The Northumbrian coins which are the subject of this paper were sent to Christie's in London from a private collection for auction on 14 April 1981. All but one of them are ninth-century stycas; the last is an eighth-century sceat. The sale-catalogue describes the material as the property of a Noble-man and lists it in twenty lots (118-137): seventeen groups of the stycas originally acquired by William Fennell of Wakefield from the Bolton Percy hoard of 1847 and three (two of stycas and the third, the single sceat) from other sources. The only hint of who obtained the Bolton Percy parcel from Fennell and himself collected most of the others occurs in the annotation of lot 134 which refers to a letter from Fennell to Charles Winn. That Winn was the collector is confirmed by further documentation which became available after the sale. For the present, it is proposed to refer to the Bolton Percy coins as the Fennell parcel and to the others as the Winn collection.

News of the impending sale reached the writer in January. It may seem like being wise after the event to record that the existence of the collection had been suspected, with the hope of being able to examine it as part of current work on the styca series. One is glad to express sincere appreciation of arrangements made, more or less at the eleventh hour, for the coins to be in Leeds for some three weeks so that a quick record could be made. It was hoped that the major permanent collections in York and Leeds would have success enough at the auction to acquire most, if not all, the coins as these included many which would have been most significant additions to material destined for publication in Sylloge format. In the event, there was a complete lack of such success. The collection has been dispersed, although it has all, with the exception of two lots, returned to Yorkshire. By gift and by private treaty since, Leeds City Museum has obtained twenty-eight items (including three which were not in the sale) which will, in due course, be more fully published.

The record made last winter was minimal in that there was no opportunity to weigh the specimens or to record their die-axes. Priority had to be given to copying such documentation as was available and to checking dies. Such dies and die-combinations as were not already represented in the York and Leeds collections were noted, and the relevant specimens photographed. Some others were also photographed but, after further checking later, proved to be from dies already recorded. One cannot, therefore, now present a fully detailed catalogue of the collection. The main intentions are to provide a summary register of the coins, to illustrate those dies to which reference must be made in later publication and to record provenances so that the relevant material may be incorporated in subsequent inventories.
BOLTON PERCY, 1847. The Fennell Parcel

The stycas found in the spring of 1847 are the first to have been recorded from this Yorkshire parish. Accounts of the circumstances of the discovery given by Charles Wellbeloved of York and by William Fennell of Wakefield differ considerably. It seems that the workmen who found them divided the spoils among themselves and each went on to dispose of his share to others. Wellbeloved, who believed the total to have been three or four thousand coins, recognized them as being in much worse condition than those of the York 1842 find and having no trace of a container. He first acquired about six hundred of them for the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's museum and subsequently published a summary of that parcel. Fennell’s account indicates that he visited the site in June of that year, finding a further scatter of coins and fragments of leather which he identified as the probable remains of the hoard container. He also makes it clear that in forming his own collection, he picked and chose from among those offered to him by a number of people. This must account for the specimens in his parcel being, on the whole, in considerably better condition than those examples from the 1847 find which can now be recognized in the Yorkshire Museum. Even so, Fennell was not so overpowered by considerations of condition that he failed to retain, along with a specimen of the leather, two small clumps of unseparated coins. Although neither he nor Wellbeloved had any chance of examining the total hoard and deciphering the labyrinth of die-links, both made meticulous manuscript catalogues, noting die varieties. Fennell retained some die-duplicates but disposed of at least one small selection as is shown by his presentation to Charles Winn. It is not known when he parted with his main collection.

Fennell's published commentary on his parcel is tinged with a certain amount of bravura. Since he had had no opportunity of recognizing a distinction between a well-executed regular coinage and a mass of die-linked irregular issues, he ascribed the blundering of the latter to the personal eccentricities of the ninth-century official moneyers who must have followed their own whims in the style and detail of the dies. The patterns of the official coinage and of the contemporary irregulars cannot be determined from a single parcel; specimens selected partially at random produce a distorted picture. Even the large number of blundered stycas already in the Yorkshire Museum's cabinet, from York 1842 and from the Bolton Percy finds, do not demonstrate completely the scale and nature of imitation in the York area. By taking into account a considerable proportion of the relevant specimens in the Fennell parcel, one can, however, fill in a number of missing details. It may eventually be possible to establish how many distinct groups of imitation exist and how they may be phased chronologically. It has been said that the composition of the 1847 and the 1967 finds from Bolton Percy is largely the same in both instances and that the discoveries, over a century apart, were of components of one and the same initial deposit. It may rather be that the similarity between the two finds reflects the composition one ought to expect of any styca hoard recovered in or near the city of York.

THE WINN COLLECTION

Charles Winn's family had had, in its coin collection, at least one styca - that from Wintringham, 1750 - and possibly some others, obtained well before the acquisition of further specimens from Hexham 1832, York 1842 and Bolton Percy 1847, by Charles Winn personally. Some of the groups apparent in the collection have never been fully documented with provenanced date
of discovery. It is unfortunate that, so far, the handwritings of the identifi-
cation notes cannot be recognized and related, through the writers, to
time and place at least. It is, however, remarkable that the coins retain
as much documentation as they do. Instead of their having been set out
in a cabinet, they were all for so long kept in individual packets: some
 groups were in separate wrappers and possibly, at some stage, several
groups were bundled in oddments of printed (and datable) paper. All this
related paper was withdrawn before the recent sale, so that viewers could
more easily view the specimens; afterwards the coins and their own notes
were re-united and the original groups restored. Indeed, only after the
sale did two further items come to light: an invoice and the seller’s trade-
card were found, the first of which establishes the identity of the small
 parcel from St. Leonard’s Place, York, 1842.

