A SMALL PARCEL OF FIRST HAND PENNIES OF ÆTHELRAED II FROM THE 1863 IPSWICH HOARD

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

In June 1963 Mr. H. de S. Shortt was kind enough to draw the attention of Mr. C. E. Blunt to a parcel of five First Hand pennies and two fragments which had come to light among the effects of a friend of an acquaintance. It was suggested that Mr. Blunt should publish the group, but very generously Mr. Blunt has invited the present writer to undertake the task. It is one that the writer finds the more attractive because among the unpublished results of his twelve visits to Stockholm is a detailed stylistic analysis of the First Hand issue of Æthelraed II in which for the first time there are distinguished the products of a number of regional centres engaged on the engraving of the dies for distribution to mints over a wide area. Not only does the new parcel supply further evidence for this pattern, but a dispassionate review of the 1863 Ipswich hoard (Inventory 199) with which it is most certainly to be associated leaves little room for doubt but that the First Hand and Second Hand types were quite distinct issues. If it is perhaps only when the student is confronted with really large numbers of coins of both types that the distinctions become obvious, it may just be remarked here that the two issues were struck on very different weight-standards, and that for practical purposes the dies for the Second Hand coinage were produced all at a single centre. When, too, there is published a reliable account of the 1841 ‘Marl Valley’ (Mullingar) find from Ireland (Inventory 265) with due emphasis placed on one or two coins from the hoard which are now in the British Museum, and when this account is placed beside detailed descriptions of certain English and Swedish hoards, the disparity of the two issues should become immediately apparent, and there is the further point that critics of the provisional chronology worked out by the Stockholm team seem never to have appreciated, let alone faced up to, the problems which would arise if the date of the succeeding Crux issue were to be brought back before c. 990. It cannot be stressed too much that the besetting temptation of English numismatists is to work in isolation, and it is disappointing that there should be so little recognition of the way in which the German material in particular demands that the two Hand issues between them extend over a period of a decade at the very least, i.e. constitute two distinct issues as that term is usually understood by the Anglo-Saxon numismatist.

On receipt of the coins from Mr. Shortt at the British Museum, the two fragments were passed to Mr. K. A. Howes who confirmed that they belonged to the same coin. Before they could be re-united, however, it was necessary for there to be removed a thick corrosion, and this had to be done mechanically, the work occupying Mr. Howes the greater part of a day. The patient and skilful labour was more than justified in the event, as the coin not only is unpublished, but proves to be unique of the type for the mint in question, and adds very considerably to our knowledge of the particular variety. Through the generosity of Mr. H. R. Mossop, too, it has been possible to add it and three of the whole coins to the National Collection, the coins presented by Mr. Mossop being distinguished by an asterisk in the list that follows.
A catalogue of the six coins runs:—

ÆTHELRÄED II (978–1016)

First Hand issue († Michaelmas 979–Michaelmas 985)

(1*) +ÆDELÆREDÆXANGLOX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) 0°  +PALTFERDÆM—OGIP  
E. Anglian style A.  
Cf. Hild. 1098.  
26.7 grains  
Ipswich, Wulftherth.

(2) +ÆDELÆREDÆXANGLOX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) 90°  +FERÆDENM—OLINDCOL  
‘Lincoln’ style.  
Hild. 1764/5 var.  
23.9 grains  
Lincoln, Ferthe(i)n.

(3*) +ÆDELÆREDÆXANGLOX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) 0°  +ÆDELÆREDÆM—OLVND  
Southern style.  
Hild. 2195 var.  
25.8 grains  
London, Æthereled.

(4*) +ÆDELÆREDÆXANGLOX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) 180°  +GODÆÆRM—OLVND  
Southern style.  
Cf. Hild. 2612.  
24.1 grains  
London, Godwine.

(5) +ÆDELÆREDÆXANGLOX (NG lig.) 90°  +ÆADÆGÆRM—ODÆTOTFOR  
E. Anglian style B.  
Cf. Hild. 3877.  
24.8 grains  
Thetford, Æadgar.

First Hand variant (left-facing bust)  
(Autumn 979?)

(6*) +ÆDEL—REXÆ—LORX (ORX lig.) 0°  +ÆÆÆ—PINE—LIMA  
Two fragments.  
Lymne, Leofwine.

