

THE COINAGE OF ÆTHELRED I (865–871)

ADRIAN W. LYONS and WILLIAM A. MACKAY

Introduction

FROM the pages of North the coinage of Æthelred I looks very straightforward.¹ It is largely confined to the ubiquitous Lunettes coinage. This type, initially the sole type of Burgred of Mercia, was subsequently minted in a very wide range of styles for three monarchs and an archbishop over a period of some twenty years. The issues of Æthelred I and Archbishop Ceolnoth are only a small part of this.² There is, of course, a four-line design that seems to follow on from Æthelberht, and a debate about certain anomalous coinages bearing the name 'Æthelred', but not much else. As a result it has received limited attention over the years.

The earliest authorities – Fountaine,³ Ruding,⁴ Lindsay⁵ and Sainthill⁶ – barely recognised the coinage and the next 125 years of scholarship viewed it as either an appendage of Burgred or as the first type of Ælfred. Honourable interventions by Blunt⁷, Lyon⁸, Metcalf and Northover⁹, and a very substantial series of contributions by Pagan¹⁰, have redressed this neglect, but the coinage of Æthelred I and Archbishop Ceolnoth has never received a thorough evaluation on its own merits. Furthermore there has been no comprehensive consideration of the coinage of late ninth-century England for twenty years.¹¹ Inevitably a number of intriguing finds and re-discoveries have been recorded that need to be fitted into such a review.

This lack of interest is surprising given the significance of the Lunettes issues of Wessex and Mercia in the development of the English coinage along with the historical context of the reign of Æthelred I of Wessex. Shortly after the accession of Æthelred I in 865/6 Wessex abandoned its own style of coinage and adopted the Lunettes design of Mercia. This resulted in the use of a common coinage design across much of England for the first time.¹² The developments of the late 860s can thus be viewed as an essential precursor that eventually led to the introduction of the unified reform coinage of Eadgar. This convergence of the coinage is

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¹ North 1994. Æthelred I's coins are catalogued as nos 622–4.

² In older catalogues such as that of the Allen sale (Sotheby, 14 March 1898), Lunettes types of Æthelred I are often listed with the coins of Burgred and not as part of the Wessex series.

³ Fountaine 1705.

⁴ Ruding 1840. Ruding, alone of the early authorities, seems to have completely confused this coinage with some other series, as his only substantive statement (beside giving a list of moneyers accurately enough) is to say at Volume I, p. 124, 'The legend of his coins differs from those of his predecessor only in addition of SAXORUM in his title.' We have traced no coins of Æthelred I with this characteristic and assume this is some sort of editorial misalignment possibly referring to Æthelwulf or Ælfred.

⁵ Lindsay 1842. Lindsay barely mentions Æthelred I except to add two additional moneyers unknown to Ruding, and fails to illustrate an example of his coinage.

⁶ Sainthill 1844. Although coins of Æthelred I and Archbishop Ceolnoth are illustrated at Plate 20, (Æthelred I, moneyer Mann, and Archbishop Ceolnoth, moneyer Toega) he fails to provide any relevant information about them.

⁷ Blunt 1952.

⁸ Lyon 1968.

⁹ Metcalf and Northover 1985.

¹⁰ Pagan 1966, 1986 and 1991.

¹¹ Certainly nothing to match the scope of Blunt *et al.* 1963, for the earlier part of the ninth century.

¹² In fact by the end of 870 this could have been the only coinage being issued in the British Isles (even the Archbishop of Canterbury adopting the same style). The only possible exceptions might be some enigmatic issues from East Anglia and possibly the last barbarous relics of the styca coinage of Northumbria.

also tangible evidence for a growing collaboration between Mercia and Wessex which foreshadowed the eventual creation of a unified England.

Scope of the paper

The coinage of England in the third quarter of the ninth century was extensive. Dominated by the Lunettes type struck by a number of authorities (Kings of Wessex,¹³ Burgred of Mercia and Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury) it presents a daunting quantity of material. However, the authors believe that focusing on the coinage of Æthelred I and Archbishop Ceolnoth provides the opportunity to concentrate on a key five to six year period in the development of the Anglo-Saxon coinage and specifically of the Lunettes type. It thus provides a tightly-defined point of entry for assessing afresh the much more complex coinage of Burgred, as well as the subsequent first coinage of Ælfred. In particular the investigation aims to:

- propose a classification and chronology for the coinage of Æthelred I and the Lunettes issue of Archbishop Ceolnoth;
- examine and explain the range of Lunettes coins in Æthelred I's name that have previously been ascribed as 'anomalous';
- investigate how the Lunettes monetary union between Wessex and Mercia worked and the extent to which it extended into coinage production;
- assess how Danish attacks, culminating in the invasion of Wessex by the Great Army, affected the coinage;
- and identify the activities of the mints at Canterbury and London, and possibly elsewhere, in the production of the Lunettes coinage of Æthelred I.

This paper will also consider the 'curiosity' coins extant in the name of Æthelred I and a coin assigned to Æthelberht in the Lunettes style.

Approach to the study

The approach adopted has been to construct a Corpus of some 163 surviving coins.¹⁴ We have also considered these coins in the context both of the large body of material surviving from the reign of Burgred, and of the Lunettes type of Ælfred's first coinage that follows on immediately from Æthelred I's coins. We have not, however, engaged in detailed analysis of these series. Analysis of the Corpus has suggested a revised classification for Æthelred I's coinage based on obverse rather than reverse styles. In so doing, this paper proposes fresh insights into monetary development and management in Anglo-Saxon England during a period of extreme military and political crisis.

The historical context of the coinage

Historical background

The coinage of Æthelred I cannot be divorced from the tumultuous events of his sixty-five month reign.¹⁵ When Æthelred I came to the throne, sometime during 865/866, Anglo-Saxon kings ruled Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria, each issuing their own distinctive coinages. By the time of his death shortly after Easter 871, the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of East Anglia and Northumbria had collapsed in the face of Danish attack. Mercia and Wessex were facing deepening incursions and the initiative clearly lay with an active and highly effective

¹³ Æthelred I, Ælfred and possibly Æthelberht, plus four 'curiosities' and a coin weight.

¹⁴ Following completion of the study a further four coins, all of Æthelred I, were recorded. These are inserted as a Postscript in the Corpus (following Ac2.120) but are not otherwise included in the study. They do not impact on the conclusions.

¹⁵ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is vague about his accession date in 865/866 but clearly states that he died shortly after Easter (15 April) 871.

tive group of Danish warlords. Money economies outside Wessex and the still unoccupied areas of Mercia seem to have disappeared, to be replaced by ones where silver had primarily a bullion value.¹⁶

The political context of the coinage of Æthelred I

The first half of the ninth century was marked by a struggle for either dominance, or at least effective survival, of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. By the middle of the century the two major protagonists were Mercia and an increasingly powerful Wessex. Periods of hostility alternated with co-existence, and even close alliance, as the common coinage of Æthelwulf and Berhtwulf shows.¹⁷ This period came to an end in the mid-860s when Danish war bands coalesced into the 'Great Army,' conquering Northumbria in 866/7, East Anglia in 869, and making deep incursions into Mercia and Wessex thereafter.

One of the by-products of this escalating crisis was the creation of a single coinage design. There is ample evidence that this created a form of monetary union in Southern Britain, although no records survive to tell us why this decision was taken or what the precise arrangements were. It was possibly influenced by the precedent of the earlier decision of Berhtwulf of Mercia and Æthelwulf of Wessex to issue coins of similar weight and design.¹⁸ The reasons for selecting the Mercian design for the unified coinage most likely reflect both the predominance of the Mercian economy and the fact that the Lunettes type was a substantial coinage that had been in circulation for over twelve years.¹⁹ A further advantage was that it was a relatively straightforward design that could be readily copied.

It is unlikely that the adoption of the Lunettes design represented a statement of the supremacy of Mercia over Wessex; even if it did, this was irrelevant by the mid-870s when Wessex had quite clearly eclipsed Anglo-Saxon Mercia but still retained the same design. Rather it can best be seen as a reinforcement of the strong evidence that exists for an intermingling of economic interests between the two kingdoms. Mercians had interests in Wessex,²⁰ and West Saxons within Mercia.²¹ Furthermore the existence of West Saxon interests in London has long been recognised.²²

The convergence of coin design and weight probably also owed much to a revived Wessex/Mercian military alliance. This alliance was tested in 868 when Burgred called on Wessex to assist in countering a Danish invasion of the Trent Valley. The subsequent joint expedition to Nottingham failed to defeat the invaders, but did result in their leaving Mercia having made peace with the Mercians,²³ an act which would almost certainly have involved payment of some kind of tribute.²⁴ The effects of any tribute payment were short-lived. The Danes returned and were able to operate with impunity in Mercia. In 869 they passed freely through Mercia to attack and conquer East Anglia and subsequently to operate in the middle Thames Valley.

After this point the Wessex/Mercia political alliance seems to have weakened, with each party having to conduct its own defence against the invaders. The attacks on Wessex in the middle Thames valley by the Danish Great Army in 870–71 were countered by Wessex alone. Nevertheless, the standardised coinage was continued.

¹⁶ See further Graham-Campbell 2001. This clearly lays out the hoard evidence from the arrival of the Danish Great Army to 871 and shows no clear indication that for the first decade at least the Danes had anything like the monetarised economies they had supplanted. This argument has been helpfully further examined by Blackburn 2005.

¹⁷ North 1994. See coins of the moneyers Brid and Liaba.

¹⁸ See North 1994, 98–9 and 120–1, for comparative lists of Berhtwulf Group I and Æthelwulf Phase II respectively. See also Dolley and Skaare 1961, 66.

¹⁹ See Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 311.

²⁰ Keynes 1998, 8.

²¹ Booth 1998, 66.

²² Keynes 1998, 9.

²³ See Asser, Ch. 30, in Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 77: 'Peace was established between the Mercians and the Vikings'. Also Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, versions A and E, for 868: '... Mercians made peace with the host' (Garmonsway 1972, 70–1).

²⁴ For a discussion of the nature of the treaty made at Nottingham, see Abels 1998, 120.

The numismatic evidence

A total of 152 coins in the name of Æthelred I and ten of Archbishop Ceolnoth have been located in public and private collections.²⁵ We are confident that this represents a very substantial proportion of the surviving material. There are also possibly some twenty other coins of Æthelred I in existence. These are principally coins listed, but not illustrated, in nineteenth and early twentieth-century hoard lists, auction catalogues and fixed price lists that the authors have been unable to link to modern records.

