Jewel Cross type, which may have been first issued just before the death of Cnut, continued during the two-year period of joint rule by Harold I and Harthacnut. It is therefore necessary to consider whether it is historically or numismatically probable that the Last Small Cross type did, in fact, continue into the reign of Cnut.

Æthelræd died on 23 April 1016, at a time when his kingdom was in the course of conquest by the Danish armies of Cnut. In London, his son, Eadmund (Ironside), was chosen to succeed him, and despite a representative gathering of church and nobles having declared for Cnut at Southampton, he soon established his rule in Wessex, while Cnut held Mercia and the Danelaw. Not until after the battle of Ashingdon, in October 1016, did London fall to Cnut, and then only as part of a settlement in which Eadmund was recognized as king of Wessex. However, Eadmund died on 30 November in the same year, and Cnut then became acknowledged king throughout the country. It is apparent, therefore, that Cnut could not have established a mint in London before November, or in Wessex before December, and it is very unlikely that any coinage in his name could in fact have been issued in London or Wessex before 1017. On the other hand, it would not be impossible for coins in his name to have been struck in Mercia or the Danelaw in 1016, though we would hesitate to admit the possibility that any were struck during Æthelræd's lifetime.

The theory that the coin-type was changed sexennially appears to suggest that a change was due some months before Æthelræd's death, for if Eadgar's recoinage can be dated to Michaelmas 973, the Last Small Cross issue should have commenced at Michaelmas 1009 (although some allowance may have to be made for the abortive Agnus Dei issue) and should have been due for replacement at Michaelmas 1015. It is not difficult to see, in the divided state of the country, the reason why no change was made at that time, although the existence in Bergen of a broken coin of impeccably English style, from a Last Small Cross reverse die of the London mint and an obverse in the name of Æthelræd bearing a design remarkably like that later adopted for Cnut's Pointed Helmet type, suggests that trials for a new type were in fact carried out. After his father's death Eadmund was in no position to effect a recoinage throughout the country, and as no coins of his have survived, it is unlikely that any minting in his name took place in London or Wessex during his short reign. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Cnut would have ordered a recoinage in the part of the country under his control, but as he is unlikely to have prolonged the currency of the Last Small Cross issue after Eadmund's death he may be expected to have introduced a new type (Quatrefoil) at a convenient date during 1017. If any coins were struck in his name before then, they would almost certainly have been of the Last Small Cross type, and we must look for them at mints in Mercia and, more especially, the Danelaw.

Although Type A is the only minor type of Cnut which the sexennial

2 The Bergen coin, although illustrated by a line-engraving on p. 14 of the 1869 Vidensk.-Selsk. Forhandlinger account of the Tjore find, was ignored by English numismatists until 1957. It will be discussed in detail in an appendix to the forthcoming Agnus Dei monograph, supra p. 236, n. 3.
recoinage theory could possibly accommodate within the English series, we have considered in addition the coins of Type B and of other minor types and varieties listed by Hildebrand which cannot be regarded simply as varieties of the main substantive types. We have found extensive die-linking, which frequently involves coins apparently of substantive types of Æthelræd, Cnut, and in one instance Harthacnut, and die-linking on such a scale is of itself a powerful indication of Scandinavian minting.

**Analysis of the Material**

The analysis which follows is in three parts. In Part A we list and discuss each coin recorded by Hildebrand for Types A and B and their mules with other types (notably Quatrefoil), together with such other coins of these types recorded elsewhere as seem to us to be relevant to the study of the Hildebrand coins. We have also included coins of the Quatrefoil type which are die-linked into the series. In Part B we discuss certain relevant coins in the name of Æthelræd, and in Part C we analyse briefly a die-chain which was first noticed by Hauberg and which links together some later varieties of Cnut with a number of coins of Harthacnut, all of which are Scandinavian. Finally, we state our general conclusions, and indicate briefly which types and varieties of Cnut and Harthacnut can be regarded as Scandinavian and which as English.

In order to save space, the following abbreviations are used:

- **Hild.** denotes Hildebrand
- **LC** " the Long Cross type of Æthelræd
- **H** " the Helmet type of Æthelræd
- **LSC** " the Last Small Cross type of Æthelræd
- **Q** " the Quatrefoil type of Cnut
- **PH** " the Pointed Helmet type of Cnut
- **SC** " the Short Cross type of Cnut

A number prefixed by **Æ** refers to Hild.'s catalogue under Æthelræd
- **CN** " Hild.'s catalogue under Cnut
- **HC** " Hild.'s catalogue under Harthacnut
- **N-CN** " Nordman's catalogue under Cnut
- **INV.** " the inventory kept in the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet of coins found in Sweden
- **K** " the collection of the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen
- **Bruun** " the Bruun collection, Copenhagen.

In Parts A and B, when indicating whether a moneyer is recorded by Hildebrand, we have concerned ourselves only with the supposed mint of issue of the coin in question, and with the substantive types from LC to SC inclusive. References to moneyers should, therefore, be interpreted in this context. The coins are arranged in groups according to the combination of obverse and reverse types: thus in Part A, coins in Groups 1–3 have obverses of Type A, combined with reverses of Type A, Quatrefoil, and Type B respectively; in Groups 4–6 the obverses are of Type B and the reverses of Type B, Quatrefoil, and Pointed Helmet; and in Groups 7–10 the obverses are of the Quatrefoil
type and the reverses of Quatrefoil, Type A, Type B, and Helmet respectively. The plates, on the other hand, are arranged on the basis of die-linking, such linking being denoted by bars joining two or more coins together. The individual photographs of the coins were not all enlarged to precisely the same extent, with the result that there are apparent differences in size on the plates between coins which are die-linked together.