Of the individual coins, no. 1 is from dies unrepresented in the British Museum, Hunter and Fitzwilliam—rather surprisingly, perhaps, since coins with the reading in question seem to have been present in the Ipswich find in very considerable number. Coin no. 2 is from dies which are otherwise unknown, and the writer is very grateful to Mr. Mossop for corroboration of this. The moneyer of no. 3 is, of course, the Æthereled of Hild. 2195–2200, but the spelling appears to be unrecorded. It is no. 6, however, that is the real rarity. The variety is one unknown hitherto for a mint which in itself is by no means common, and the moneyer is new for the mint unless, as is possible, we are to regard the Wine of Hild. 1618 as a hypocoristic form of Leofwine.  

The question that now confronts the student is whether the parcel of six coins is from a known find or from one hitherto unrecorded. Generally it is a sound principle that *thesauri non sunt multiplicandi præter necessitatem*, and in this particular case there was no suggestion that the coins constituted a hoard in their own right. There is, too, a most significant concordance between the new parcel and the only major hoard from England to be composed entirely of First Hand pennies of Æthereled II, the 1863 hoard from Ipswich to which allusion has already been made. The geographical distribution of the mints of the six coins submitted by Mr. Shortt is as follows:—

| Mints in Kent | 1 |
| London Mint | 2 |
| Mints in Eastern Counties | 3 |
| Mints elsewhere in England | — |
As we will see, there are certain defects in the Inventory summary of the Ipswich hoard, but a new analysis of 69 coins which can be shown to be from the find gives the following result:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mints in Kent</th>
<th>10</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London Mint</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mints in Eastern Counties</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mints elsewhere in England</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coincidence of the two patterns is remarkable, and it is also worth remarking that four of the six coins in Mr. Shortt’s parcel are by moneyers certainly represented in the Ipswich hoard. Moreover the distinctive dark patina of the six new pieces can be matched exactly on coins known to be from Ipswich, and in particular there occurs the same adhesion of a reddish oxide which is mentioned in Sir John Evans’ original account of the discovery. There is the further point that Mr. Shortt’s researches have established that an earlier owner of the coins had East Anglian connections, and, bearing in mind the paucity of English finds where First Hand is represented at all strongly and the fact that Evans was able to list no more than 15% of the Ipswich hoard, there is a presumption which amounts almost to certainty that the six coins submitted by Mr. Shortt derive from the Ipswich hoard of exactly a century ago.

As already remarked, the Inventory summary is not altogether satisfactory, and we may cite among its errors of commission the suggestion that all the coins described were of BMC type ii, an excessively rare variety known today from fewer than a score of coins, and among the errors of omission the failure to pick up the important supplementary list which ‘J. H. Pollesfen’ (recte Pollexfen) published in the 1868 Numismatic Chronicle. The student of tenth-century English coinage, therefore, may welcome the following new account of the Ipswich find in slightly modified Inventory format which takes account of the Pollexfen parcel and also of the six coins listed in this note:—

199 IPSWICH (Suffolk), corner of Old Butter Market and White Hart Lane, 24th October, 1863.

About 500 AR Anglo-Saxon pennies (75 listed). Deposit: c. 983 + 2.

KINGS OF ENGLAND: Æthelred II, BMC (A) type ii Canterbury: Boia, 2 (?). Lymne; Leofwine, 1. BMC (A) type ii var. a Bath: Æthelsige, 1. Bedford: Oswi, 1. Cambridge: Hunstan, 1. Canterbury: Boia, 1; Leofric, 1; Lifine, 1. Dover: Leofgar, 1. Huntingdon: Ælfrie, 1. Ipswich: Godman, 1; Leof(æ)man, 3; Leofric, 7; Osulf, 1; Waltferth, 10. Lincoln: Ferthen, 1. London: Ælfgar, 2; Ælfwine, 1; Æthe(li) red, 3; Æthelstan, 1; Beornwulf, 1; Eadwold, 1; Godwine, 3; Leofheh, 1; Lofric, 2; Wufric, 1. Lymne: Eadstan, 1. Maldon: Eadwold, 1. Northampton: Leofgar, 1. Norwich: Livine, 1; Manninc, 1; Swyrtinc, 1. Rochester: Eodeln, 3. Southampton: Æfelweard, 1. Stamford: Grim, 1; Wulstan, 1. Thetford: Ædgar, 1; Osforth, 2; Swyrtine, 1. Worcester: Man, 1. York: Fastulf, 1; Oda, 1; Sunulf, 1; Ulf, 1. BMC (A) type ii var. b Ipswich: Wilbert, 1. Norwich: Brantine, 1; Livine, 1; Manninc, 1.