It would seem that just over half of the coins that are currently known come from the Gravesend (1838) and Croydon no. 2 (1862) hoards. Smaller hoards account for up to a third of the remaining coins, including a number possibly from a shadowy find or finds in the eighteenth century (or even earlier) that might include Barking (1724).²⁶ There are also some ten coins of Burgnoth, Elbere, Herewulf and Liabinc with provenances reaching back into the nineteenth century which cannot be attributed to the Gravesend and Croydon hoards, and we believe a possibility exists that a hoard came on to the market in the 1860s and was dispersed with no publicity.

Our observation is that individual finds make up a small proportion of the total. This is borne out by the very few coins recorded in the Early Medieval Corpus (EMC) records; only ten coins with findspots found between 1983 and 2006. Other recorded single finds include coins from Reading and Repton.²⁷ Interestingly, there has been an almost complete absence of new, unprovenanced material appearing on the coin market over the past thirty years.²⁸

Coin hoard evidence

All the hoards containing coins of Æthelred I appear to have been deposited before 875, after which the Lunettes coins of all types disappear from the hoard record remarkably quickly.²⁹ A combination of Burgred's abdication in 874 and the increasingly poor quality of the coinage seems to have resulted in a rapid and very effective demonetisation of this coinage and its replacement by the slightly higher weight (*c.* 1.3 g) Cross and Lozenge issue with a clearly better silver content.³⁰ The disappearance from non-English controlled areas is a little more surprising as the earlier Lunettes coins are of reasonably good fabric and weight.

As 850–66 was a period of relative peace few hoards are known, and none at all from Mercia (Table 1). Although the evidence is limited, the three hoards from Wessex show a very marked predominance of Wessex material even though by far the largest, Dorking, is deposited within thirty miles of the Mercian border and the Mercian-controlled commercial centre of London. This suggests that coins struck outside Wessex were not in general circulation in Wessex at that time. This contrasts markedly with the hoards deposited in Wessex a few years later that have a much higher proportion of non-Wessex coins (Table 2). This is especially notable in the Gravesend and Croydon hoards of *c.* 870–72.

Overall the hoard evidence indicates that, in marked contrast to the period of separate Wessex and Mercian coinages, after monetary union Lunettes coins of Mercia and Wessex

²⁵ Additional to this total are the four coins noted in the Corpus Postscript and nine coins from the Duddington Hoard (eight Æthelred and one Archbishop Ceolnoth), unpublished at the time of writing.

²⁶ See Corpus Ae1.6, ex Browne Willis: Ae3.3, Ae2.45, Ae3.5, Ae3.12, all ex Tyssen (1802); Ae3.10, Hunterian Collection; Ae2.41, Ae3.20, Coats Collection; Ae2.65, Ae2.99, ex Thane (1819); Ae2.75, ex Hodsoll (1794); Ce3, ex Barker (1803); Cel, ex Hollis (1817).

²⁷ For the Reading coin, now lost, see Sherlock 1955–57. For the Repton coin, see Biddle *et al.* 1986a, 120–1.

²⁸ The authors are aware of at least one, currently unidentified coin, which passed through the hands of East Anglian dealers in 1999.

²⁹ Although outside the scope of this paper, the authors note that the comprehensive withdrawal of the Lunettes type and its replacement by other types is only matched in its thoroughness in later Anglo-Saxon England by the re-coinage following the reforms of Edgar around a hundred years later.

³⁰ For a detailed assessment of the Cross and Lozenge coins see Blackburn and Keynes 1998.

TABLE 1. Summary of hoards from the immediate fifteen years preceding the introduction of the Lunettes coinage in Wessex.

<i>Hoard and date of find</i>	<i>Date of deposition</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>Content</i>
Sevington, 1834 ³¹	c.850	Wessex	70	8 Mercian, 5 East Anglia, remainder of Wessex and Archbishop of Canterbury
Croydon (Old Palace) ³²	c.857	Wessex	7	1 Mercian, remainder Wessex and Archbishop of Canterbury
Dorking, 1817 ³³	c.862	Wessex	974	c.20 Mercian, 1 Carolingian, remainder of Wessex and Archbishops of Canterbury
Cushendell, Antrim, 1849 ³⁴	c.850	Ireland	2	1 Mercia, 1 Archbishop of Canterbury
Penard, 1948 ³⁵	c.850	Wales	3	1 Wessex, 2 Carolingian
Llanbedrgoch, 1994–8 ³⁶	c.850	Wales	unknown	1 Mercia, 1 Archbishop Wulfred, remainder Carolingian
Walpole St Peter, 1996 ³⁷	c.850	East Anglia	4, fused together	Only 1 coin can be identified with certainty; all assumed to be Æthelwulf

TABLE 2. Summary of hoards containing coins of Æthelred I.

<i>Hoard and date of find</i>	<i>Date of deposition</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>Content</i>
Pre-1800 hoard(s)? possibly incl. 'Barking', 1724 ³⁸	Not known	Unknown	Unknown	Mixed. Possibly 11 coins of Æthelred I plus 2 of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Trewhiddle, 1774 ³⁹	c.868	Wessex	115	Mixed. 2 coins of Æthelred I, 7 pre-Lunettes coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Southampton, 1836 ⁴⁰	c.870	Wessex	31?	Mixed. 1 coin of Æthelred I noted by Sainthill, 1 Lunettes of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Gravesend, 1838 ⁴¹	c.871	Wessex	540	Mixed. 57 coins of Æthelred I plus 1 of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Lower Dunsforth, 1862 ⁴²	c.872	N'mbria	15	Mixed. 2 coins of Æthelred I
Croydon No 2, 1862 ⁴³	c.872	Wessex	c.250	Mixed. 27 coins of Æthelred I plus 1 of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Burgred Hoard, pre-1886 ⁴⁴	c.875	Ireland	<20	Mixed. 1 Æthelred I coin recorded
Hitchin, 1895 ⁴⁵	c.870	Mercia	7	Mixed. 1 Æthelred I coin recorded. This may have been a larger hoard
Beeston Tor, 1924 ⁴⁶	c.875	Mercia	49	Mixed. 7 coins of Æthelred I plus 1 of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Abbey Orchard, St Albans, 1968 ⁴⁷	c.873–4	Mercia	46	Mixed. 2 coins of Æthelred I plus 1 of Archbishop Ceolnoth
Walmsgate, Lincs., 1985 ⁴⁸	c.874	Mercia	9	Mixed. 1 coin of Æthelred I
Severn Stoke, Worcs., 1992–6 ⁴⁹	c.874	Mercia	17 ⁵⁰	Mixed. 2 coins of Æthelred I
Duddington, Northants., 1990s ⁵¹	c.875	Mercia	36	Mixed. 8 coins of Æthelred I plus 1 of Archbishop Ceolnoth

³¹ Thompson 1956, no. 328.³² Thompson 1956, no. 110. Date of find not recorded.³³ Thompson 1956, no. 123.³⁴ Seaby 1958–9.³⁵ Thompson 1956, no. 305.³⁶ Fitzwilliam 2007, no. 56a.³⁷ See *BNJ* 1996, Coin Register no. 202.³⁸ This is a most tentative attribution to explain the origin of a number of Lunettes coins known to the earliest authorities or recorded in sales before 1840. Interestingly the earlier finds seem to contain a higher proportion of Æthelred I Group 3 coins and the coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth than subsequent hoards.³⁹ Thompson 1956, no. 362. Also Wilson and Blunt 1961 (from which the hoard quantities are taken).⁴⁰ Pagan 1988. Formerly described as the Hampshire No. 1 Hoard 1837; see Thompson 1956, no. 182.⁴¹ Thompson 1956, no. 176. Catalogued in *NC* III (1841), 14ff. and *NC* VIII (1868), table on p.150.⁴² *NCirc* March 1924, item nos 28866–80.⁴³ Many of the Croydon coins are recorded and illustrated. See Corbet Anderson 1877, 135–9.⁴⁴ Dolley 1967.

circulated freely between the two kingdoms. Monetary union between Mercia and Wessex worked. Within and on the immediate peripheries of Wessex and Mercia the Lunettes coinage quickly became the principal coinage, with earlier types largely withdrawn from circulation. Outside these boundaries the record is much more mixed with, for example, the Trewiddle Hoard demonstrating a much more eclectic pattern.

Hoard coins of Æthelred I are never found alone, but with the coins of other contemporary (or near contemporary) archbishops and monarchs. Even in Wessex the coins of Æthelred I always constitute a minor proportion of the total of hoards that have been recovered. Mercian Lunettes production during Æthelred I's reign seems to have been significantly greater than that of Wessex.⁵²

From around 875 the Lunettes coinage completely disappears from the hoard record both in English-controlled areas and wider afield.⁵³ No significant contemporary hoards have been recovered from locations on the main axes of fighting in the period 868 to 871 in either eastern Mercia or the middle Thames Valley.⁵⁴

Distribution of coins since discovery

Æthelred I's Lunettes coins seem to have been assessed from the earliest period as scarce, but not of particular interest to numismatists.⁵⁵ With a few exceptions the information for hoards and single finds and their subsequent distribution is therefore poorly recorded before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The advent of photographic illustrations in twentieth-century auction catalogues and fixed-price lists for coins of the more common types has significantly assisted the process of identification, but all too often the link between pre-1890 finds and coins in the Corpus is non-existent or tenuous. Conversely, the Four Line type and the coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth have for the last two centuries been recognised as of the highest rarity and the two small Corpora of these coins are well recorded from the mid-nineteenth century. Despite this, two Four Line coins – Rashleigh's Biarnmod and the Ryan Torhtmund – have disappeared from view. An additional Four Line type, of slightly different design, by the moneyer Osric appeared in 1999 and a Ceolnoth coin of Hebeca, a previously unrecorded moneyer for the Profile Bust Lunettes type, surfaced a few years earlier.

Looking at the current distribution, by far the largest group of coins (58) of Æthelred I today is held by the British Museum. Overall, museums account for around two-thirds of the coins recorded. The British Museum group is also valuable as it provides the majority of provenances from the Gravesend find and confirms the existence of coins deriving from discoveries prior to the 1830s. Other holdings are small in comparison.