Detail of the documentation is given separately in the Appendix. Here,
comment must be made on the single finds from Wintringham and Appleby
—the latter, not dated. One’s first instinct was to accept that the former
must have come from Wintringham, near Malton in Yorkshire, north of Humber
and to add Appleby in Cumbria, to a distribution map of finds in the north-
west. Realization that the Winn family had an estate in Lincolnshire, at
Appleby near which is Winteringham (once spelt Wintringham), leads one
now to record these as finds from south of Humber. They are not the only
such finds known from this area, for a colleague at the Scunthorpe Museum
has a record of a silver styca of Eanred by Vilheah, found in 1979 at
Kirmington, a few miles west of Grimsby. That coin is still in private
possession. All three sites are within the territory of the ancient diocese
of Lindsey.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE REGISTERS

It is not possible to present the material in Sylloge format, since not all
the coins were photographed. What follows cannot really be dignified with
the name of catalogue since no features other than the dies were recorded
by the writer. At first glance, the text must appear as complex as that
of a knitting pattern, particularly since the easiest way to represent the
motifs appearing on the coins has been to cite reference numbers from a
chart (Fig. 1); 5/4, for example, indicates that the obverse motif is a small
cross, the reverse motif a pellet-in-annulet. It should be stressed that
there is as yet no chronological significance in the ordering of the motifs
on the chart or in the registers. Spelling has been given as far as possi-
ble as it is shown on the coins: V is rendered as V unless it is followed
by an N, in which case it is transcribed as U. The regular coins are noted
according to the individual moneyers, in the traditional manner; die-links
within the moneyer’s coins, and between coins of different moneyers are
noted. Intermediate notes are given to record which specimens represent
longer chains of die-links: it is not possible yet to demonstrate how these
emerging groups can be phased chronologically.

Although a division has been made between regular and irregular issues,
a certain number of coins from aberrant dies remains in the first section
but not without reservation. An attempt has been made to record the legend
of every die in the irregular coinage; there is as yet no means of taking
a short cut by quoting standard reference numbers. As it is, some of the
dies defy verbal description since even if one describes the legend as retro-
grade, the individual letters are, as Fennell termed them, topsy-turvy: some
inverted, some back-to-front. One can offer a guarantee that the items,
with one noted exception (346), listed in the various sub-divisions attributed
Fig. 1. Motifs on Northumbrian sceattas and stycas
to Ætheired belong to a complete die-linked chain represented by the subdivision, but since the full die-analysis is still incomplete, there can be no pretence that the components of the chain are yet in the right order, or that the present ordering of the groups is correct. Because the material has been dispersed it has been thought necessary to cite the sale lot numbers, so that the present disposition of any coin can be determined with reference to the schedule of buyers. As far as possible, the lot number is given at the end of a coin’s entry; if some comment relates one coin directly to the next, the number precedes this. Specimens which are illustrated are denoted by asterisks.

BOLTON PERCY 18/7 ~ The Fennell Parcel

REGULAR ISSUES

EANRED, 808-41 (62 coins)

The king’s name is rendered as Æanred, unless otherwise stated.

Aldates

1. 5/5 (118); same obv. as 2*, 5/5 (119) and as 19, Fordred.

Badigils

3*. 5/5 (118); 4*, 5/4: obv.: EA+NRREDR, retrograde (119).

Brodr

5. 1/1: obv., +EANRED REX (118); 6. 3/4 (118); 7. 3/4 (119); 8*. 5/5: rev., +BADGR, possibly mis-struck; chipped (119); 9. 5/1 (118); 10. 5/3 (119).

Daegberct

11. 5/5 (119).

Eadwini

12. 5/5 (118); 13*. 5/5 (118); 14*. 5/5 (119); 15*. 5a/5 (119).

Fordred

16*. 5/5 (119); same obv. as 17. 5/5 (119); 18. 5/5 (119); 19. 5/5 (118); same obv. as 1-2, Aldates; 20. 5/5 (118); 21. 5/5 (118); 22. 5/5 (119); same obv. as 23. 5/5 (119) and as 24. 5/5 (118); 25*. 5/5: obv.: +ERANREDr (118); 26. 5/5 (119); 27. 4/5: double-struck (118).

Fulcnod

28. 5/5 (118); 29. 5/5: Fulnodi (119); 30. 5/5: Fulcnod, both legends retrograde (118).

Gadute(i)s

(possibly an aberrant form of Aldates).

31. 5/5 (119); same obv. as 32*, 5/5 (119); 33. 5/5 (118).

Monne

34. 4/4 (118); 35*, 4/4 (119); 36*. 5/5 (119); 37. 5/5 (118): same dies as 36. 5/5 (119), same obv. as 39. 5/5 (119); 40. 5/5 (118); 41. 5/5 (118); same obv. as 58-61, Wihtred; 42-45. 5/4: die-duplicates (119); 46. 4/5 (119): same obv. as 47*. 4/5 (119) and 48*. 4/5 (119); 49. 5/5 (118); 50*. 5/5 (118); 51. 5/5 (118); 52. 5/5 (118); 53*. 5/5 (118); 54*. 5/5 (118); 55*. 5/1: same rev. as Ætheired/Monne, 176 (118).

Wulfred

56*. 5/5 (119); 57. 5/5 (118).

Wihtred

58. 5/5 (118): same dies as 59. 5/5 (134W) and same obv. as 60. 5/5 (118) which is from same dies as 61. 5/5 (119) - the obv. is that of 41, Monne; 62. 5/5 (119).