Disposition: only 100-120 of the coins were in good condition. The above list comprises 60 listed by Evans in NC 1864, 8 noted by Pollexfen in NC 1868, 1 additional specimen described in the Pollexfen sale-catalogue of 1900, and 6 shown at the British Museum in 1963. At least 23 of these coins from the find are now in the British Museum, 19 of them ex Evans.
The First Hand variety with left-facing bust

It will have been noticed that the Ipswich find contained no fewer than three specimens of the variety of *First Hand* with a left-facing bust, the variety distinguished by Hildebrand as B.1. var. a and appearing in the Grueber volume of the British Museum’s *Anglo-Saxon Catalogue* as Type II. These coins even today are often wrongly described as mules from *First Small Cross* obverses (cf. Lockett 3724), and it may be useful to list and illustrate by direct photographs every die-combination known to the present writer. Just how rare is the variety, incidentally, may be gathered from the fact that it is not represented in such major collections as those at Cambridge, Copenhagen, Glasgow, Oslo and Oxford, and it will be seen that between them the British Museum and Stockholm not only account for every known variety but for three out of four of the known specimens.

(1) **CANTERBURY, Boi(g)a.**
   
   *BM* ex 1863 Ipswich Find.

(2) **CANTERBURY, Living**

(3) **CHESTER, Ælfstan**

(4) **CHESTER, Leomman**

(5) **CHESTER, Leomman**

(6) **HEREFORD, Ælfstan.**

(7) **LYMNE, Leofwine.**

(8) **SHREWSBURY, Ævie.**

(9) **SHREWSBURY, Leofwelm.**

NOTES

1 The following abbreviations are used:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BM</strong></td>
<td>British Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CEB</strong></td>
<td>C. E. Blunt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CSSL</strong></td>
<td>C. S. S. Lyon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEJ</strong></td>
<td>F. Elmore Jones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GMC</strong></td>
<td>Grosvenor Museum, Chester.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHM</strong></td>
<td>Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(2) The *BM* coins *ex* Mullingar Find are *via* B. Chapman sale (Sotheby, 8 : xi : 1894), lot 22.

(3) Coins 3 and 4 are from the same obverse die, and coins 4 and 5 from the same reverse die.

It should be apparent at once that the obverses are quite different from those of the *First Small Cross* issue—in particular we may note the omission of the aigrette of three pellets before the face¹—and also that there are two distinct stylistic groupings. One comprises the

¹ To bring out this point we illustrate the still unique *First Small Cross / First Hand* mule in the British Museum (*Pl. I, J*) *ex* Montagu 772 *ex* Brice *ex* Cuff 563 *cf.* Ruding *Pl. D, 35.*
coins of Canterbury and Lymne, and here the bust is quite round while the ethnic is contracted ANGLORX. The other grouping embraces the coins of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford. Here the bust is noticeably narrower, and the ethnic is contracted ANGL or ANGLO. Few would wish to dispute that two different regional workshops must have been concerned with the production of the dies, and so the numismatist is afforded welcome new evidence that there was a regional pattern of die-production in the First Hand issue. Unfortunately there is as yet no significant hoard-provenance for any coin of the Kentish grouping, but the evidence of the 1914 hoard from Chester (Inventory 85) is decisive that the coins of the Mercian grouping were struck not more than a few months after the introduction of the First Hand type, and there would seem no reason to suppose that the Kentish pieces were not contemporaneous. In other words, the rigid centralization achieved by Eadgar at the end of his reign had been abandoned within a very few years, so that one wonders why it should have been resurrected—and with complete success—by the time that the Second Hand coinage was put in issue approximately a decade after Eadgar's death.
AETHELRAED II FIRST HAND VARIETY WITH LEFT-FACING BUST