A. Coins of Cnut of Hild. Types A and B and Mules with Other Types

Group 1 (Hild. Type A)

CN 639. ‘York’, +HEARDECNYT MO EOF, 1·40 gm., Pl. XII, D. No moneyer of this name is otherwise recorded by Hild. The portrait is similar to ‘Northern A’ of LSC, and also resembles in style that of the Q coins of the Lincoln area. The obverse is from the same die as CN 3553, ‘Torksey’ (Group 2), and the position of the coin in die-chain D suggests a Scandinavian origin.

CN 2049. ‘London’, +BRIHTNO-E M7O LVD, coin not available for weighing, Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC, Q, SC. The portrait does not resemble any LSC or Q style: note the spelling AGLORM. See also CN 2734 and CN 2739 below, which are from the same obverse die, and CN 2050 (Group 8) which is from the same reverse die. The coin’s position in the remarkable die-chain K indicates Scandinavian origin.

CN 2733. ‘London’, +BORGCTL M7O LVND, 1·26 gm., Pl. XIII, O. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for PH. The obverse closely resembles that of CN 2049. The reverse is similar to CN 2733.

CN 2739. ‘London’, +BORGCL MOO LVND, 1·52 gm., Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer is not otherwise recorded in this form by Hild. The obverse is from the same die as CN 2049; the reverse is from the same die as AE 2944 (Group 13), an apparent mule of LC and LSC, which in turn is die-linked to the Asthrith group of ‘Norwich’ through AE 3104 (Group 11).

CN 2907. ‘Norwich’, +ELFRIC MOGLY M NOR, 1·64 gm., Pl. XII, C. The moneyer is not otherwise recorded by Hild. with the suffix MOGLV, which has no obvious meaning, but Elfrie is recorded for LC to LSC and PH. The obverse is similar in style to the coins of die-chain B, which are unquestionably Scandinavian, and the weight is significantly heavy.

CN 2971. ‘Norwich’, +OZPOLD MON ONR8, 1·22 gm., Pl. XII, A. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LSC and Q. The reverse die was very similar to that used to strike the LSC coin AE 3183 (also illustrated), and was probably cut at the same time, but there is no die-link as claimed by Parsons.1 The portrait and the epigraphy of AE 3183 are of a style characteristic of East Anglia in LSC, and there is no reason to doubt that that coin was struck at Norwich. The obverse of CN 2971 is of a different style, however, which is not unlike ‘Northern A’ of LSC and which is certainly to be distinguished from that found on other Type A coins. There is no direct evidence that the coin was not struck at Norwich,

but the circumstantial evidence of the other coins of the type suggests that it was not, in which case the dies must have been removed to Scandinavia.

CN 3624. ‘Weybridge?’, +SVARTCOL M'O PI'B, 1·38 gm., Pl. XII, E. The moneyer is not otherwise recorded by Hild. This coin was claimed for the Danish series by Hauberg,1 as were CN 3625 and 3626 which are from the same obverse die. The letter punches are similar to those on CN 2049, and the portrait may be by the same engraver. The obverse die—in a worn condition—was also used to strike the Group 2 coins CN 1446 (‘Chester (Leicester)’), CN 2741 (‘London’), CN 3243 (‘Stamford’) and K 786 (‘Sudbury’). There is no doubt that all these coins are of Scandinavian origin.

CN 3625. ‘Weybridge?’, from the same dies as CN 3624, but struck on a square flan, 2·03 gm., not illustrated.

CN 3626. ‘Weybridge?’, +SVARTCOL MO PI'B, 1·52 gm., Pl. XII, E. See CN 3624, which is from the same obverse die.

N-CN 285. Barbarous reverse, +HEOINEIOR M'O BNE; 1·55 gm., Pl. XII, B. The obverse die is also found associated with a Q reverse of ‘Huntingdon’ (N-CN 85, Group 2) and a barbarous Type B reverse (Bruun 1055, Group 3), and appears to be by the same hand as, for example, CN 2907 (see above) and CN 3050 (Group 4). The coins of die-chain B are undoubtedly Scandinavian.

Group 2 (Mules with Type A obverse and Quatrefoil reverse—Hild. Eg)

CN 1446. ‘Chester (Leicester)’, +ÆLFWI/LPIE/LEH/, 1·33 gm., Pl. XII, E. The moneyer(s) Ælfiw(g), Ethelwi(g) are recorded by Hild. for LSC and Q and Ægelwig (= Ethelwig) for PH. The reverse reading is improbable for an English coin of Leicester, but in any case the obverse die-link to CN 3624, ‘Weybridge?’ (Group 1) is sufficient to establish the Scandinavian origin of this coin, as of CN 2741, CN 3243, and K 786 below.

CN 2741. ‘London’, +RÉB/MOL/VND/, 1·62 gm., Pl. XII, E. The moneyer is otherwise only recorded by Hild. for Q, but the single coin, CN 2740 (Group 7) is from the same reverse die. See also above, CN 1446, which is from the same obverse die.