A coin in the name of Cunwulf is now registered among the irregulars (325).
ÆTHELRED II, first reign 841-4 (165 coins)

The varieties of spelling for the king's name are indicated below.

**Aelghe**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AEDILRED</td>
<td>63.5/5 (120); 64.5/5 (123); same obv. as 65.5/5 (121) and 66.5/5 (121); 67.5/5 (120); 68.5/5 (123); same obv. as 69-70.5/5; die-duplicates (122); 71.5/5: obv., <em>AEDILRED</em> (124).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Brother**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDELRD</td>
<td>72.2/5 (124); same obv. as 73.2/5 (123) and 172-4, Monne.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cunemund**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDELRD</td>
<td>78.5/5 (124). (Another specimen is now registered among the irregulars: 353).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Eanred**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AEDILRED[D]</td>
<td>79.5/5 (120).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that, of the coins listed above, the following are representative of longer die-linked chains recognized in the moneyer's coinage:

a) 81-5; 86. - chain shared with Leofthegn a) and Monne a).

b) 89, 91; 92-4, 103. 107-8, 110.

**Fordred**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDELMRED</td>
<td>112.2/2 (124); same rev. as 113-4.6/2; die-duplicates (120); 115.5/5 (123); 1165.5/2 (120); 117.2/5 (120); 118.4/2 (123); 119.4/5 (123); 1205.4b/5 (122); same obv. as 1215.4b/5 (124).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that 112-5 represent a longer chain of links.

**Leof thyroid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDELMRED</td>
<td>138.6/5 (120); same obv. as 139-140.6/5 (120) which are die-duplicates and 141.6/3a (120).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that 112-5 represent a longer chain of links.
as 156-7. 6/5a (124); 158. 3/3 (121); same obv. as 159-60. 3/5: die-duplicates (122); 161. 6/3 (121); 162. 6/3 (123); 163-4. 5/3 (122).  
ELRED (retrograde). 165. 5/5 (124).

The following represent longer chains:

a) 138-41, 145, 149, 163-5; - chain shared with Eanred a) and Monne a).

b) 146; 152-3, 161.

Monne

EDELRED. 166. 2/2 (121); 167. 5/5 (123): same obv. as 168*. 5/2 (124); 169. 5/1 (124): same obv. as 170. 5/1 (121) and 171. 5/3 (122).

EDELRED. 172. 2/5 (122): same dies as 173. 2/5 (124) and 174. 2/5 (134W) and same obv. as 72-3, Brother; 175*. 7/2 (123): same obv. as 176*. 7/1: same rev. as Eanred/Monne, 55 (124).

EDELRED. 177*. 5a/5a (121); 178. 1/1 (120); 179. 1/1 (121); 180. 1/2 (120); 181. 5/1 (123); 182. 3/3 (123): same obv. as 183. 3/3 (121) and 184. 3/1 (122); 185*. 3/5 (123); 186. 5a/3 (122).

EDELRED. 187. 2/2 (121): same obv. as the three die-duplicates, 188. 2/3 (121) and 189-90. 2/3 (122); 191. 5/5 (124): same obv. as 192. 5/5 (120); 193-4. 5/2: die-duplicates (120); 195*. 1/2 (120); 196. 1/2 (124): same obv. as 197. 1/5 (121); 198-9. 4/2 (123): die-duplicates with same obv. as 200. 4/5 (122); 201. 4/5 (122).

EDELRED. 202. 5/5 (120): same obv. as 130, Eordred; 203. 5/6 (124): same obv. as 204. 5/2 (123).

The following represent longer chains:

a) 167-8, 191-2: - chain shared by Eanred a) and Leofthegn a).

b) 196-7, 202.

c) 169-71, 180.

Vendelberht

EDELRED. 205. 5/5 (120): same dies as 206. 5/5 (121); 207. 5/5 (124); 208. 5/5 (120); 209. 5/5 (122): same obv. as 210. 5/5 (121); 211. 5/5: obv. legend retrograde (123).

Vvlfred

EDELRED. 212. 5/5 (122): same obv. as 213. 5/2 (123) and 214. 5/3 (120).

EDELRED. 215. 5/5 (121); 216. 5/2 (120); 217. 4/3 (124).

EDELRED. 218. 5/1 (121).

It should be noted that 215 is from the same obverse as 353, in the name of Cunemund. If it can be said that the die was first used regularly by Vvlfred, it was later used with cartoon reverses in the names of several other moneyers besides Cunemund, and also with nonsense reverses. All but the Cunemund example are represented in the Yorkshire Museum collection.

Vvlfscic

EDELRED. 219*. 5/5 (122); 220. 5/5 (120); 221. 2/5 (123): rev. also known with obv. of 220.

Wihtrid

EDELRED. 222. 5/5 (123); 223-4. 5/5: die-duplicates - 224, double-struck (122); 225. 5/5 (124); 226. 3/5 (123) and 227. 3/5 (124): die-duplicates.
The king’s name is rendered as Redvlf on 228-231.

Brother

Cudberht

Eanred

Fordred

Coenred

(episcopal moneyer).

ÆTHELRED II, second reign 844-9 (30 coins)

The king’s name is rendered as Edilred (all the coins were in lot 126).

Eardvlf

Eardvlf

Coenred

No title.

Edelhelm

No title.

Edilveard

ÆP. 301. 5/5: obv. legend retrograde (132).
Hunlaf
302. 5/5 (132); 303*. 3/3 (133): same obv. as 304. 3/5 (132); 305. 5/3 (133): same obv. as 306. 5/3 (132); 307*. 5/3 (133).
No title. 310*. 5/5 (133); 311. 5/5 (133).