No private collector seems to have made a study of these coins and the largest private holding appears to have been that of Hyman Montagu, with nine coins. Sir John Evans and

⁴⁵ Thompson 1956, no. 190, and *NC*³ XVII (1897), 248.

⁴⁶ Thompson 1956, no. 40, and Brooke 1924.

⁴⁷ Fitzwilliam 2007, no. 80. Most of the coins from this hoard are published in *SCBI* 42.

⁴⁸ Fitzwilliam 2007, no. 71a.

⁴⁹ Fitzwilliam 2007, no. 71b.

⁵⁰ Severn Stoke and Duddington are unpublished at time of writing. Details of these hoards kindly provided by Marion Archibald.

⁵¹ Fitzwilliam 2007, no. 76a.

⁵² Pagan 1966, 13, proposed that the division of coinage between Burgred and the Wessex Lunettes was of the order of 60% London and 40% Canterbury. This is a reasonable assessment if the Ælfredian Lunettes are included. However the Wessex coinage, particularly during Æthelred I's reign, seems rather smaller in proportion.

⁵³ The latter is the more surprising as obsolete coinage is often found further afield and particularly as large quantities of Lunettes coinage were paid as tribute. The authors have no explanation for this except that the relatively poor fabric of the coinage may have resulted in it becoming universally unpopular from the mid-870s.

⁵⁴ Beeston Tor and St Albans are clearly deposited during the time of Ælfred. The Southampton 1836 and Hitchin 1895 finds are insufficiently documented for any precise conclusions to be drawn. A single coin is thought to have been found at Reading in the nineteenth century and may have been associated with others, but details are too vague to be noted in the hoard record here.

⁵⁵ Collectors and public institutions were always more interested in the more ornate coins of Æthelred I's predecessors and, of course, the coins of Ælfred have always been of great interest.

William Allen each owned eight coins, all derived from the Croydon hoard. More recently Lawrence Stack had seven coins.⁵⁶ A mysterious assemblage of ten coins appeared in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* of April 1927.⁵⁷ They clearly come from a number of collections and seem to have been brought together in the decade previously.

Many of the records date from the period between 1875 and 1955, when a small group of collectors agglomerated most of the commercially available ninth-century material.⁵⁸ Since then the surviving material has become much more dispersed and harder to trace. We believe a principal reason for this is that many are held by private collectors attempting to secure a single coin of every monarch.

The Corpus and structure of the coinage of Æthelred I and its associated types

As already noted, 152 coins in the name of Æthelred I and ten of Archbishop Ceolnoth have been located. (There are some twenty more coins partially recorded. However, we are confident that none of the latter group are substantially different from the material in the Corpus.)⁵⁹ These coins are struck by thirty-two moneyers. We believe all extant coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth are recorded. Two moneyers within the thirty-two, both of whom do not occur for Æthelred I, are known for Archbishop Ceolnoth. The coins comprise reverse types Four Line, Lunettes A and Lunettes D.

TABLE 3. The coinage of Æthelred I – classification by reverse type.

	<i>Four Line</i>	<i>Lunettes A</i>	<i>Lunettes D</i>	<i>total</i>
Number	9	138	5	152*
% of Corpus	6%	91%	3%	100%

Illustration



*The reverse of one coin listed in the Corpus could not be established with certainty, but is most likely to be Lunettes A.

Apart from showing the dominance of the Type A reverse – 96% of Æthelred I Lunettes coins – and the rarity of Type D and Four Line, this is of little help in understanding the coinage. The dominance of Type A is also found in the Burgred Lunettes coins as well as in those of Ælfred. However the dominance here is extreme in comparison.⁶⁰ An analysis based on reverse varieties is thus not sufficient. This is because the reverse is relatively easy for a die-cutter to produce with little scope for variation. What there is mainly relates to the addition of symbols, e.g. pellets, possibly used as privy marks for die control purposes.

The bust and legend of the obverse provide much greater scope for variation. Although it is difficult to be completely objective about stylistic differences, the authors believe they can provide important clues that can help in classifying and understanding the coinage. This study, whilst accepting this caveat, recognises the importance of stylistic variation and applies an obverse rather than reverse-based approach to analysing this coinage. Obverse stylistic

⁵⁶ Sold by Sotheby, 22–23 April 1999.

⁵⁷ Three coins can definitely be identified: Liabine (Leab), Mann and Wulfeard.

⁵⁸ Montagu, Evans, Murdoch, Rashleigh and Carlyon-Britton between 1875 and 1920, and Lockett, Drabble and Grantley between 1925 and 1955.

⁵⁹ Coins currently not located are recorded in the Corpus under the appropriate moneyer.

⁶⁰ By way of comparison, Pagan 1966 noted Lunettes reverse type A dies accounted for 57% of the total dies found to have been used in striking surviving coins. The possible late issue of reverse type A coins could be a reason for this, but this is by no means certain as reverse types B, C and D, as well as A, are recorded for Ælfred.

observations concentrate on five aspects: drapery, facial features, hair, top of the head and the inscription.

As well as the Lunettes coins a small group, in varying styles, with a reverse in four lines has already been noted. The bust style used here is different from that found on the Lunettes coins of Æthelred I, with clear style and weight affinities to the Floriate Cross issue of Æthelberht. This suggests that this is the earliest issue of Æthelred I, preceding the Lunettes coins. The authors have designated this group of coins as *Æthelred I Group 1 – Four Line* coins.

The majority of the coins are Lunettes Type A with a distinctive bust style that is encountered only for coins of Æthelred I and Archbishop Ceolnoth. The authors have not discovered any coins of Burgred with this same obverse style.⁶¹ This distinctive bust design continues into the Lunettes of Ælfred.⁶² Consistency in obverse styles, production quality and the high proportion of these coins within this coinage strongly suggests this was the main issue of the Lunettes coins in Wessex. The authors have designated this group of coins as *Æthelred I Group 2 – Wessex Regular Lunettes* coins.

There is in addition a smaller, diverse group of twenty-five Lunettes coins that show stylistic affinities more closely aligned to those used in Burgred's coinage. Whilst mostly of Type A, this group includes the only use of the reverse Type D in the coins of Æthelred I. The authors have designated this group of coins as *Æthelred I Group 3 – Wessex Irregular Lunettes* coins.

The Lunettes Type A pennies of Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury align in style and format with the Wessex coins of Æthelred I. A single example of a Lunettes penny possibly struck in the name of Æthelberht is also considered.⁶³ Finally, there are four 'curiosities' where coins of Burgred, either contemporary or later forgeries, appear to have been modified.

Of the 152 coins, weights are recorded for 108 complete coins. The average weight for Æthelred I Lunettes pennies is 1.22g. Group 1, the Four Line Group, is slightly lighter at 1.12g. Group 3, the Wessex Irregular Lunettes, shows no significant difference, at 1.16g, from the Group 2 Wessex Regular Lunettes coins at 1.23g. The weight ranges for Group 2 and 3 Lunettes coins are 0.92–1.55g and 1.00–1.29g respectively. For Group 1 Four Line coins it is 0.95–1.28g.

TABLE 4. The coinage of Æthelred I: weight distributions by issue.

<i>Weight range (g)</i>	<i>4 Line Group 1</i>	<i>Cumulative %</i>	<i>Lunettes Group 2</i>	<i>Cumulative %</i>	<i>Lunettes Group 3</i>	<i>Cumulative %</i>
0.9–0.99	1	12%	4	5%	0	0%
1.0–1.099	3	50%	1	7%	5	30%
1.1–1.199	2	75%	26	37%	3	47%
1.2–1.299	2	100%	33	77%	8	94%
1.3–1.399	0	100%	14	93%	1	100%
1.4–1.499	0	100%	3	98%	0	100%
1.5–1.599	0	100%	2	100%	0	100%
Total	8		83		17	
Incomplete or weight not verified	1		35		8	

⁶¹ A Burgred penny by Liawald in the Mack collection (*SCBI* 20, no. 620) displays a bonnet and stylistically closely matches an Æthelred I penny by Dudda (*SCBI* 2, no. 557). It, however, clearly has affinities to the styles found on Mercian coins, amongst other elements using a drapery style not generally found on coins of Wessex. This is discussed further below.

⁶² When, interestingly, other types of Lunettes reverses are revived along with use of Types A and D.

⁶³ Blunt Fitzwilliam Bequest (Accession no. CM 1990–1–338) (Blunt 1952).

As this profile indicates, the Group 1 Four Line coins form a distinctive group in weight as well as style, being lighter than the Lunettes coins. Their weight is closer to that of the Æthelberht Floriate Cross issue, which seems, on a very small sample, to have an average weight of 1.14g. Although the authors have not carried out a comprehensive study of the weights of the Lunettes coinages of Burgred and Ælfred there seems to have been a specific c.1.2g Lunettes standard during this period, although this was not consistently sustained after the accession of Ælfred. Notably there is little difference in weight between Group 2 Wessex Regular and Group 3 Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins, indicative of both being issued to the same defined weight standards.

Detailed metrological examination of the corpus has not been possible. The principal study undertaken by Metcalf and Northover,⁶⁴ which analysed some eighty Lunettes coins, only included nine coins of Æthelred I. All of these, apart from a single Lunettes Type D, were Type A or Four Line coins. Silver content ranged from nearly 41% to as low as 24%.⁶⁵ However there is no pattern that indicates that less well-produced coins had a lower silver content. In fact two coins of good appearance (Elbere, Corpus Ae2.49, and Mann, Ae2.100) had the lowest values and more crudely produced coins (notably a Dudda, Ae 2.36) the highest. The coin of Archbishop Ceolnoth was at the higher end. The only major variation is the Lunettes D coin found at Repton (Ae3.18) discussed below.

An analysis of the die distribution is contained in the Corpus. In the larger Wessex Regular Lunettes group there is some die-linking, with sixteen die duplicates within the 102 obverse and ninety-nine reverse dies noted, but this is an insufficient statistical basis to come to any firm conclusions as to the number of dies produced.⁶⁶ A best estimate as to the total coinage produced would be in the range of one million to one and a half million coins, at a production rate of up to a quarter million coins a year. Although it is difficult to estimate how many moneyers were active at any one time, if we assume a figure of fifteen, this would require each moneyer to produce some 200 to 400 coins a week, assuming production rates were constant. This would indicate that the broad figures arrived at represent a realistic production level. It also indicates the difficulties in analysing a series where less than one coin out of between 5,000 and 7,500 has survived.