CN 3243. ‘Stamford’, +CA/PLIN/MOS/TAN/, 1·24 gm., Pl. XII, E. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for Q and PH. See above, CN 1446, which is from the same obverse die.

CN 3553. ‘Torksey’, +DV/REC./TELO/TOR/, 1·49 gm., Pl. XII, D. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LSC, Q, and PH, though the only Q coin, CN 3552 (Group 7) was struck at an earlier date from the same reverse die. The obverse die-link to CN 639, ‘York’ (Group 1), the rusty state of the reverse die when it struck CN 3553, and the history of the obverse die which struck CN 3552, all point to Scandinavian minting.

N-CN 85. ‘Huntingdon’, +RIB/NPN/EON/HVND/, 1·31 gm., Pl. XII, B. The reverse legend is, in fact, barbarous, and the obverse die-link to N-CN 285 (Group 1) and Bruun 1055 (Group 3) leaves no doubt that the coin is Scandinavian.

K 786. ‘Sudbury’ (or ‘Southwark’), +ELI/EMO/MOS/VBB (or G), 1·37 gm., Pl. XII, E. No moneyer of this name is recorded by Hild. at Sudbury or at Southwark. See above, CN 1446, which is from the same obverse die.

1 Hauberg, op. cit., p. 115.
Group 3 (Mule with Type A obverse and Type B reverse—Hild.—)

Bruun 1055. Barbarous reverse, 1·05 gm., Pl. XII, B. The obverse is from the same die as N-CN 285 (Group 1) and N-CN 85 (Group 2), and the coin is undoubtedly not English.

Group 4 (Hild. Type B)

We have no doubt that none of the coins of this group, nor of the two following groups, were struck in England. They are usually of inferior work, the reverse legend is frequently blundered, the weight is extremely variable, and so far as we know, none has been found in an English hoard. Certain of the obverses resemble closely in style a similar coin struck in the name of Olaf Haraldsson (St. Olaf) of Norway (Fig. 1), the reverse of which reads +A'S/NOR/ and is from a die which must have been cut at virtually the same time and by the same hand as that used to strike CN 2911 (see below) and the other coins to which the latter is die-linked. The same letter punches were used to cut the two dies, as can be seen, for example, from the letter I. We are grateful to Antikvarie L. o. Lagerqvist of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet for bringing this coin to our notice, for it establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the Asthrith coins—and therefore in all probability the other Type B coins—are of Scandinavian origin.

Fig. 1.

CN 49. 'Bath', +ELF/RCI/MOB/AIV/, 1·36 gm., Pl. XIV, S. The moneyer Ælfric is recorded by Hild. for LC to SC inclusive, but the spelling is never Elfrici. The contraction MO is not found at Bath after H.

CN 1535A. 'Lincoln', +CO/LGR/IMOL/INCO/, 1·29 gm., Pl. XII, J. This coin is not listed in Hild.'s catalogue, but lies next to CN 1535 (a true SC coin of Lincoln) in the trays of the Systematic Collection. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC, PH, and SC (perhaps there were two moneyers of this name). The obverse resembles in style CN 3118, 'Shrewsbury' (see below) which die-linking proves to be Scandinavian.

CN 2675. 'London', +OB/NMO/NRH/LVN/, 0·89 gm., Pl. XIV, T. No moneyer Oban is recorded by Hild.; the reverse legend is, in fact, blundered. The weight is significantly light.

CN 2732. 'London', +OB/ÆDM/OLVI/NDE/, 0·94 gm., Pl. XIV, U. The moneyer is only recorded otherwise for CN 2740 (Group 7) and CN 2741 (Group 2), which form part of die-chain E and are not English.
SOME SCANDINAVIAN COINS IN THE NAMES OF

CN 2896. 'Meonre—(?), +OD:/AM'O/Meo:/NRE/, 1·22 gm., Pl. XII, F. This
'mint' is otherwise unknown, and we have no doubt that it does not exist. The
obverse is from the same die as CN 3050, 'Oxford' (see below) and the reverse is
from the same die as Bruun 742 (Group 9) which is die-linked to a Quatrefoil
coin, CN 3518, of 'Thetford' (Group 7).

CN 2908. 'Norwich-', +ÆB/elp:/old:/nor/, 1·06 gm., Pl. XIV, Q. The moneyer
is not otherwise recorded by Hild. except for CN 2909.

CN 2909. 'Norwich-', from the same reverse die as CN 2908, but struck on a square
flan, 1·94 gm., Pl. XIV, Q. A square flan is strongly indicative of Scandinavian
minting.

CN 2911. 'Norwich-', +AS/Dri:/bmo:/nor/, 2 specimens, 1·60 and 1·70 gm.,
Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer is not recorded by Hild. except for Æ 3104, a LC coin
(Group 11) and Æ 3105, a LSC/LC mule (Group 15) of anomalous obverse
style; both these coins are from the same reverse die as CN 2911 and cannot be
English. There is an obverse die-link from Æ 3104 to Æ 2944, 'London' (Group
13) and thence to the Cnut Type A coins of Thorcl, Thorcetl, and Brihtnoth
(Group 1). As if this were not enough, the reverse of CN 2911 also die-links to a
Stockholm Inventory coin, INV. 20879-619 (Group 9), the obverse of which is
from the same die as CN 2670, 'London' (Group 7), CN 154, 'Canterbury'
(Group 8) and CN 2200, 'London' (Group 9), a die which was undoubtedly
manufactured in London before being taken to Scandinavia. The close affinity
between CN 2911 and the coin of Olaf Haraldsson of Norway illustrated in
Fig. 1 has already been discussed.