OSBERHT, 849-67 (8 coins)
Eanvvlf
312. 5/5 (134W); 313. 6/2 (127); 314. 3/6 (128); 315. 3/6 (129).
Monne
316. 5/2 (127).
Viniberht
317*. 5a/5 (128); 318. 1/3 (129).

For further coins in the name of Osberht, see 388-394 and 452-454 among the


VVLFHERE, Archbishop of York, 854-900 (5 coins, all in lot 134)
VVlfred
320. 5b/5: rev. legend retrograde; 321. 6/5: rev. legend retrograde; 322. 5a/5: both legends retrograde; 323. 5c/3: same obv., retrograde, as 324. 5c/4d: rev. legend also retrograde.

IRREGULAR ISSUES
A quick comment should be made, with reference to Group 11A, to the effect that these coins have been separated from the succeeding groups because, although the dominant dies are known to have been used in combination with others, they (and others not represented here) do not seem to have been swallowed up in the wider-ranging chains of Æthelred's imitations.

Legends are retrograde, unless otherwise stated - in which case they are described as direct.

I EANRED. (1 coin)
Imitation, in copper, of a coin of a "silver" moneyer.
Cunvvlf
325. 5/5: EANRED/CUNVVLF, only the rev. retrograde (118).

II EANRED, late-ÆTHELRED, early. (27 coins)
Ai
Reflection of regular moneyers, including those only of Eanred; reverse (cited first) dominant and the second dies usually nonsense.

Fordred?
326*. 4/5: +DER0E/+CDHVLR, (130).

Hvaaetred
327. 5/4 (131): +HVAETRD/+EARDVRE, same rev. as 328. 5/5: +HVAETRD/+ERDVAOH (131).

Vilheah
329-30*. 2f/5: +VILHEAH/+VIV....X, die-duplicates (131).

Aii
Æthelred obverses: Hvaaetred (moneyer of Eanred) and Vvlfred are associated by the use of annulet dies; the Monne die of 334 is also known in combination with the RODER reverse of 331.

Brother
331. 5/5: +RODER/+EUVVDER, double rev. (131).
Hvaetred 332*: 5/2 (131): +EDILRED/+HVAEITRD (?), same obv. as 333*. 5/4: +EDILRED/+HEIEIV, only the obv. retrograde and extra pellets in rev. field (131).

Monne 334. 2/5: +EDILRED/+MONNE, (130).

Vvlfred 335. 5/4: +EILREDRE/+VVLREFRED, same obv. as 336, Eardvvlf (131).

Eardvvlf 336. 5/3: +EILREDRE/+ERDVVLVF, same obv. as 335, Vvlfred, and same rev. as 337 (131); 337*. 5/3: +EILREDRE/+ERDVVLVF (130); 338. 6/3: +EDELHVVED/+ERDVVLVF, (130).

Bi "Hexham style" - nonsense legends. With the few specimens from any hoard found in the York area one cannot hope to suggest any logical grouping.

"Euxdire" 339. 5/2f: +EVXDIRE/+EILNEVI, same obv. as 340-42 (131); 340. 5/5: +EVXDIRE/+EHIERVI (131); 341*. 5/5: +EVXDIRE/-EH...EI (130); 342*. 5/?: +EVXDIRE/uncertain (131).

Other 343. 5/5: +HAEV+/+EHEIV, both legends retrograde (130); 344*. 5/?: +LHAM1/+-T, legends direct (130): 345*. 3/5: +VED...NI/...III/EII, legends direct (131).

Bii "York style" - nonsense legends; die-linked examples from the group represented by these specimens are among the irregulars known from the Hexham hoard.

346*. 5a/5a (131): +EVVVDVE/+EVEIDVIR, obv. similar to that of 347 (as yet, no rev. links have been found); 347*. 5a/5a: +EVVVDVE/+RDNAE (131); 348*. 3/5: +VEIIIRV/+IRVIV.. (130); 349*-50. 2/6: +VEIIIRV/+DIVDNE, die-duplicates (130); 351*. 2/3: +VI:IIIIRV/+N...DDVE (131); 352. 2/?: worn, and die-detail indecipherable (130).

III ÆTHELRED. (1 coin)
Descendant from the regular.

Cunemund 353*. 5/5: +EDILREDRE/+VIELMVND, same obv. as the regular Vvlfred (see note for 215) - this reverse is one of several, similarly irregular, used with this obverse (121).

IV ÆTHELRED-REDVVLF-OSBERHT (41 coins)
(REDVVLF is not represented in this parcel).

The specimens registered here represent the most massive of the various chains of irregulars which have so far been recognized. In its entirety the chain includes elements which are almost normal, others which are partially so, and yet others which are outright nonsense. It has not yet been possible to separate these so that they can be presented as a sequence of degradation. It may be that there was no such sequence and that the good, the indifferent and the bad copies of the official coinage were all produced throughout. With the inclusion of Eanred's moneyers such as Eadvini and Odilo, this chain almost certainly started early. Although no link has yet been recognized with the group of II Bii, one specimen of a "nonsense" piece from this group is known among the Hexham coins in the British Museum.
EARLY NORTHUMBRIAN COINS AT AUCTION, 1981


V ÆTHELRED (46 coins)

The four divisions which appear here each represent a fairly substantial chain of die-linked coins. Whether or not one or more of these chains can be shown to join any other remains to be seen. There is no chronological or even stylistic significance in their present order.

a) 395. 5a/3: +EDILREDRE/+EADEVV, obv. direct (131); 396. 5b/5: +EDILREDRE/+MONNE (130).