The smaller Wessex Irregular Lunettes group shows greater diversity. There are only two die-linkages, but uniquely one that involves two moneyers, Dudda (in the name of Dudd) and Liabinc. This makes any analysis effectively impossible, but from the size of the surviving corpus it would seem that these issues were smaller than the Wessex Regular Lunettes series.

The Four Line type shows no die-linkage. The corpus of Archbishop Ceolnoth has two, but this is almost certainly as a consequence of hoard distribution.

Classification of the coinage of Æthelred I by group

Æthelred Group 1: Classification of the Four Line type

This small group of nine coins is distinctive in using a reverse of four lines. They have a bust style that is quite different from the Regular Wessex Lunettes type, but which exhibits some similarities with issues of Æthelberht. A unique anomalous coin of the Four Line type, with an obverse without parallel in the contemporary Burgred and Æthelred I coinages, is assigned to this group.

⁶⁴ Metcalf and Northover 1985.

⁶⁵ An alloy of silver, gold and lead. For an excellent analysis of the debasement of Burgred's coinage see Biddle *et al.* 1986a, 120–1.

⁶⁶ The most complex die chain (eight coins) occurs for Biarnmod and also includes an altered die changing the coin from variant iv to variant ii.

TABLE 5. The coinage of Æthelred I: stylistic profile of Group I (Four Line) obverses.

<i>Obverse Feature</i>	<i>Description</i>
Drapery	Generally with a central panel of two or more vertical strokes with two horizontal strokes above. Two side panels each comprise two horizontal strokes. <i>Variant i</i> : Two side panels with double lines dividing them from a central panel. Each panel containing two short horizontal strokes. <i>Variant iii</i> : A single panel comprising two inverted Vs, three pellets and a horizontal line.
Facial features	Generally well-formed features, neatly cut with wedge nose, frog eye. <i>Variant iii</i> : Small head with oval eye and hooked nose.
Top of head	No obvious diadem and may have crescent and pellet above forehead.
Hair	Open, with hair in two lines comprising pellet strokes.
Legend (Styles 3-5, 7) ⁶⁷	Starts at ten or eleven o'clock. Style 3 REX+Æ-DELRED Style 4 DREX+Æ-DELRE Style 5 EDREX+ÆDELRL Style 7 REX+Æ-DELRED

Within this Group the authors have identified three distinctive variants. The first two are connected by drapery styles to the Floriate Cross and Inscribed Cross issues of Æthelberht (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. The coinage of Æthelred I: Group I (Four Line issue), drapery styles and the Æthelberht connection. A. Æthelberht Floriate Cross (*SCBI* 20, no. 73); B. Æthelred I Four Line variant ii (*SCBI* 9, no. 244); C. Æthelberht Inscribed Cross (*SCBI* 1, no. 533); D. Æthelred I Four Line variant i (*SCBI* 1, no. 541).

The third variant, represented by a unique coin found near Winchester in the 1990s, has been proposed by Blackburn as evidence for a mint there, and draws on earlier coinage, notably of Aethelwulf.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ See Table 18 below for a full list of the legend styles used. All obverse inscriptions are read starting at 7 o'clock.

⁶⁸ Blackburn 2003. The Æthelwulf penny by Osric is *BMC* type IV, a type which was attributed by Blunt to Winchester.

TABLE 6. The coinage of Æthelred I: Group 1 (The Four Line issue) variants.




Variant	Description	Illustration
Æthelred I Four Line variant i.	<i>Four Line variant i. Inscribed Cross style.</i> A unique coin. Drapery in style of Æthelberht Inscribed Cross coins. Legend starts at ten o'clock. Two lines of hair. No clear diadem. Standard reverse (Fig. 2A). Neat style.	
Æthelred I Four Line variant ii.	<i>Four Line variant ii. Floriate Cross style.</i> Drapery in style of Æthelberht Floriate Cross coins, with central panel as a rectangle in which there is a long vertical central bar with a short centrally placed bar on each side. Side panels each contain two horizontal bars. Four Line standard reverse.	
Æthelred I Four Line variant iii.	<i>Four Line variant iii. Crude bust.</i> A unique coin, attributed to Winchester. The moneyer, Osric, is also recorded for Æthelwulf in an unusual style. On the reverse a cross replaces the central A at the top (Fig. 2B).	

Illustration references:
Variant i, *SCBI* 1, no. 541; Variant ii, *SCBI* 9, no. 244; Variant iii, (c) Copyright The Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum (EMC 1999.0160).



Fig. 2. The Coinage of Æthelred I: Group 1 (Four Line issue) reverse styles. A. Variants i and ii standard 'Canterbury' style. B. Exceptional 'Winchester' style. © Copyright The Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Æthelred I Group 2: Classification of the Wessex Regular Lunettes coins

This Wessex Lunettes Group is stylistically distinct and easily recognisable from any of the many Burgred styles of design, particularly for the drapery, facial features and legend conventions used. The majority of the coins were almost certainly struck with dies cut at Canterbury, but some of the cruder examples could possibly have been produced elsewhere. Pagan first suggested that there could be sub-groups in this series,⁶⁹ and we propose four variants within this Group. One of these is the same as that used by Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury, thus reinforcing a Canterbury attribution for production.




Four variants can be defined for the Æthelred I Group 2 Wessex Regular Lunettes coins. The coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth all align with variant i.

⁶⁹ Pagan 1966, 25.

TABLE 7. The coinage of Æthelred I: stylistic profile of Group 2 (Wessex Regular Lunettes) obverses.

<i>Obverse feature</i>	<i>Description</i>
Drapery	In almost every case comprises three panels, with the left and right panels each containing two horizontal bars and the central panel a T, with a horizontal bar above.
Facial features	Consists of a frog eye, hooked nose, and a crescent representing an ear, behind which lie two further crescents representing hair at the back of the neck.
Top of head	Hair usually retained in a bonnet, but sometimes without a bonnet. Single or double diadem ending in a pellet set in a crescent, sometimes with a curl or curls before.
Hair	A line of crescent shaped bars running along the head in a single line.
Legend	Style 1 REX+Æ+DELRED (most frequently)
(Styles 1, 3, 5-6, 8)	Style 3 REX+Æ-DELRED
	Style 5 EDREX+ÆDEL
	Style 6 +Æ-DELREDREX
	Style 8 EX+E+DELREDR ⁷⁰

TABLE 8. The coinage of Æthelred I: Group 2 - (Wessex Regular Lunettes) variants.

<i>Variant</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes variant i.	<i>Wessex Regular Lunette - Standard Bonnet 1.</i> Very distinctive hooked nose. Diadem of one or two lines, almond shaped eye, tiny button lips over a definite chin/neck. Back of head surrounded by a continuous line in the manner of a bonnet. Standard style Wessex drapery comprising a central panel with a 'T' made up of a vertical bar and a horizontal bar, with a single horizontal bar above. Panels to either side contain two horizontal bars. Legend usually starts at ten o'clock. Die-cutting neat and tidy and remarkably consistent.	
Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes variant ii.	<i>Wessex Regular Lunettes - Standard Bonnet 2.</i> A derivation of variant i. Head in bonnet. Hair in distinctively bold curves. Face and nose less pronounced. Retains all essential features of variant i, but die-cutting less neat and tidy and in some cases can even be heavy and rough. In particular pattern of tunic can change. However there is no clear division between variants i and ii - there are a number of coins that sit on the divide between the well executed coins of variant i and the more crudely produced coins of variant ii.	
Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes variant iii.	<i>Wessex Regular Lunettes - Bold Head 1.</i> Open head, i.e. no bonnet. Hair in bold curves with single or double diadem at shallow angle. A trefoil may be present on forehead in front of a curve at top of diadem. Bold die-cutting with strong and distinctive bust, with well-formed facial features and standard style Wessex drapery. Style linked to variant i, but bolder.	

⁷⁰ Style 6 is only found on coins of Dudda (see Corpus Ae2.32-3). Style 8 is only found on coins of Biarnmod (see Corpus Ae2.7, 14-19.)

Æthelred I Wessex
Lunettes variant iv.

Wessex Regular Lunettes – Bold Head 2.

Similar to Bold Head 1, but much cruder die-cutting, with heavy letters and style. Facial features confused and rough. Diadem at steep pitch. Head may have signs of a bonnet but not distinctive. A number of minor style variations, often specific to individual coins, exist within this variant. As with variants i and ii, there is no clear division between variants iii and iv.



Illustration references.

Variant i, *SCBI* 50, no. 190; Variant ii, *SCBI* 30, no. 298; Variant iii, *SCBI* 20, no. 724; Variant iv, *SCBI* 30, no. 297.

Æthelred I Group 3: Classification of the Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins

The coins in this Group are markedly different from the Group 2 coins. Whilst struck in the name of Æthelred I and therefore apparently for Wessex, they display distinctive characteristics, including use of Lunettes reverse Type D, legend and drapery styles, that can be more readily matched with those used on coins of Burgred. This is a very diverse Group with very few similar coins.

TABLE 9. The coinage of Æthelred I: stylistic profile of Group 3 (Wessex Irregular Lunettes) obverses.

<i>Obverse feature</i>	<i>Description</i>
Drapery	Comprises three panels. A central panel contains one or more vertical strokes above which sit one or more single horizontal strokes. Side panels comprise usually two or more horizontal strokes, frequently in the form of crescents.
Facial features	Eye can be a frog eye, of a pellet and ring or a single pellet. A hooked nose. Mouth usually appears as two wedges. On less well executed coins the face is sometimes distorted, appearing squashed from the front.
Top of head	Open, rarely with bonnet. With single or double diadem. Top of head may have hairline ends of pellets forming a cover, but not a bonnet.
Hair	Arranged in a single line or a double line of strokes or crescents. Can appear with one or more crescent shaped curls on the forehead and one or more curls at the nape of the neck.
Legend (Styles 2–3 and 9–21).	Wide range, often clumsy in execution and mis-spelt. Mercian M added after king's name in some cases.
	Style 2 RE++AE-DELRED
	Style 3 REX+AE-DELRED
	Style 9 REX+AE-DELREX-
	Style 10 REX+AE-DELREDM
	Style 11* REX+AE-DELRED trefoil of pellets
	Style 12* EL-DELREDMX-X
	Style 13* -RE+AE+OLEDI
	Style 14* REX+AEDEIRED
	Style 15* XAEDEREDREX trefoil of pellets
	Style 16* +AE-DEREDREX
	Style 17* RE+A-DELERED
	Style 18* REXA-DELERED
	Style 19* REA-DELERED
	Style 20* RE++AE-DELRE
	Style 21* DERED+EREVI+
	(* denotes known for one coin only)

A classification on the grounds of broad stylistic variations can be made resulting in three variants.