CN 2912. 'Norwich-', from the same reverse die as CN 2911, 2 specimens, 1·16 and
1·02 gm., Pl. XIII, K. The wide disparity in weight between these coins and the
two specimens of CN 2911 is significant.

CN 3050. 'Oxford', +PV/lfpl/nemo/nox/, 1·22 gm., Pl. XII, F. The moneyer
is recorded by Hild. for LC, Q (PVLPl), PH and SC. The obverse is from the
same die as CN 2896, 'Meonre' (see above).

CN 3079. 'Rochester', +le/oPPl/nemo/roc/, 1·02 gm., Pl. XIV, P. The
spelling ROC is never found on coins of the Rochester mint, but CROC is fre­
quently used on coins of Cricklade; however, the moneyer is not recorded by
Hild. at either mint. The obverse is from the same die as INV. 16295-418,
'London' (see below).

CN 3118. 'Shrewsbury', +Ælf/Heh/moo/scro/, 2 specimens, 1·54 and 1·45
gm., Pl. XII, G. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC only; the reverse die
appears to have been copied from one of the LC coins. The obverse is from the
same die as CN 253, 'Cricklade' (Group 5), the die-chain ultimately ending in
a coin with a barbarous Q obverse (N-CN 286, Group 7).

CN 3567. 'Ustla (?), +VLf/cetl/mov/stl/, 1·00 gm., Pl. XII, H. The moneyer
is recorded by Hild. for one LC and one LSC coin, the former (Æ 3864, Group
11) being from the same reverse die as CN 3567 and from an obverse die which
was not of English LC style. The LSC coin (Æ 3863, Group 14) is of 'Northern
A' style and may be from dies which were made by a York engraver. The style
of the obverse of CN 3567 is quite different from that of any other Type B coin,
but is nevertheless not an English style.

N-CN 284. Blundered reverse, 1·68 gm., Pl. XIV, R. Stylistically, this coin resembles
CN 2908, 'Norwich' (see above).
INV. 16295-418. ‘London’, +ÆPI/NEM/OLY/NDE/, 1.37 gm., Pl. XIV, P. The moneyer Ælfwine is recorded by Hild. for LC to SC inclusive, but never spelt as on this coin. The obverse is from the same die as CN 3079, ‘Rochester’ (see above).

Group 5 (Mules with Type B obverse and Quatrefoil reverse—Hild. Ef)

These coins, by virtue of their obverse type, can confidently be assigned to Scandinavia.

CN 253. ‘Cricklade’, +HI/LDR/EDM/OCR/, 1.18 gm., Pl. XII, G. The moneyer is not recorded by Hild. at Cricklade, except for the Q coin CN 252 (Group 7) which is from the same reverse die; nor is he recorded at Crewkerne or Shrewsbury. The contraction MO is not found at any of these mints in the Q issue; furthermore, the same reverse die was used to strike N-CN 286 (Group 7) which has a barbarous obverse. The obverse of CN 253 is from the same die as CN 3118, ‘Shrewsbury’ (Group 4).

CN 2020A. ‘London’, +BR/HTN/ÓÐM/LVN/, 1.74 gm., Pl. XIII, L. This coin is not listed in Hild.’s catalogue, but lies next to CN 2020 (Group 7) in the trays of the Systematic Collection. It is from a quite barbarous obverse with an unintelligible legend. The reverse is from the same die as CN 2020.

Group 6 (Mule with Type B obverse and Pointed Helmet reverse—Hild. Gb)

CN 1843. ‘Lincoln’, +PVLFPINE ON LII (or LV?), 1.12 gm., Pl. XIV, V. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. at Lincoln for H, PH, and SC, and at London for LC to SC inclusive. The obverse legend is contracted by comparison with other Type B obverses, and the coin, while Scandinavian, appears to be later in date than the others of this series.

Group 7 (Quatrefoil coins which die-link to coins of other groups)

CN 193. ‘Cesth (?)’, +ÆLF/SIG/EMOC/ESØ/, 1.28 gm., Pl. XIII, K. This mint-signature is not recorded by Hild. (or elsewhere) for any other type. Obverse and reverse are of a style associated with Lincoln, the north and east Midlands, and East Anglia, and the portrait indicates a moderately early date within the type. If ‘Cesth . . .’ was an English mint, the question of its identity poses itself. The possibility that the dies were intended for export must, however, be borne in mind, since the obverse die ultimately reached Scandinavia and was used there in striking CN 2050, ‘London’ (Group 8), a Q/LSC mule, and N-CN 35, ‘York’ (Group 10), an impossible Q/H mule, both of which are condemned by further die-linking. It is not possible to establish with certainty in the present state of our knowledge where this coin was issued, but the balance of probability is in favour of Scandinavia: the good condition of the dies when the coin was struck must, however, leave some doubt to be resolved. There is a Q fragment (CN 194) which appears to bear the same mint-signature but has a moneyer’s name beginning ÐV . . .; the obverse is of an East Anglian style (cf. CN 3780 below) and has not so far been die-linked into this series.