b) 397*. 5a/6 (131): +EDILREDIE/+EADVINI, same obv. as 398*. 5a/5: +EDILREDIE/+VVDNEII (131); 399*. 5a/3 (131): +EARDVVLFI/+VVDVYN, same Eardvvl die as 400*. 5a/5: +EARDVVLFI/+MONNE (131).

c) 401. 5/5: +AE..LIDEX/+EARDVVLF, obv. direct and same rev. as 402-3, 407 (130); 402. 4d/5: +EILREDRE/+EADVINI, (131); 403. 6/5: +ILREDRE/+EADVINI, same obv. as 404-6 (131); 404. 6/5: +ILREDRE/+EADVINI, same obv. as 405-6*. 6/2: +ILREDRE/+EARDVLE, die-duplicates (131); 405. 2/5 (130): +EILREDRE/+EADVINI, obv. direct as 408*. 2/6: +EILREDRE/+EARDVVL, both legends direct, same rev. as 410, and 413 (126): 410. 5/5: +EDILREDRE/+EARDVVF, both legends direct, same rev. as 410, and 413 (126): 411. 2/3: +EA..LIDEX/+EARDVVLF, both legends direct, same rev. as 414 (130); 412. 5/5: +EDILREDRE/+EARDVVF (131); 413. 5a/5 (130): +EADILREDRE/+EARDVVLF, same obv. as 414. 5a/3: +EADILREDRE/+EARDVVLF (130): 415. 3/2 (130): +EARDVVLF/+EADILHELH, double rev., same Eadilhelm die as 416*. 5/2: +E...VV../+EADILHELH (130): 417. 3/5: +EADILREDRE/+EARDVVL, double obv.?
EARLY NORTHUMBRIAN COINS AT AUCTION, 1981 43

(130); 418-19. 5/5: +XEDNEDE/+EADVINI, die-duplicates with obv. direct (130); 420. 2/6: +ELREDREX/EAREVVE, rev. direct (131); 421. 1/2 (130): +EILREDE+/EAEDEVVF, rev. direct, same obv. as 422*. 1/5: +EILREDRE+/EAEVDVLF (130); 423. 6/2 (130): +EARDVVC+/FOMVND, double rev. - same Fomund die as 424. 2/2: +EARDVVL+/FOMVND, double rev., same Eardvcl die as 425-7 (131); 425. 2/5: +EARDVVL+/ODILLO, double rev. (131); 426-7. 2/5: +EARDVL+/IDVLO, double rev., die-duplicates (131); 428. 5a/5: +EDILREDRE+/COENRED (130); 429. 5b/5: +CHDCV0F+/EOENRED (131); 430*. 5b/5: +FHDCV0C/"...LOD (131); 431. 4/5: +C0M8DR/+EDIL0 (130).

d) 432. 6/3: +EIDILRED/ED/EAN+IV, same obv. as 433-35 (130); 433. 6/5: +EIDILRED/ED/EVVFVF (131); 434. 6/6 (130): +EIDILRED/ED/EVVFVF, same dies as 435. 6/6 (131). 436. 3/5: +EIDILRED/ED/EVVFVF, rev. direct (131); 437*. 3/5: +EDILREDRE/E....RE, double obv.? (130); 438. 6/6 (130): +EANREDO+/EARDVVL, double rev.? - same Eanred die as 439. 6/6: +EANREDO+/EDIV...(130); 440*. 5/3: ?/+EDELN+MV, obv. uncertain (? as 354) but rev. known in this group (131).

VI ÆTHELRED: uncertain attribution (11 coins)

These cannot yet be linked to any of the preceding groups.

441*. 5a/3: +EPIIREDx+/EARDVVL, rev. direct, same obv. as 442-43 (131); 442*. 5a/4: +EPIIREDx+/EVRVFL, rev. direct (131); 443*. 5a/4: +EPIIREDx+/EVRVFL, rev. direct (131); 444*. 2/2: +EDILREDER+/EARVVF, rev. worn and detail uncertain (130); 445. 3/3: +EDILREDVCL+/EDE...EI, rev. direct (130); 446*. 6/5: +ILREDRE+/EARDVVL, rev. direct (130); 447. 5/2: +DIILREDRE+/EADVVL, rev. direct (130); 448*. 2/5: +IDILREDER+/EARDVVL, rev. direct (130); 449*. 5/6: +EDILREDER+/...ERED (131); 450*. 6/2: +EDILREDER+/NONNE (130); 451*. 7/6: +EDIL/...+MONNE, obv. direct (130).

VII OSBERHT (3 coins)

452. 4/5: +OSBERECHT+/VVLFSIXT, both legends direct (128); 453*. (127) 2/4: +OISEHTX+/EDELHELM, rev. direct and same obv. as 454. 2/3: +OISEHTX+/EDELHELM (127).

VIII Uncertain attribution, in relation to the main groups. (8 coins)

455*. 2/1: +EDILREDER+/EVRDVL, both legends direct (130); 456*. 6/1: +EANREDI+/EVRDVL, double rev.? (131); 457*. 5/5: +EHDVVR+/EADLVV, second legend direct (130); 458*. 3/5: +EVRDVI+/EOLVLF (130); 459*. 7/5: Uncertain+/EVRDVL, rev. direct (130): 460*. 7/1: Uncertain+/NONNE, rev. direct (130); 461*. 17/2: too worn for detail to be distinguished (130); 462. Un-identifiable mis-strike (130).