TABLE 10. The coinage of Æthelred I: Group 3 (Wessex Irregular Lunettes) variants.




<i>Variant</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes variant v.	<i>Wessex Irregular Lunettes; neat style with reverse Type D</i> A neat style with double diadem, hair in two lines and not enclosed. Legend starts at 7 o'clock, using Burgred convention, and well spelt. Sometimes uses the †ÆÐEREDREX form. Drapery has central panel with two or more vertical strokes.	
Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes variant vi.	<i>Wessex Irregular Lunettes; irregular bonnet, reverse Type A</i> Bust has a distinctive bonnet but executed in a style that is cruder than that found on the Regular Wessex coins. It is also found on coins of Burgred and Ælfred. Drapery can be similar to that on Wessex Regular Lunettes, but may have more than one vertical stroke in the central panel. Legend with coarse cut letters and may use Mercian conventions and is sometimes blundered.	
Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes variant vii. ⁷¹	<i>Wessex Irregular Lunettes; degraded style with reverse Type A</i> Bust is crude and badly proportioned, often with steeply pitched diadem. Face may seem squashed from the front. Crude die-cutting with drapery lacking any Wessex Regular Lunettes features. Inscription often misspelt or blundered and may include letter M. Some coins struck on small flans.	

Illustration references:

Variant v, MacKay coll., no. 93/02; Variant vi, SCBI 2, no. 557; Variant vii, BMA 441, © Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum.

Analysis of the Corpus

The Æthelred I Corpus: Group 1 – The Four Line Group

This Group is represented by nine coins in the Corpus, or 6% of the total. The four moneyers known for this Group only struck coins for Wessex, indicating they were retained moneyers of Wessex alone. Torhtmund and Biarnmod also struck coins for Æthelberht and Archbishop Ceolnoth as well as Lunettes pence for Æthelred I and Ælfred. Cuthelm and Osric are only known for this type. The Four Line variant iii, a unique coin, has been attributed to Winchester on the basis of its style,⁷² and is the work of a different die-cutter to the others. Four Line variant i is also represented by a single coin.

TABLE 11. The coinage of Æthelred I. Group 1 (Four Line issue); variants and moneyers.

<i>Moneyers</i>	<i>Variant i</i>	<i>Variant ii</i>	<i>Variant iii</i>	<i>Undetermined</i>	<i>Total</i>
Biarnmod	1	1	–	1	3
Cuthelm	–	1	–	–	1
Osric	–	–	1	–	1
Torhtmund	–	3	–	1	4
Total	1	5	1	2	9

⁷¹ This variant seems to share much in common with Pagan's Vertical and Horizontal Groups; see Pagan 1966, 20.

⁷² See Blackburn 2003.

The link between this coinage and that of Æthelberht was established above, in the section where the obverse styles for this Group were classified. The Four Line variant ii style very closely matches that of the Æthelberht Floriate Cross issue, while the Four Line variant i style uses a drapery format which mirrors that found on Æthelberht's Inscribed Cross issue. We can therefore be fairly confident that they were produced around the accession of Æthelred I in 865/6, as what probably turned out to be a brief issue preceding the adoption of the Lunettes type. It also suggests that the rare Floriate Cross coinage of Æthelberht was short-lived and confined to the last months of his rule.⁷³ The relationship between the Group I Four Line issue of Æthelred I and the Floriate Cross issue of Æthelberht is further emphasized by the few surviving Floriate Cross coins all weighing in the region of 1.14g, very close to that found here, and notably less than the Lunettes average weight of 1.22 g.

Both variant i and variant ii appear to be strongly influenced by Canterbury. There seems to be no influence from London styles which might indicate that they were struck elsewhere than Canterbury. It is therefore likely that the dies were all cut at Canterbury and represent two die-cutters who were following different portrait styles from the reign of Æthelberht when preparing the dies. This assessment casts doubt over the attribution of a Lunettes penny apparently in the name of Æthelberht, but this coin will be considered in more detail below.

There is some debate over the significance of the letter A above the reverse legend. It is clear from the design that this is not a carry-over from the legend, but a stand-alone letter that must denote something. Nineteenth-century numismatists thought it was an abbreviation for 'Anglia' or 'Anglorum.' This interpretation should be rejected as the kings of Wessex used the style REX SAXONUM or SAXONIORUM, which can be found on the coins of Æthelwulf and also later (in abbreviated form) on the Cross and Lozenge pence of Ælfred.

Assuming that these coins do come from Canterbury, an alternative explanation may be that the A indicates that they were issued from the archiepiscopal mint. (Coins of Archbishop Æthelred struck by Torhtmund survive, along with coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth struck by Biarnmond, almost certainly the same person as Biarnmod.) This might explain the absence of the A on the variant iii coin of Osric, where a cross is used instead. This coin is clearly the work of a different die-cutter, probably at another location, and was assigned by Blackburn to Winchester. The true significance of this letter, however, remains an enigma.⁷⁴

The Æthelred I Corpus: Group 2 – The Wessex Regular Lunettes Coins

The Wessex Regular Lunettes issue is represented by 118 coins in the Corpus (78% of the total), struck by twenty-one moneyers. It forms a highly distinctive group within the wider Lunettes coinage, notable not only for its generally good quality of execution, but also for consistency in design.

The core of this coinage is the Standard Bonnet issue, variants i and ii. Variant i is of the same style as the Lunettes coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth. They are without doubt produced from Canterbury dies. The quality of their design and execution indicates that minting activity in Wessex, concentrated on Canterbury, was well-managed. This contrasts markedly with the Lunettes coins of Burgred, where wide variations in style ensure that no particular variant dominates the surviving coinage. Even the Lunettes series of Ælfred does not show such a high level of consistency. Variant ii dies are less consistent and are often anomalous in design, which represents either a temporary decline in the standards at Canterbury (which then seem to be restored under Ælfred) or production elsewhere.

Variants iii and iv, the Bold Head issue, are both scarcer and of a distinctively different style, but still one which conforms in legend, drapery and bust with characteristics found only

⁷³ While the drapery has elements of Æthelberht's style, this style can also be found on Burgred's coins – see *SCBI* 20, no. 613, by Dudda.

⁷⁴ The rare Lunettes E coins of Burgred also feature a prominent letter in their design. In this case this is the Mercian M. If this coin is aligned with the Æthelred I Four Line coins, then it may be that the old explanation is right, but if so, it involves the adoption of a title form that is rare for ninth-century Wessex.

on coins of Æthelred I. Again these may be the work of different die-cutters, possibly operating at Canterbury, but equally possibly elsewhere. This style does not seem to have been used for coins of Ælfred.

One hundred and seven coins (90%) use legend styles 1 to 3, which are the standard Wessex legend varieties, starting at ten o'clock and reading variations of REX+ÆÐELRED.

TABLE 12. The coinage of Æthelred I. Group 2 (Wessex Regular Lunettes): variants and moneyers.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Variant i</i>	<i>Variant ii</i>	<i>Variant iii</i>	<i>Variant iv</i>	<i>Undetermined</i>	<i>Total</i>
Biarneah +	5	—	—	—	—	5
Biarnmod	6	4	—	7	—	17
Biarnwine	1	3	—	—	—	4
Burgnoth	1	2	—	—	—	3
Diarwulf	1	—	—	—	—	1
Dudda +	2	2	3	1	—	8
Dunn +	4	2	—	—	—	6
Elbere	7	—	6	1	—	14
Ella	—	2	—	—	—	2
Ethelred	11	3	—	—	—	14
Herebeald	—	1	—	—	1	2
Herewulf	4	—	—	—	—	4
Lang	1	—	—	—	—	1
Liabinc +	5	2	—	—	—	7
Lulla	1	1	—	—	—	2
Mann +	6	4	2	1	—	13
Manninc	6	2	1	—	—	9
Oshere	1	1	—	—	—	2
Torhtmund *	—	2	—	—	—	2
Wine +	—	1	—	—	—	1
Wulfeard	—	—	—	1	—	1
Total ⁷⁵	62	32	12	11	1	118

* denotes known for Group 1.

+ denotes known for Group 3.

The moneyers Bearhea (one recorded example in the Fitzwilliam Museum)⁷⁶ and Bericam (one recorded example, last definitely noted at the second Carlyon-Britton sale, and considered as part of Group 3)⁷⁷ are almost certainly to be identified with Biarneah. The Fitzwilliam coin is blundered and can easily read Biarneah. The Carlyon-Britton coin is almost certainly a misreading with an E substituted for an I in the first syllable of the moneyer's name. Furthermore it is stylistically similar to *BMC* 1, which is definitely attributed to Biarneah.

There is a complex group of coins inscribed Dudd and Dudda in both Groups 2 and 3. For reasons discussed further below the authors believe that these are coins of the same moneyer. They are listed here under Dudda.

Similarly, Liabinc seems to have two variations. A single coin inscribed Leab and the sole coin of Lifinc in Group 3 are most probably variations in spelling the name Liabinc so have been attributed to him. The fact that neither of these names is recorded for Alfred or Burgred strengthens the case that they are merely variations produced either in error or as a consequence of poor transliteration.

The moneyers fit into four groups (with Biarnmod and Torthmund also known as moneyers for the Four Line type).

⁷⁵ The additional coins noted in the Postscript to the Corpus (after Ae2.118) add a further two specimens of variant i (both Elbere) and two of variant ii (Dudda and Ella) to those listed here.

⁷⁶ Corpus Ae2.1.

⁷⁷ Corpus Ae3.1

TABLE 13. The coinage of Æthelred I. Ruler affiliations of Group 2 (Wessex Regular Lunettes) moneyers.