CN 252. ‘Cricklade’, +HI/LDR/EDM/OCR/, 1.41 gm., Pl. XII, G. See CN 253 (Group 5), which is from the same reverse die, for a discussion of the moneyer and mint attribution. The obverse is of a late Lincoln style which is associated with a light weight standard, about two-thirds of the weight of this coin. Although
the obverse die was probably of English manufacture, the reverse die-links to CN 253 and to N-CN 286 (see below) establish the coin as not English.


CN 2020. ‘London’, from same reverse die as last, 1·09 gm. Pl. XIII, L.

CN 3780. ‘Winchester’, +LE/OFN:/ØØM/ØØN/, 1·31 gm.

The obverse of CN 2019 and CN 3780 is of a style which is found chiefly at East Anglian mints and, in particular, Thetford. The portrait and the ending ANGLOX are characteristic of this style, which is also occasionally found at London but never (CN 3780 apart) at Winchester. The obverse of CN 2020 is of Lincoln style, which is also occasionally found at London. However, the die-linking between these coins (CN 2019 and CN 3780 are from the same obverse die), and in particular the fact that the ‘London’ reverse die was also used to strike CN 2020A (Group 5) in conjunction with a barbarous and unintelligible Type B obverse, indicates that they were struck in Scandinavia.

The similarity between the obverses of CN 865 (Group 8), CN 193 (see above), and CN 2020 is worth noting: the legends all end in -ORY:, and the three dies may have been made at Lincoln at the same time, possibly for export. Moreover, most, if not all, of the Q coins which bear Cnut’s Danish title are from a single obverse die of similar style, and one of them (Hauberg, pl. i, 3) is apparently from the same reverse die as CN 3780. It seems likely that this obverse die, too, was made at Lincoln; it was ultimately used with a number of barbarous reverse dies which were doubtless of local Scandinavian manufacture (see, for example, Hauberg, pl. i, 2, and pl. ii, 5).

CN 2670. ‘London’, +LYF/INC/ONL/VND/, 1·21 gm., Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC to Q inclusive. Were it not for its position in die-chain K, we would not hesitate to say that this coin was struck at the London mint. The obverse die was undoubtedly of London manufacture, not of the earliest style produced at London but nevertheless not of the abundant later style in which the fleurs are attached to the band which follows the shape of the head, and which continues as a separate line, parallel to the neck and shoulder line, until it meets the quatrefoil. The reverse die was also of London manufacture: the epigraphy, and the shape of the quatrefoil, are typical of coins of this style, and the use of a trefoil instead of a single pellet at the point of one of the cusps is one of those quirks which are characteristic of the London mint at this period and which bring to mind the marking of the coins of the later Middle Ages. The weight is also right for a coin of the style in question.

However, the obverse die was also used in association with a ‘Canterbury’ LSC reverse (CN 154, Group 8), a ‘London’ LC or Type B reverse (CN 2200, Group 9) and—most significantly—the Asthrith LC or Type B reverse (INV. 20879–619, Group 9). At some stage, therefore, it must have been taken to Scandinavia: was CN 2670 struck from it before or after this happened? Examination of the photographs suggests that CN 154 was struck first: the rust marks are least apparent on that coin, and the crack which joins the final R to the quatrefoil is scarcely noticeable. Of the other three coins it is probable that CN 2200 was the earliest to be struck, but there is little to choose between CN 2670 and the Asthrith coin: the die was in poor condition and there cannot have been much lapse of time between them. It seems likely, therefore, that CN 2670 is a Scandinavian striking, and the rust marks visible on the reverse tend to confirm this.

CN 2671. London, from the same reverse die as CN 2670, 1·45 gm., Pl. XIII, K.

1 Hildebrand, op. cit., p. 196, and footnote p. 312.
The reverse is, however, free from rust marks, proving that this coin was struck earlier than CN 2670. The obverse is of an earlier (and heavier) London style, and the weight is reasonable for a coin of this style. Despite the faulty striking, the probability is that it was struck at London.

CN 2740. ‘London’, +ΘO/ΘΕΘ/MΟΛ/VΝΘ/, 1.00 gm., Pl. XII, E. See CN 2741 (Group 2) which is from the same reverse die. The obverse is of a style not otherwise found in the Q type and this, together with its position in die-chain E and the Scandinavian name of the moneyer, indicates that the coin is not English.

CN 3518. ‘Thetford’, +ΝΑ/ΝΑΤ/ΟΝΘ/ΕΤΦ/, 0.73 gm., Pl. XII, F. The moneyer Mana is recorded by Hild. for LC to LSC. The obverse is from the same die as Brun 742 (Group 9), which has the meaningless mint-signature MEONRE and is from the same reverse die as the Type B coin, CN 2896 (Group 4). The style of the obverse appears to be early Lincoln, but may be derivative; the portraiture is not dissimilar to that found on CN 2896. On this evidence, taken with the exceptionally light weight, the attribution to Thetford cannot be sustained.

CN 2740. ‘London’, +ΘO/ΘΕΘ/MΟΛ/VΝΘ/, 1.00 gm., Pl. XII, E. See CN 2741 (Group 2) which is from the same reverse die. The obverse is of a style not otherwise found in the Q type and this, together with its position in die-chain E and the Scandinavian name of the moneyer, indicates that the coin is not English.