ADDITIONAL ITEMS (7 coins and a fragment of leather)

463*. Clump of three stycas:

a) complete rev. (aberrant) of Eanred's Fordred, +FORDRE, used in 5/5 combination;

b) only a segment visible, ]OB[... probably a die for Coenred;

c) fragmentary rev. of Æthelred's Ælfsic used in 2/5 combination.
464*. Clump of four styca:
   a) complete obv. of Aethelred's Eanred, used in 5/5 and 5/2 combinations (cf.89);
   b) only a segment visible, DIL[...], obv. of Aethelred, moneyer uncertain;
   c) detail not visible;
   d) fragment, VE[...], motif 6 (almost certainly irregular but not yet matched).

465*. Fragment of leather, kept by William Fennell from those discovered with the coins and thought to have been part of the bag which may have originally contained the hoard.

THE WINN COLLECTION
1-18 were in lot 135; 19-60, 62-81 were in lot 136; 61 was lot 137.
For notes on documentation, see Appendix.

I. Provenanced Coins
A) Single finds.
   1*. EANRED. Cunvull, 5/5. rev.: EVNVVL. Found at Wintringham (now Winteringham), Lincolnshire, 10 October 1750.
   2*. ÆTHELRED II. Leofthegn, 6/5. Found at Appleby, Lincolnshire; no date recorded.

B) Hoard parcels.
   a) Hexham, 1832.
      i. EANRED. Fordred. 3*. 5/5. Monne. 4*. 5/5; 5*. 4/5. ÆTHELRED. Eanred. 6. 5/5; 7. 5/4b. Monne. 8. 6/5; 9. 5/3. Wilfred. 10. 5/5. REDVVL. Brother. 11. 5/5. VIGMVND. Coenred. 12. 5/5.
   b) York, St. Leonard's Place, 1842.
      i. Regular:
         EANRED. Eadwini. 19*. 5/5. Fordred. 20. 5/5. Monne. 21*. 5/5. ÆTHELRED. Alghere. 22. 5/5; 23. 5/5. 24. 5/6; 25*. 5/5. obv.: EDILRED. Brother. 26. 2/5. Eanred. 27. 5/6. 28. 2/4; 29. 5/4. Fordred. 30. 6/6. 31. 2/2. 32-3. 5/2. die-duplicates (Eordred). Leofthegn. 34. 6/6; 35. 6/5. Monne. 36. 2/5; 37. 2/5. 38. 1/1. Vendelberht. 39. 5/5. Bardvull. 40*. 5a/2; 41*. 5a/3; 42. 5b/3. 43*. 4/2b. VIGMVND. Coenred. 44. 5/5. Edelhelm. 45. 5/3. Edilveard. 46. 5/5. Hunlaf. 47*. 5/5. OSBERHT. Cunvull. 48. 5/5.
ii. Irregular:
ÆTHELRED-OSBERHT. 49. 5/5: ÀEDILRED/+EARDVVLF, rev. direct; 50. 3/5: +OSBRCNTRC/+MONNE.
ÆTHELRED. 51. 5b/5: +EILDELREDRE/-+AVRED, obv. direct; 52. 4d/5: +ETILREDRE/-+EADVIMI; 53. 2/6: +EDILREDEN/+EARDVVLF, obv. direct; 54*. 5/5: +EDEEDELRED/+VVLRED, extra pellets in obv. field; 55. 4/1a: +EDILREDREDRE/+EARDVVLF; 56*. 2/1: EDILREDER/+EARDVV, both legends direct; 57*. 2f/1: EILRDE+EDR/+EARDVVF; 58*. 1/1: +EDIREDE/+EARDVVF.

II. Unprovenanced coins.
i. ÆTHELRED. Fordred. 59. 5/2. VIGMVND. Edilvedard. 60. 5/5.

ii. EADBERHT. 61*. 5/animal, facing left. ÆTHELRED. Alghere. 62. 5/2. Brother. 63. 2/5. VIGMVND. Hunlaf. 64. 3/5.

iii. EANBALD. Edilvedard. 65*. 5/5. ÆTHELRED. Fordred. 66. 5/3.

iv. EANRED. Eadvini. 67. 5/5. Monne. 68. 5/5. ÆTHELRED. Leofthegn. 69. 5/5. VIGMVND. Coenred. 70*. 5/5; 71*. 5/5. also ÆTHELRED. Leofthegn. 72*. 8/5 (rev.: +EOEOEDEON). Note position of obv.

APPENDIX

Documentation for items in the Winn Collection

1A1 A single wrapper; recto: Eanred. verso: "Eanred R" / Reverse "Naulfe" probably, ye mini-master / was a Saxon king of Deira (ye country betwixt the Humber & the Teese) AD 634 / found at Wintringham 10 Oct. 1750.

1A2 Two wrappers; outer, recto: Styca. verso: found at Appleby; inner, recto: Edelred. verso: EDELRID REX.

1Bai A single wrapper; on the outside, the text: 10 styca. Found at Hexham .... 1832; on the inside, a list of the individual coins.

1Baii Two wrappers; outer, on the outside: Saxon Styca of the Kingdom of Northumberland found at Hexham in a brazen pot in the church-yard in 1832 / / 6 styca; the inner sheet has a list of the individual coins.

1Bb Before the sale forty coins, included in lot 136, were packed individually in a matching set of paper wrappers each labelled with its coin's identity. There was no indication of provenance. After the sale, there was found a manuscript invoice made out in the same hand as the identifications and on exactly the same type of paper as the coin wrappers. The invoice reads:

1843 55 Coney Street York

C. Winn Esq

June 14 To 40 Saxon Coines £ s d

Found in St Leonards Place York May 1842 2-0-0

With the invoice was a printed card for "H. Chapman, Animal Preserver, and Artificial Eye Maker. Licensed to Deal in Game, Dealer in Indian China and Glass, Cigars, Snuffs. 55, Coney Street, York".