<i>Affiliation/Location</i>	<i>Groups of moneyers defined by known coining activities</i>	<i>Group 2 moneyers</i>	<i>Number of moneyers</i>
Groups a and b – Canterbury/Kentish moneyers	a. Canterbury Wessex moneyers using Canterbury dies only	Biarnmod*#, Biarnwine*, Burgnoth#, Elbere#, Ella, Ethelred*#, Herebeald*#, Herewulf*#, Lang, Manninc*#, Oshere*#, Torhtmund*#	12
<i>Wessex moneyers not known to have struck coins for Burgred.</i>	or		
	b. Wessex moneyers generally based in Canterbury also known to have used Mercian-produced dies: striking Wessex Regular Lunettes and Wessex Irregular Lunettes.	Dunn#, Liabinc*#, Mann	3
Groups c and d – London moneyers	c. Moneyers working for both Burgred and Æthelred I: striking Wessex Lunettes and striking also for Burgred	Diarwulf#, Lulla#, Wulfear#	3
<i>Wessex and Mercian shared moneyers</i>	or		
	d. Striking Wessex Regular Lunettes, Wessex Irregular Lunettes and also striking for Burgred.	Biarneah, ⁷⁸ Dudda*, Wine#	3

* indicates also a moneyer for Æthelberht.

indicates also a moneyer for Ælfred.

This coinage was almost certainly in the main struck by Wessex moneyers based in Canterbury. However, six of the twenty-one moneyers are known moneyers for Burgred striking for Æthelred I in the Wessex style, using Canterbury dies, and representing some 15% of the surviving Wessex Lunettes coins. Some of these men can be connected with London, but whether they were provided with dies at London from Canterbury, or were based in Canterbury and received their Burgred dies from London, cannot be discerned. Alternatively they could have moved between the two locations on a journeyman basis. However the authors are not aware of any coins of Burgred using the Wessex Regular Lunettes style obverse, which would seem to suggest that the six moneyers were based in London rather than Canterbury. The implication seems to be that an active mint operated at London using Wessex-issued dies to strike Lunettes coins for Wessex.

Another three Wessex moneyers also seem at some point to have had access to Mercian-prepared dies, departing, for some reason, from their normal practice and using dies cut in a style aligned with that of Mercia rather than Wessex to strike Group 3 coins. Reasons for this will be examined later in the context of the Group 3 coins. The implication of this, however, is that there was a high degree of sharing of resources between the two kingdoms in what was clearly a monetary union not only of exchange, but also, to a degree, of production.

Whilst shared production made Mercian resources available to Wessex, the evidence suggests that Wessex did not assist Mercia to any great extent. The Wessex Regular Lunettes style remained, by and large, for Wessex coins only. One coin of Burgred by Liafwald (*SCBI* 20, no. 620) is an exception, using the Standard Bonnet style bust, but retaining Mercian features in the drapery and legend.⁷⁹ However, as will be discussed in Group 3 below, we believe this coin was almost certainly struck at London rather than Canterbury. An interesting pair of

⁷⁸ This includes Berheah. Bericam is a Group 3 variation for this moneyer.

⁷⁹ Liafwald was later a moneyer for the Cross and Lozenge coins of Ceolwulf II and was almost certainly a London moneyer. See Blackburn and Keynes 1998.

coins of Dudda in the name of Dudd have Group 2 obverses but with strongly London-influenced reverses. This provides direct evidence that Wessex dies, in this case the obverse, were being sent to London, or possibly elsewhere, where they were used alongside London-produced dies. Given that Dudda is well attested as a Burgred moneyer, it is unlikely that he was working out of Canterbury using his own reverse die.

In addition there are eleven Group 2 coins of moneyers Mann, Elbere, Dudda and Biarnmod that are, for differing reasons, of anomalous appearance. Among these, the two coins of Mann, Corpus Ae2.93 (variant i) and Ae2.103 (variant iv), have variations in the treatment of drapery, but overall look as though they represent a minor variation of the Canterbury standard. Ae2.103 is seemingly the more unconventional. The coin of Elbere, Ae2.47 (variant iv), is particularly crude, but some of the bust deformation could be due to clogged and damaged dies.

One obverse die used to strike five coins of Biarnmod (Ae2.14–18) seems to have received so much use that it appears to have been recut, the bust on one coin (Ae2.18) changing from a variant iv to a variant ii. The appearance of the coins is clearly non-standard and the inference, as with all variant ii and iv coins, is of production away from Canterbury. Finally the change from variant iv to ii would seem to indicate that the bust style was viewed as changeable and the two principal groups result from different die-cutters' interpretations of the design rather than something more deliberate.

There are die duplicates of Dudda (Ae2.31 and Ae2.32 – variant ii) that use the Mercian convention of starting the royal title at 7 o'clock and have a bust of somewhat anomalous appearance. A coin of Biarnmod, Ae2.20 (variant iv), also has anomalous treatment of the drapery, but this is die-linked to more conventional variant iv coins.

Although it can be argued that certain of these anomalies demonstrate Mercian influence, we do not think it is more than that. The style and idiom of these coins is primarily that of Wessex. Overall we believe that these variations are merely the inevitable outcome of coin production under pressure. It is of interest to note that all but one of the coins come from variants ii and iv, categories that clearly represent the impact of emergency production. We have therefore retained them in Group 2, Wessex Regular Lunettes.

All Bold Head coins (variants iii and iv), with the exception of Wulfearð's, are produced by moneyers who also struck Standard Bonnet coins (variants i and ii). Of the six Bold Head moneyers, three are known for Wessex Lunettes only, one is recorded producing Group 3 Irregular Lunettes coins as well, and the remaining two are Burgred moneyers. This, as well as the relatively small size of the group, suggests that it is a subsidiary rather than a separate issue, but the possibility must remain that the unusual die-cutting of variant iii represents a specific issue, produced by a different die-cutter.

The precise chronology and relationships of Group 2 and its variants remain difficult to elucidate. However the following model is proposed:

Variant i: Comparison of the coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth and Æthelred I would indicate that variant i was the principal type before the death of the former in 870, and continued into the reign of Ælfred. It seems to be produced by a die-cutter or die-cutters established at Canterbury.⁸⁰ From surviving coins it is clearly the predominant type. Although almost certainly minted in Canterbury, it cannot be ruled out that some dies were sent to London.

Variant ii: This is a subsidiary type to variant i. Again the type continues into the reign of Ælfred. It seems to have been produced concurrently with variant i. The relatively coarse nature of the work suggests that these could either be dies produced by an inexperienced die-cutter at Canterbury or made further afield. Both could be possible.

⁸⁰ The consistency of the die-cutting could suggest that only one individual was involved.

Variants iii and iv: These variants form a subsidiary group. They have the same relationship to each other as variant i and variant ii. They do not occur for Ælfred's Lunettes coins and so must have gone out of production before 871. A variant iv obverse die re-cut to variant ii seems to indicate that the designs were regarded as interchangeable.⁸¹ Variants iii and iv seem to have been concurrent and, as with variants i and ii, the location of minting could have been either Canterbury or elsewhere. Variant iv, because of its coarser work, may well not be from Canterbury, and seems unlikely to have been produced in London.

Finally, there is no definite evidence to suggest a separate mint existed at Rochester during this time. The moneyer Manninc is thought to have struck distinctive Rochester-style Inscribed Cross coins for Æthelwulf and Æthelberht, but independent die-production at Rochester looks to have then ceased and, if minting did continue there, the dies must have come from Canterbury. With no way to distinguish output from Rochester from that of Canterbury, the continued presence of Manninc striking for Æthelred I is the only possible indication that a mint at Rochester might have continued in being after 865.⁸²

The Æthelred I Corpus: Group 3 – The Wessex Irregular Lunettes Coins

The Wessex Irregular Lunettes Group of Æthelred I is represented by twenty-five coins in the Corpus, a more sizable group than previously thought. The different character of these coins was commented on as far back as 1950 by Lawrence, who noted the Mercian style of one of these coins.⁸³ Some years later Pagan, basing his analysis on a group of some twelve coins, noted that a small anomalous group existed within the coinage of Æthelred I. This group concerned Pagan, who recognised that the London die-cutter 'may have produced dies with the name of the king of Wessex to meet special demand', but on balance considered all these coins to be, to a greater or lesser extent, 'unofficial'.⁸⁴

This variety and the range of moneyers suggest that this category contains coins that may have been produced at different times for different purposes. The number of moneyers in the Group now seems to have been considerable, with thirteen moneyers for twenty-five recorded coins against twenty-one for the 118 Group 2 Wessex Regular Lunettes coins. Of these thirteen, seven are represented by single coins. The only real connection with Group 2 is that the coins are of approximately the same weight. We believe this is a strong indication of the official nature of these issues as part of the wider Wessex Lunettes coinage. This is supported by the hoard evidence that indicates that those handling them were quite content to accept these coins as equals of the Wessex Regular Lunettes Group.⁸⁵ Both these factors suggest that these coins were produced to the same standard as the regular coinage and were used alongside it.

What is now clear is that this anomalous and diverse Group is a discrete range of coins whose existence must be examined and explained, as they form a key part of the overall picture. They are Wessex coins, being issues of Æthelred I, but are quite different in style and execution from the Wessex Regular Lunettes coins. Their presence within the Wessex Lunettes coinage, in which the majority (Group 2) appear as a well-managed, high-quality coinage, raises intriguing issues about monetary production at this time.

⁸¹ Corpus Ae2.18; SCBI 30, no. 296.

⁸² Lyon 1968, 220–2. We are indebted to Dr Stewart Lyon for the observations on the Rochester mint at this time.

⁸³ The British Museum coin of Ealhmund is ex Lawrence, who noted it to be Mercian, although he incorrectly assigned it to Ælfred. Pagan took the view that many coins in this Group were unofficial issues, outright forgeries or contemporary illiterate copies. See Pagan 1966, 15.

⁸⁴ See Pagan 1966, 15–17.

⁸⁵ Provenances are known from the Gravesend, Croydon and Beeston Tor finds. In addition, the Kingston coin weight has a Group 3 coin attached with the \ddagger AE-ÐEREDREX inscription clearly visible.