CN 3552. ‘York’, +ΠVLΣΙΓΕ MΞΟΕΟΡΙ, 1.28 gm., Pl. XIII, N. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC to LSC. There is no reason to doubt that the dies for this coin were of English manufacture, and a true LSC coin from the reverse die may one day be found. The obverse Q die is of a style associated with the Lincoln area and not found at York except in a crude form on coins of irregular manufacture, which are probably Scandinavian. This die dates from relatively

1 Coin in the cabinet of Dr. E. J. Harris.
early in the currency of the Q type, since similar dies struck true coins on a high weight standard: it appears to have been made at the same time as those used to strike CN 193 and CN 2020 (Group 7). It is most unlikely that this is a true Q/LSC mule struck at York, and we believe that it was minted in Scandinavia.

FIG. 2.

CN 2050. ‘London’, +BRIHTNOB MTO LVD, 1.09 gm., Pl. XIII, K. See CN 2049 (Group 1) which is from the same reverse die, and CN 193, ‘Cesth (?)’ (Group 7) and N-CN 35, ‘York’ (Group 10) which are both from the same obverse die. The latter was, as has been pointed out in connexion with CN 193, of English manufacture, but it appears to have been well worn when it struck CN 2050. This, taken with its position in die-chain K, is sufficient to identify the coin as of Scandinavian origin.

N-CN 241. ‘Tamworth?’, +LOEPMF NTO TAF retrograde, 2.05 gm., Pl. XII, D. The reverse legend is, in fact, barbarous, and the weight is impossible for an English coin of this period. See also CN 1447, ‘Leicester’ (Group 9) and CN 3552, ‘Torksey’ (Group 7) which are from the same obverse die. The coin undoubtedly reinforces the conclusion that all the coins in die-chain E are Scandinavian.

Group 9 (Mules with Quatrefoil obverse and Type B reverse—Hild. Ek)

CN 1447. ‘Chester (Leicester)’, /LOH/FMM/OLE/NA+ (?), 2 specimens, 1.42 and 2.14 gm., Pl. XII, D. Neither the moneyer’s name nor the mint is capable of intelligent interpretation: Lena is never found as a reading for Leicester. See CN 3552, ‘Torksey’ (Group 7) and N-CN 241 (Group 8, with blundered reverse) which are both from the same obverse die. The weight of the second specimen is impossible for an English coin of the period.

CN 2200. ‘London’, +EA/DPO/LDM/LVN/, 0.98 gm., Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC to SC inclusive. The reverse die could be of English manufacture; for a discussion of the obverse die and of the coin generally see CN 2670 (Group 7) which is one of several coins from the same die. It is unlikely that this coin was struck in England before the obverse die found its way to Scandinavia.

INV. 20879–619. ‘Norwich’, +AS/BRI:BMO/.NOR/, 1.13 gm., Pl. XIII, K. See CN 2911 (Group 4) which is from the same reverse die. This is the vital link in die-chain K to which reference is also made under CN 2670, ‘London’ (Group
7): the obverse is from a die of London manufacture—the same as struck CN 2200—which must have reached Scandinavia before this coin was struck.

Bruun 742. ‘Meonre (?)’, + OD:\AM’O/MEO:\NRE/, 0·91 gm., Pl. XII, F. See CN 2896 (Group 4) which is from the same reverse die, and CN 3518, ‘Thetford’ (Group 7) which is from the same obverse die. The coin is not English.

Group 10 (Mule with Quatrefoil obverse and Helmet reverse—Hild.—)
N-CN 35. ‘York’, + BR\EHT/NO\MOE/, 1·54 gm., Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for H to PH, though the H coin, Æ 644 (Group 12) is in fact a mule of LC/H and is from the same reverse die. This die-link, taken in conjunction with the obverse die-link to CN 2050, ‘London’ (Group 8) and CN 193, ‘Cesth (?)’ (Group 7) and the combination of types on the coin itself, is sufficient to relegate it to the Scandinavian series.

B. Coins in the Name of Æthelræd Which Die-link To Or Are Associated With Coins of Groups 1-10

Group 11 (Long Cross)
Æ 206. ‘Canterbury’, + LE\FRI/CMO/CÆN/, 1·12 gm., Pl. XIII, M. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC and H (Æ 194, listed by Hild. as of LSC type, is a LC/LSC mule and is not of English minting—see Group 13—neither is CN 154—see Group 8). The obverse is not of English style, and the reverse lacks either of the usual contraction marks, Ω and ’, between M and O. The same reverse die is found associated with an obverse of LSC type on Æ 209 (Group 15), which also struck an uncatalogued British Museum coin with an utterly barbarous reverse (Group 14), so that a Scandinavian origin is certain.

However, it is worth noting that Leofric is the moneyer named on the reverse of the LC/LSC mule, Æ 194 (Group 13), which is certainly from a genuine (though rusty) English LC die and probably a genuine LSC reverse die as well, but which, from the combination of types and from the position of the coin in die-chain K, must have been struck in Scandinavia. It is just possible that the obverse die for Æ 194 was associated with a reverse LC die of Leofric, from which was copied the die used to strike Æ 206.

Æ 1380. ‘Huntingdon’, + LE\OFN/MOV/NTA/, 1·05 gm., Pl. XIII, K. The moneyer Leofnoth is not otherwise recorded by Hild., and the spelling VNTA is not otherwise found at Huntingdon. The obverse is from the same die as Æ 644, ‘York’ (Group 12) and this establishes the coin as Scandinavian.