Although no mention is made of Chapman dealing in coins, it is worth remarking that, even if he did not do so regularly, he operated again in this way in 1847, as Wellbeloved recorded in his account of the Bolton Percy coins.

1Bii 59. The coin was wrapped in a sheet of writing paper, labelled "Ethelred tributary King of Northumberland (an:840) - R.Halfling?"

On the same sheet is a longer text:


Is this Silver with a considerable alloy or entirely a base metal: if the former I should apprehend it to be an Halfling of Ethelred a tributary King of Northumberland about 840 in the reign of Ethelwolf, he having coined pennies of a baser metal [erased] silver than usual. V. Numis: anglo.Sax:ab And: Fountain P. 171 - particularly as it weighs the exact weigh of a halfling 11 Gr.; if only a stica it may be of any of the Etheldred's of Northumberland - perhaps which Ethelred may be ascertained by the same name of the Moneyer, Fordred, being on some of the Pennies. If this is a farthing [erased] Halfling it is an unique of great curiosity it appearing that none have been found though it is doubted whether they have not been coined.
Non alium nummum argenteum praeter peningum sive denarium a Saxonibus fuifse excusum haud assero; sed mirari interim subit, nullum alium antiquarit nostris aliquando occurrifse, si quis alius olim extiterit. Fountain P:164 -

The penny was perhaps the only silver coin at least no other has yet been discovered; the halfling is by several Authors reported to have been a real silver coin. Strutts Chronicles P:234. V:..116:-

Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Kings are almost universally silver & of the antient Penny size & weight - a number of insignificant pieces of copper likewise occur; they are worth about half a farthing and were coined only in Northumberland towards the termination - Essay on Medals P.147 -

The Heptarchic coins are mostly rare, save the sticas, which are very common: P.230 & 266.

60. The coin was wrapped in a small bit of paper; recto: Wigmund, (archepiscopus Eboracensis) (Anno 835) Egberht (sole monarch of the Ang:Sax) æ.Stica. verso: Vigmund Arc: Rev: /No stica's being found but what were apparently coined in the Kingdom of Northumberland it may be concluded none were coined elsewhere. The stica was worth about 1/22 of a Saxon penny, - & equal to about 1/2 of a Farthing of our money - Strutts Chronicles Vol:II. P:235 - /Wimundus, eleventh archbishop died about the 854 (sic) - vide Drakes Eboracum P409 - weight 15½ Gr:

These (for 59 and 60), by their handwriting and by the references quoted, can almost certainly be ascribed to the late 18th century (John Pinkerton's Essay on Medals was published in 1784). It is a great pity that the coins' provenances are not recorded.

IIIi There was no documentation for this group other than a modern note to the effect that the sceat and the three stycas had originally been together in a piece of coloured paper.

IIIii There was no documentation other than a small wrapping paper labelled: "Stycas 2".

IIiv There was no documentation for this group; the outer wrapping was labelled "Stycas"; the individual packet for 72 was labelled in a hand different from that which labelled the others.

IIv With these coins was a piece of printed paper forming part of a publisher's prospectus for France in the Reign of Louis Phillipe, by Thomas Allom and G.N.Wright, which was published in 1845. One wonders if the coins themselves might be another handful from the York, 1842, hoard.

Another piece of printed paper, boldly labelled 'Stycas' in manuscript, must have been the outer wrapping for all the coins acquired before the parcels from York 1842 and Bolton Percy 1847. The text is that of a parliamentary debate on the Established Church: the date is given only as 8 July. Although the page format is not that of Hansard, a check of Hansard identifies the debate as having taken place on 8 July 1836.
NOTES

1. Other buyers entered the fray at the last minute, once it was known that the Yorkshire Museum would not be able to bid for much of the Bolton Percy material. In the event, either directly at the sale or afterwards, the lots were acquired thus:

118, 123, 128, 133: Doncaster City Museum.
119-22, 126-7, 130, 132, 135-6: a member of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society.
125, 129, 131, 134: another member of YNS.
124, 137: uncertain.

By private treaty afterwards Doncaster City Museum obtained a number of coins from lot 131. Others in this lot were among those obtained by Leeds City Museum for which the present register numbers are: 120, 132, 330, 332-3, 342, 345-7, 351, 354, 366, 368, 386, 397-400, 406, 430, 441-3, 449, 456. By gift from the previous owner, Leeds City Museum has also received 463-5.

2. It should be explained that in preparation for the arrangement, in Sylloge order, of the York and Leeds collections a series of styca die-books is being compiled in which illustrations of coins awaiting publication are supplemented by those of specimens from other cabinets showing additional dies or die-combinations. These records are not yet complete, and their components are still very far from being in the right order.

3. C. Wellbeloved, 'Stycas found near Ulleskelf', Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (1847-8), 66-9. It should be noted that Wellbeloved commented on the complete absence of coins of Eanbald among those he examined.

W. Fennell, 'An Account of Hoard of Northumbrian Stycas discovered in Yorkshire', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, iv (1849), 127-132, where all the coins in the present parcel, with the exception of the six Winn specimens, are listed briefly, and 151. J. D. A. Thompson, Inventory of Coin Hoards of the British Isles, 600-1500 (1956), no. 364: Ulleskelf, Yorks., 1846 (sic). It should also be noted that Fennell's account refers in error to an 1847 parcel published by W. Hargrove of York - the account cited is of a parcel from York, 1842. By contrast, a paper by Nathan Haywood, 'A Parcel of Stycas from the York Find, 1842', BNJ vii (1910), 331-4, which relates to a collection of stycas in Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, refers also to an 1842 parcel in the possession of William Fennell. The figures quoted for this are almost exactly those of Fennell's Bolton Percy collection and it is thought that that reference was given in error. There is no mention in Fennell's own work of his having a parcel from the earlier hoard; present members of his family have no record of any further unpublished material. Haywood's reference in the same paper to Ulleskelf, 1846 is itself misleading; he can be faulted, too, on the grounds that the Stonyhurst stycas do not come from the 1842 find in York. It is hoped that this last point may be demonstrated in another paper.