TABLE 14. The coinage of Æthelred I. Group 3 coins (Wessex Irregular Lunettes): variants and moneyers.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Variant v</i>	<i>Variant vi</i>	<i>Variant vii</i>	<i>Undetermined</i>	<i>Total</i>
Biarneah ⁸⁶	—	2	1	—	3
Dealla	—	—	1	—	1
Denewald	—	—	3	—	3
Dudda	—	2	2	—	4
Dunn	—	—	1	—	1
Ealhmund	1	—	—	—	1
Ethelgar	2	—	—	—	2
Ethered	1	—	—	—	1
Heawulf	1	—	—	—	1
Liabinc	—	1	1	—	2
Mann	—	—	1	—	1
Tirwulf	—	—	1	—	1
Wine	—	—	4	—	4
Total	5	5	15	0	25

Obverse legend styles are recorded for twenty-four coins. Compared with the Wessex Regular Lunettes there is a significantly wider variety of legends. Of the obverse legend styles found on the Wessex Group 1 and Group 2 coins, only style 3 is found. All the other styles used are different. Of the fifteen styles found, ten are only known from a single coin. Notably eight coins (all styles 10, 12 and 16), adopt the Mercian convention, with the legend commencing at 7 o'clock. Of these, two have an **M** at the end of the legend (styles 10 and 12). Five coins,⁸⁷ all variant v, read **†AE-ÐERED REX** (style 16) with the legend beginning, in the Mercian idiom, at seven o'clock.⁸⁸ In many cases the king's name is incorrectly spelt against the Wessex standard.

TABLE 15. The coinage of Æthelred I. Group 3 (Wessex Irregular Lunettes) obverse legend styles.

<i>Obverse legend style</i>	<i>Legend style (reading from 7 o'clock)</i>	<i>Number recorded</i>	<i>Moneyers using the style</i>
2	RE††AE-ÐELRED	4	Biarneah, Wine
3	REX†AE-ÐELRED	2	Dudda, Liabinc
9	REX†AE-ÐELREX	2	Wine
10	REX†AE-ÐELREDM	2	Dealla, Wine
11	REX†AE-ÐELRED trefoil of pellets	1	Denewald
12	EL-ÐEREDMX-X	1	Tirulf
13	-RE†AE†OLEDI	1	Dudda
14	REX†AEDEIRED	1	Dunn
15	†AEDEREDREX trefoil of pellets	1	Ealhmund
16	†AE-ÐEREDREX	5	Ethelgar, Ethered, Heawulf, Liabinc
17	RE†A-ÐELERED	1	Mann
18	REXA-ÐELERED	1	Denewald
19	REA-ÐELERED	1	Denewald
20	RE††AE-ÐELRE	1	Dudda
21	DERED†EREVI†	1	Dudda

Given the presence of features normally found on Mercian coins, we might expect that these coins were struck by Mercian moneyers for Æthelred I, perhaps to maintain control of bullion derived from Wessex sources. However the picture is more complex than this (Table

⁸⁶ Includes a coin attributed to 'Berieam'.

⁸⁷ A sixth example exists. It is attached to the Kingston coin weight – see Corpus AeC5.

⁸⁸ The few surviving coins of Archbishop Æthelred of Canterbury, 870–89, also use the **AE-ÐERED** spelling. The spelling used may have little significance in determining mint location; die-cutting styles and the moneyers may tell us more. See Bibire 1998.

16). Of the moneyers involved, seven can be clearly recognised as working for Wessex, having struck coins for either Æthelberht or Wessex Regular Lunettes for Æthelred I, or appearing later as moneyers for Ælfred. They are not known for Mercia. Another two moneyers, however, are known only for Burgred and two more are known only from this Group. Finally, two moneyers are known for both Wessex and Mercia.

TABLE 16. The coinage of Æthelred I. Group 3 (Wessex Irregular Lunettes) ruler affiliations of the moneyers.

<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Other known coining activity</i>	<i>Irregular Wessex coins / variant</i>
<i>Wessex</i>	Biarneah	Æthelred I Regular Lunettes	Ae3.1 var. vii; Ae3.2-3, both var. vi
(Wessex only moneyers known for either Æthelberht, Æthelred I Regular Lunettes or Ælfred)	Dealla	Ælfred Lunettes	Ae3.4 var. vii
	Dunn	Æthelred I Regular, Ælfred Lunettes	Ae3.12 var. vii
	Mann	Æthelred I Regular Lunettes	Ae3.20 var. vii
	Ljabin	Æthelberht, Æthelred I Regular Lunettes, possibly Ælfred	Ae3.18 var. vii Ae3.19 var. vi
	Tirwulf	Ælfred Lunettes	Ae3.21 var. vii
	Ethered	Ælfred Lunettes	Ae3.16 var. v
<i>Mercia</i>	Denewald	Burgred Lunettes only	Ae3.5-7, all var. vii
(Not otherwise found in the coins of Wessex, but striking for Burgred)	Heawulf	Burgred Lunettes only	Ae3.17 var. v
<i>Shared</i>	Dudda	Æthelberht, Æthelred I Regular Lunettes, Burgred	Ae3.9-10, both var. vi; Ae3.8 and Ae3.11, both var. vii
(Struck coins for both Wessex and Mercia)	Wine	Burgred and Ælfred Lunettes	Ae3.22-25, all var. vii.
<i>Uncertain</i>	Ethelgar	Not known	Ae3.14-15, both var. v
(Only known from the Wessex Irregular Lunettes)	Ealhmund	Not known	Ae3.13 var. v

The above list shows no discernable pattern, except that every possible combination of interaction is evident. It does, however, confirm that a sharing of monetary production resources was taking place between Mercia and Wessex, as was the case with the Wessex Regular Lunettes issues. The overall impression is of a diverse coinage struck at different times, places and in different circumstances to meet different (and possibly pressing) monetary needs. This included allowing a few Wessex moneyers use of dies that must have been prepared by die-cutters more familiar with Mercian styles and conventions.

The variant v coins present a distinctive picture. Uniquely using the Lunettes D reverse and Mercian legend conventions on Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes, the moneyers involved stand out as different from the rest. Whilst Heawulf is a known Mercian moneyer, two others, Ethelgar and Ealhmund, are only known from these coins and another, Ethered, might be the Canterbury moneyer of that name who later strikes Lunettes coins for Ælfred. Aspects of style and the mix of moneyers reaffirm Mercian influence and, again, the sharing of production resources.

As to when these coins were struck, we would suggest that the variant v coins were the earliest in the Æthelred I Irregular series. Pagan thought that Burgred's Lunettes D dated to 866-68 and related to output from the London mint.⁸⁹

An earlier, rather than a later date for commencement of this issue, is further strengthened by the variant v bust displaying characteristics in common with the Floriate Cross issue. On both types the bust has a double line of hair with no head cover. This style is also found on a few of Burgred's coins.⁹⁰ Notably variant v does not seem to be linked with the surviving rare Type D reverse Lunettes coins of Ælfred, where the obverse is generally derived from Wessex Regular Lunettes Bonnet variants i or ii. Weight and flan size separate the Æthelred

⁸⁹ Pagan 1966, 14.

⁹⁰ See SCBI 2, no. 377 (Wine); SCBI 1, nos 415 (Eanred) and 422 (Cenred); SCBI 4, no. 63 (Cenred). A cruder derivative exists as well - see SCBI 42, no. 663 (Eanred) and SCBI 11 (i), no. 10 (Framric).

I Lunettes Type D coins from those of Ælfred. In the two cases where we have complete coins their weights are 1.24 and 1.31 g, which is above average for Æthelred I Lunettes coins and certainly heavier than the weights generally observed for the Ælfredian Lunettes coinage.⁹¹ Æthelred I Type D coins are consistent in flan size with that found in the rest of the Group 2 Wessex Regular Lunettes coins, while the Ælfredian Lunettes tended to be struck on smaller flans. These variations suggest that the coin types are not linked, and is further evidence to suggest variant v was earlier rather than later in Æthelred I's reign.

The absence of reverse Type D coins in key hoards, for example Gravesend, has been used as an argument for dating them later than 871. However, it is equally true that if variant v was a short-lived or low volume production from an early period of the reign, then it could be expected that hoard survivals would be few. After all Gravesend contained two Æthelred I Four Line and two Ceolnoth coins, both issues which survive in larger numbers than variant v. The hoard evidence does as much to support variant v being a short-lived or small issue as it does to prove it was posthumous.

In the one case where we have an analysis of the metrology for a variant v coin, the coin of Liabinc from Repton (Ae3.18), the silver content is extremely low at 5.54%. Overall the metrological evidence is inconclusive and provides little help with dating.

On the basis of the evidence, then, variant v would seem to have ended before the death of Æthelred I, and stylistically was influenced by preceding Wessex and Mercian types, suggesting that it should be assigned to the period 868–70. The final question is where were these coins struck? While they display some Canterbury obverse features, they are clearly of a style that lies outside that of the Group 2 Wessex Lunettes coins. This would suggest that they emanate from a location other than Canterbury, and the presence of a known Mercian moneyer and Mercian features on this variant would support an attribution to London, or possibly to some other location in Mercia. The presence of moneyers known only for this issue further hints at elements of the Lunettes D type being an emergency issue, possibly struck away from the monetary centres of London and Canterbury, but most probably using dies prepared at London.

The variant vi coins are notable in that they all have a bonneted bust executed in a style that is coarser both in bust and lettering than that found on the Standard Bonnet issues in Group 2. Of the five coins known for this variant, all align closely with known Mercian coins. A coin by Dudda, Ae3.10 (*SCBI* 2, no. 557), closely matches a coin of Burgred by Liafwald (*SCBI* 20, no. 620). Another by Dudda, Ae3.9 (Blunt coll. 339) has a clear bonnet but a degraded and unorthodox legend. Three coins by Biarneah (including one reading 'Berieam' (Ae3.1) which is closely linked stylistically to Ae3.3 and therefore considered to be by this moneyer) also display bonnets, but again these are quite different from that on the Wessex Standard Bonnet coins. One of these coins, Ae3.2, has a small bust with a double inner circle, a feature known on a few Burgred coins, but not observed otherwise on those of Æthelred I.

The strong Mercian-style affinities of the Dudda coin can be explained by his working for Burgred. Dudda seems to be an interesting example of a moneyer working at the cusp of the coinage production crossover between Mercia and Wessex. As already noted, the obverse of *SCBI* 2, no. 557 clearly represents an attempt by a Mercian die-cutter to copy the Wessex Group 2 style and the reverse die is linked to another Group 3 coin of Dudda (Ae3.11/EMC 2006.0344) where the idiom of the obverse is quite clearly Mercian. This is supported by the two coins inscribed 'Dudda' (Ae3.8–9), which have very blundered obverses, but reverses of acceptable London quality. Additionally, the Biarneah coin (Ae3.3) is stylistically very similar to *SCBI* 2, no. 557, which in turn is die-linked to a coin of Liabinc (in the name of Linfinc).