Æ 3104. ‘Norwich’, + AS\BRI/DMO/NOR/, 1·16 gm., Pl. XIII, K. See CN 2911 (Group 4) which is from the same reverse die. The coin is crucial because the obverse, which is not of English LC style, die-links to Æ 2944, ‘London’ (Group 13) and thereby links the Brihtnoth, Thorcetl, and Thordr group with the undoubtedly Scandinavian Astthrið group.

Æ 3864. ‘Ustla (?)’, + VLF/CETL/MOV/STL/, 1·26 gm., Pl. XII, H. See CN 3567 (Group 4) which is from the same reverse die. The obverse is not of English style, and the coin cannot be English.

Group 12 (Mule with Long Cross obverse and Helmet reverse—Hild.—)
Æ 644. ‘York’, + BR\EHT/NO\MOE/, 1·06 gm., Pl. XIII, K. Hildebrand mistakenly describes this coin as of his Type E (Helmet). See N-CN 35 (Group 10)
which is from the same reverse die. The obverse is mis-spelt (+ELDERDEX-ANGLO) and is not of English style: it die-links to Æ 1380, ‘Huntingdon’ (Group 11). The coin is undoubtedly Scandinavian.

Group 13 (Mules with Long Cross obverse and Last Small Cross reverse—Hild. Af)

Æ 194. ‘Canterbury’, +L·EOFRIC ON CNTPA·, 1·50 gm., Pl. XIII, K. See CN 154 (Group 8) which is from the same reverse die: it is there argued that this coin, though from dies of English manufacture, was probably struck in Scandinavia. See also Fig. 2 for a coin of this group, from the same obverse die and a barbarous reverse die.¹

Æ 2944. ‘London’, +ÞORCL M·O LVND, 1·18 gm., Pl. XIII, K. See CN 2739 (Group 1) which is from the same reverse die, and Æ 3104, ‘Norwich’ (Group 11) which is from the same obverse die, for a discussion of the importance of this coin of Scandinavian origin.

Group 14 (Last Small Cross)

Æ 2668. ‘London’, +LEOFNOD M·O LVNDE, a retrograde E in the field, 1·30 gm., Pl. XIII, M. The moneyer is recorded by Hild. for LC only, apart from this coin. The obverse die-link to the barbarous BM coin below, and to Æ 209, ‘Canterbury’ (Group 15), indicates a Scandinavian origin.

Æ 3183. Norwich, +OZPOLD MON ONR·B, 1·24 gm., Pl. XII, A. See CN 2971 (Group 1) for a discussion of this apparently English coin.

Æ 3863. ‘Ustla (?)’, +ÝLFETEL M·O VSTLA, 1·50 gm., Pl. XII, H. This coin is discussed with CN 3567 (Group 4). It is probably Scandinavian, although the dies may be of York manufacture: if it is English, we cannot suggest the identity of the mint.

BMC 399. Barbarous reverse, 0·95 gm., Pl. XIII, M. See Æ 2668 above and Æ 209, ‘Canterbury’ (Group 15) which are from the same obverse die.

Group 15 (Mules with Last Small Cross obverse and Long Cross reverse—Hild. Da)

Æ 209. ‘Canterbury’, +LEO/FRI/CMO/CÆN, 1·13 gm., Pl. XIII, M. See Æ 206 (Group 11), which is from the same reverse die. The obverse is similar in style to ‘Northern A’, the dies for which may be presumed to have been cut at York, but there is also a close similarity of style to that typified by CN 2907 and N-CN 285 (Group 1). The obverse die-link to Æ 2668, ‘London’ and the barbarous BM coin (both Group 14) indicates a Scandinavian origin.

Æ 3105. ‘Norwich’, +AS/DRI:/OMO./NOR/, 1·22 gm., Pl. XIII, K. See Æ 3104 (Group 11), CN 2911 and 2912 (Group 4), and INV. 20879–619 (Group 9) which are from the same reverse die. The obverse is not of English style, and the coin is undoubtedly Scandinavian.

¹ Supra, p. 245, n. 1.
C. SOME OTHER SCANDINAVIAN COINS IN THE NAMES OF CNUT AND HARTHACNUT

Die-chain Y on Plate XIV links together the single coins listed by Hild. under the following minor types and varieties of Cnut and Harthacnut:

**Cnut**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hild. Ab</td>
<td>CN 2743. ‘London’, +BYRRCIL ON LVDI*•</td>
<td>1.05 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” Ab</td>
<td>CN 2744. ”</td>
<td>0.80 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” Ac</td>
<td>CN 2745. ”</td>
<td>0.90, 0.78 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” Gb</td>
<td>CN 2749. ” +VLEFCETL ON LVDI</td>
<td>0.72 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Harthacnut**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hild. C</td>
<td>HC 142. ‘London’ +BYRRCIL ON LVDI*•</td>
<td>1.00 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” G</td>
<td>HC 87. ‘Lincoln’ +AL* FRIC ON LINCOL*</td>
<td>1.19 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” Gb</td>
<td>HC 88. ”</td>
<td>1.06 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Together with the three ‘London’ coins of Hild. Ba of Harthacnut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hild. Ba</td>
<td>HC 104. ‘London’ +ALFPINE ON LVDI</td>
<td>0.96 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” Ba</td>
<td>HC 139. ” +OVHENCARL ON LV</td>
<td>0.96 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>” Ba</td>
<td>HC 145. ” +VLEFCETL ON LVDI</td>
<td>1.03 gm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the following coins of regular types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pointed Helmet</td>
<td>CN 2745. ‘London’ +BYRSTN ON LVDI</td>
<td>0.84 gm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewel Cross</td>
<td>HC 140. ” +BORCETEL ON LVDI*•</td>
<td>0.90 gm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>”</td>
<td>HC 141. ”</td>
<td>0.80 gm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm and Sceptre</td>
<td>CN 2748. ”</td>
<td>1.02 gm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These coins were all claimed for the Danish series by Hauberg, who drew attention to every die-link which we have illustrated, with the exception of that between HC 142 on the one hand and CN 2743 and 2744 on the other hand. All of them must have been struck at one mint in Scandinavia (Lund, according to Hauberg) towards the end of Harthacnut’s reign.