4. Just how many stycas the Yorkshire Museum eventually acquired from Bolton Percy 1847, is still uncertain. Wellbeloved's catalogue has two supplements each added after instalments of the coins had been cleaned. It is thought that the work involved the separation of
massed lumps of coins. Certainly, the Yorkshire Museum had, until about 1955, a lump of the stycas as found. G. Benson, 'Coins: especially those relating to York', Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (1913), pl.v, 45. One understands that this, too, was eventually broken down and the coins separated. Wellbeloved knew that Mr. Chapman of York had acquired and resold some 200 of the Bolton Percy coins. A Bateman parcel of 620 stycas from the 1847 find was dispersed at Sotheby's in 1893: 4-6. 5. 1893, lots 249-58.

5. Fennell's manuscript catalogue of his Bolton Percy parcel is still in private possession, but it is hoped that it will in due course be deposited in the library of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society. Two photostat copies have been made, of which one is in the possession of the writer.

6. The letter, marked 'Stycas. From Mr. Fennell. 30 Aug. 1847' and addressed to Charles Winn, reads "The enclosed Stycas are from a hoard found lately at Ullerskelf (sic) near York, & if the ruder money of our ancestors is allowed a place in your cabinet with the high-wrought gems of Greece & Rome, I shall feel favoured in your acceptance of them." The six coins involved have been incorporated in the register of the Fennell parcel and are denoted by W following the lot number.

7. One would like to take a leaf out of Fennell's book and talk of the irregulars in unexpected terms. At this stage, it seems as if the relationship between the regular styca coinage and the large number of irregulars can be thought of by comparing the latter to a lace border along the edge of a linen cloth. At times, the mesh appears extremely fine since a small number of dies is used, each in combination with most of the others; at times, it would seem that the base-strip is tipped with scallops composed of sheer nonsense. How far the border is composed of one continuous strip remains to be seen; it may be that several separate pieces were fabricated one after the other. There is a possibility that, perhaps for a time only, there were several pieces together creating an elaborate ruffle! It may be noted that no irregular issues in the names of the archbishops have here been isolated. The coinage of Vigmund, at least, contains a fair number of examples the writer describes as aberrant: coins either struck from direct dies, whose legends contain minor quirks of spelling or letter forms, or struck from retrograde dies whose legends are correctly spelt. Most of these aberrant pieces link to apparently perfectly normal dies and, by themselves, form no chains such as are characteristic of the 'regal irregulars'. It is, therefore, as yet difficult to distinguish those that may have been unofficial issues.


9. Silver styca, found at Kirmington, Lincolnshire, 1979: Eanred/Vilheah, 4/4. I am indebted to Kevin Leahy, of Scunthorpe Museum, for the opportunity of recording this piece.

10. Appleby and Winteringham are both on the line of the Roman Ermine Street. For details of Roman and Anglo-Saxon finds at both sites and at Kirmington – see B. N. Eagles, The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside (1979), pp. 353, 401 and 374. For the discovery of
Southumbrian sceattas at Winteringham, see also S.E. Rigold and D.M. Metcalf, 'A Check-List of English Finds of Sceattas', BNJ xlvii (1977), 50.

11. Since the sale it has been noticed that in one or two instances a coin originally assigned to one lot had subsequently been transposed to another; the lot numbers quoted now are those recorded before the sale.

12. For irregulars from the Hexham hoard, now in the British Museum collection, see R.H.M. Dolley and J.S. Strudwick, 'The Provenances of the Anglo-Saxon Coins Recorded in the Two Volumes of the British Museum Catalogue', BNJ xxviii (1955). The coins in question are BMC Northumbria 819-868; they were not just given a composite entry in the catalogue but also a composite label in the trays. This has led to some recent confusion when coins without individual labels were regarded as unregistered and were, in error, given modern numbers. Miss Archibald very kindly supplied the writer of polaroid photographs for her records; it cannot be guaranteed that the citation of BMC 859 or BM 4249 will be meaningful in relation to the specimens quoted in the comment for Group IV: a coin obverse-linked to another, itself reverse-linked to 365-7 in this present register. It ought, perhaps, to be said that the term 'Hexham' has here been used to denote briefly the very distinctive style of the irregulars which can be associated chiefly with the 1832 hoard, such pieces seem to occur only rarely in the York area. 'York' has been used for an equally brief description of the style of those irregulars which are extremely common in the hoards of southern Northumbria. To those accustomed to the idea of all the York irregulars being of late date, it comes as something of a shock to realise that a few specimens of 'York' style were present in the Hexham hoard, presumably before the reign of Osbert.

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Dr. Hope-Taylor’s excavations at Bamburgh. Although it is a truism that individual finds can be attributed after detailed study of coins in quantity from major hoards, it is perhaps equally true to say that examination of coins on their own (unencumbered by a bewildering number of others) can bring realization of alternative attributions. I feel sure that there is evidence awaiting publication elsewhere which will endorse the view that there was contemporary imitation (with varying degrees of abnormality) throughout every reign represented by the styca series.