**Conclusions**

To sum up, therefore, we confidently assign all coins in the name of Cnut of Hild. Types A and B, and the associated varieties Aa, Ef, Eg, Ek, and Gb, to a mint or mints in Scandinavia. The only possible exception is CN 2971, a ‘Norwich’ coin of Type A (Group 1) of the moneyer Oswold, and we doubt whether a single exception can in fact be sustained against the weight of evidence provided by the other coins.

The Quatrefoil issue is thus shown to be the first issue of coins in England in the name of Cnut. This accords well with the absence of coins in the name of Eadmund Ironside, and with the theory of sexennial recoinages as modified by force of circumstances at the end of Æthelræd’s reign and immediately after his death. However, the obverse dies for the Type A coins, and to a lesser extent the reverse dies also, show unmistakable signs of English manufacture. Three possible explanations for this phenomenon suggest themselves. Firstly, the dies may have been cut at Lincoln, or possibly York, in 1016 for a projected issue of Last Small Cross coins in Cnut’s name at mints under his

1 Hauberg, op. cit., pp. 112–22, also pp. 190 seqq.
control: this issue not being proceeded with for some reason, the dies were exported to Scandinavia. This explanation fails to account for the observed die-linking which involves Quatrefoil dies of English manufacture dating from some time after the introduction of the Quatrefoil type in England. Secondly, the dies may have been specially designed for a Scandinavian mint: this would more satisfactorily explain why some Type B obverses also appear to be of English workmanship, and would not be inconsistent with the export of a limited number of Quatrefoil dies (though why these should have been representative of no less than four regional styles, associated with London, Lincoln, York, and East Anglia, is a mystery). Thirdly, one or more engravers may have been sent to Scandinavia to cut dies there for local use: however, the limited number of dies from which the coins were struck casts serious doubt on this explanation—there can scarcely have been a day’s work involved, and the production of the coins themselves can hardly have been an extended operation.

The problems of the origin and raison d’être of these Scandinavian coinages can best be approached and solved by Scandinavian scholars, in the context of other coinages of the region. Amongst the other problems which must also be considered are the association between certain of the coins which we have illustrated and those bearing Cnut’s Danish title, and the significance of the moneyers’ names recorded on the coins. We do not regard ourselves as competent to solve them, and indeed their solution is not within the scope of this paper: it is sufficient for our purpose that their existence should be recognized.

To complete our survey, we recall that Hauberg has already transferred to the Danish series Hild. Type C of Cnut (CN 2114, ‘London’, Pl. XIV, W, imitating Æthelræd’s Helmet type) and D, Da, and Eh, as well as Ab, Ac, Gc, and Ic to which reference has already been made. Of the other minor varieties, one of us has elsewhere described as not English Ee, El, Hd, Ía, and probably Hc also.1 We are left with five varieties of the Quatrefoil type (Ea, Eb, Ec, Ed, and Ei) which are—with the possible exception of one of the Ea coins—undoubtedly English; one variety of the Pointed Helmet type (Ga) of the two examples of which one (CN 2007) would seem certainly Danish;2 two minor varieties of the Short Cross type (Ha and Hb) which are English; a Short Cross/Jewel Cross mule (Ka) and two Arm-and-Sceptre/Pacx mules (F) which are apparently English, though the latter date from the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor. The substantive types are, of course, Quatrefoil (E), Pointed Helmet (G), and Short Cross (H), the Jewel Cross issue (K) having probably commenced shortly before Cnut’s death and the Arm-and-Sceptre type (I) being in reality Harthacnut’s Type B with the king’s name shortened.

Of the minor varieties of Harthacnut, Hauberg transferred all to Denmark with the exception of two Derby coins of Ba, which are in fact of B,3 and

2 For the Danish coin cf. Hauberg, pl. ii, 19, and pl. iv, 1–4, &c. Hild. 1658, on the other hand, with its well-attested combination of Hiberno-Norse and OE. personal names seems certainly English.
3 G. van der Meer, op. cit., p. 181.
the single coin of I which is another Arm-and-Sceptre/Pacx mule. Those remaining in the English series are therefore the Jewel Cross type (A and Aa, with left- and right-facing busts respectively) and the Arm-and-Sceptre type (B).

Our thanks are due to Förste Antikvarie Dr. N. L. Rasmusson and Antikvarie L. O. Lagerqvist of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet in Stockholm for supplying us with photographs and helping us in every possible way in our search for material for this paper. We also record our gratitude to the authorities of the Finnish National Museum in Helsinki and the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen for supplying photographs of coins in their collections.
SCANDINAVIAN COINS OF CNUT (I)
SCANDINAVIAN COINS OF Cnut (2)