⁹¹ In the one example so far recorded by the authors of a complete Ælfred Type D, the weight is 0.95 g (see Cialwulf EMC1999.0126).

The presence of Dudda, a known Mercian moneyer, and the stylistic link with the coin of Burgred by Liafwald, a known moneyer for Ceolwulf II and Ælfred Cross and Lozenge, both point to London as the minting place for variant vi coins. The presence of Biarneah⁹² and Liabinc, both only known for Wessex and the latter already noted as a Wessex Regular Lunettes London moneyer, reinforces the suggestion that they are London-produced coins by Wessex moneyers with access to Mercian-produced London dies. In this instance these dies were being cut to copy the Canterbury bonnet style. As to when this was happening, a coin of Ælfred by Herewulf (*SCBI* 9, no. 246) is nearly identical to *SCBI* 2, no. 557 of Dudda, strongly suggesting that variant vi was begun late in the reign of Æthelred I. With at least nine Ælfred coins of this style known to the authors, the case for this variant commencing in 870/71 is convincing. The explanation for variant vi is that late in Æthelred I's reign London die-cutters started to copy the Wessex Standard Bonnet style of Canterbury.

If variant v was the earliest of the Irregular series and variant vi a later introduction at London, copying Canterbury-style coins, then what explanation can be found for the degraded and increasingly crude variant vii coins? We believe the origin of these coins may be found in the historical context. We know that the later years of Æthelred I's reign were ones of continuous military campaigning, with the armies of Wessex under considerable pressure. That the regular Wessex Canterbury coinage held up so well in these circumstances is evidence of tightly-managed monetary production in Canterbury/Kent. However the operation of large expeditionary forces deep into Mercia, plus a concentration of military effort in the middle Thames Valley from 870 onwards, placed the centre of gravity of Wessex's principal military involvement well away from Canterbury and much closer to London. That emergency issues may have been made from dies cut at London, or elsewhere, is plausible. This could explain the Mercian characteristics of these coins as well the presence of Mercian or shared Wessex/Mercian moneyers.

Furthermore the use by Canterbury-based moneyers – e.g. Dunn, Mann and Biarneah – of London dies suggests that they were operating away from home. (It would have been unusual in the circumstances if they had remained in Canterbury and used London-produced dies.) This raises the intriguing possibility that coining might have taken place on the lines of the Roman and Byzantine field mints, with some dies possibly being cut in the field by inexpert die-cutters. This could explain the excessive degradation and blundering of variant vii, while variant vi coins were of better style and struck with dies officially cut perhaps at London or possibly in some unknown Mercian centre. We have already noted that the reverses of a number of these coins are neater while the obverses display widespread irregularities. This pattern would be explained if a Mercian moneyer could use the reverse die he normally used when striking for Burgred but needed a specially prepared obverse die to strike in the name of Æthelred I.

This interpretation places these coins in the period 870–71 and explains their Mercian features as well as the crudity of production of many examples. The dating is endorsed by the reverse die connection between *SCBI* 2, no. 557, a variant vi coin, and Ae3.9 (EMC 2006.0344), a variant vii coin of Dudda. Also, as with variant vi, coins with variant vii characteristics exist for Ælfred, again reinforcing an 870–71 date. As to where the variant vii coins were struck, the authors believe the most likely location was London or a location on the Wessex/Mercian border in the Thames valley.

Past assessments of these coins, based on smaller numbers, have explained their difference and diversity by suggesting they are imitative. However, why would an 'unofficial' production centre or centres copying a coin of Æthelred I have made copies in a style using Mercian rather than Wessex conventions? Perhaps the most telling arguments against their being an imitative coinage are the number of moneyers and range of styles now known for the Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins. The end result is a level of complexity that seems unnecessary if the coins were merely designed to be imitative.

⁹² It is conceivable that Biarneah is the same as the Bearneah who struck coins for Burgred.

Furthermore, we are reluctant to accept the hypothesis that the coins could have been produced in areas outside of English control. There is little evidence that, at the earliest stages, the Great Army was anything more than a force for fighting and looting. Coins were largely seen as bullion and to conceive of the Danish war bands engaging in coin production at this period is difficult. We are prepared to concede that the most blundered coins, such as variant vii, may be regarded as imitative, but only in the sense that they were locally-sanctioned, inexpertly-produced emergency issues of the Anglo-Saxon territories.

It is, of course, possible that these irregular Wessex Lunettes coins were produced in the Danish-controlled areas once the initial period of instability was over, possibly by the shadowy King Æthelred of East Anglia, but the existence of a coinage based on Carolingian models for a king of this name makes this unlikely. We have not discovered any precedent for an Anglo-Saxon king being accorded the distinction of a posthumous coinage by the Danes, with the notable exception of the St Edmund coinage of East Anglia.

As to whether the coins were posthumous Wessex issues, this seems unlikely too. Ælfred's Lunettes coins are a significant and complex series, involving a much larger number of monies than the Æthelred I Lunettes series and displaying a greater variation of types. To fit into the pattern of the coin issues of his reign we believe that they must have gone into production immediately. Furthermore, Ælfred's early assertion of control, despite the disastrous opening months of his reign, was one of the key elements to his subsequent success. It would seem odd that a coinage was maintained for a dead brother whose reign, although businesslike, was not particularly noteworthy and one during which Ælfred had, much to his irritation, been kept from exercising power.⁹³ Finally we should note that a significant body of coins in the Ælfredian corpus also clearly display Mercian influence and origin. This provides direct evidence for a continuation of the practice of sharing production resources that began during Æthelred I's reign.

More telling is the hoard evidence. The key deposit in refuting the posthumous issue argument is the Gravesend hoard, deposited in 871. This contained, along with Four Line and Wessex Regular Lunettes coins, one coin of the Irregular type. Struck on a small flan, this coin of Dealla (Ae3.4), now in the British Museum collection (*BMC* 9), has been identified as a contemporary copy in the past, but, in light of the existence of a wider group of Irregular coins, it now appears much less anomalous. Small flan coins of Æthelred I are also known for Mann and Tirulf, and these are usually associated with Ælfred and the period 871–74 and are linked with the late coins of Burgred. The presence within the Gravesend find of a small flan coin of Dealla in the name of Æthelred I, deposited close to the end of his reign, indicates, along with those of Mann and Tirulf, that the production of small flan Lunettes coins was probably initiated in the months before Æthelred I died.

In summary, our belief is that the evidence points to the Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins as a logical and pragmatic extension of monetary union between Mercia and Wessex resulting in a limited sharing of production resources, almost certainly to meet exceptional requirements for coinage away from Canterbury. Moreover, they demonstrate a robust coinage production system, able to improvise to meet demand and to make use of practices that were only possible due to the Mercia/Wessex monetary union, factors that continued into Ælfred's reign.

Chronology of the coinage of Æthelred I

On the basis of the forgoing analysis the authors now believe that the chronology of coinage in this period was as follows:

⁹³ Ælfred's will specifically states that 'I asked him [Æthelred] in the presence of eleven councillors that we might divide the inheritance and he should give me my share. Then he told me that he could not divide it easily.' Clearly a circumstance that rankled even in later years and furthermore the understanding that Ælfred would inherit over the competing interests of Æthelred's sons would have made him keen to assert control from the earliest opportunity. See Pollard 2005, 92–5 and 125–7.

Kingdom	Ruler	Issue	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874
Mercia	Burgred	Lunettes													
Archbps	Abp Ceolnoth	Lunettes													
Wessex	Aethelberht	Inscribed Cross													
		Floriolate Cross													
	Aethelred	Four Line var. i, ii, iii													
		Wessex Regular Lunettes var. i, ii													
		Wessex Regular Lunettes var. iii, iv													
		Wessex Irregular Lunettes var. v													
		Wessex Irregular var. vi													
		Wessex Irregular Lunettes var. vii													

>Æ indicates that the type continued to be produced under Ælfred.

Fig. 3. The coinage of Æthelred I: chronology of coinage, 862–74. Note that issues have been assigned to the year in which they were struck. A part year is shown as a full year.

Related coinages and anomalous coins in the name of Æthelred I

Completeness requires that this review of Æthelred I's coinage considers a number of related series. These include the Lunettes pence of Archbishop Ceolnoth, a single Lunettes penny in the Blunt collection in the name of Æthelberht, two curious Lunettes coins by Diga and Hussa, two reverse Type C pennies of Cenred, and a coin weight with a Group 3 coin attached.

Lunettes coinage of Archbishop Ceolnoth

There are two Lunettes variants of Archbishop Ceolnoth. The first (North 1994, no. 248), represented by a single coin, uses a tonsured bust facing with a Lunettes reverse. The second type (North 1994, no. 249) adopts an obverse similar to the Æthelred I Wessex Regular Lunettes issues.

Archbishop Ceolnoth's Lunettes coinage can be even more tightly dated than those of Æthelred I, as he died in 870. The chronology suggested for the coinage of Æthelred I would see Archbishop Ceolnoth's Lunettes coins being issued 866–70. The small group of surviving coins is very compact, being limited to two moneyers and struck from relatively few dies. The dies are clearly produced by the Wessex Regular variant i die-cutter, who goes as far as inserting the outlines of a tonsure above the diadem in a rather curious way. This coinage reinforces the fact that variant i predates 870 and affirms the Canterbury attribution.



Fig. 4. Archbishop Ceolnoth Lunettes issue. (Illustration reference SCBI 20, no. 669).

The rarity of the Archbishop Ceolnoth Lunettes pence indicates that output of the archbishop (who traditionally had two moneyers) was small. In fact the archiepiscopal output at this time was declining as a proportion of overall output at Canterbury. The pre-Lunettes Dorking hoard had two archiepiscopal for every fifteen regal Inscribed Cross coins, giving a ratio of 1:7.5. Drawing on the Corpus we have identified in this paper, with around ten Archbishop Ceolnoth Lunettes pennies to 118 Wessex Regular 'Canterbury' coins of Æthelred I, this ratio widened to 1:12. It may be that this could be explained by Archbishop Ceolnoth pre-deceasing Æthelred I in 870, but more realistically it points to a reduction in archiepiscopal output at this time. With no Lunettes coins known for Archbishop Ceolnoth's successor, Æthelred, all of whose coins are very rare, it would seem that archiepiscopal minting activity went into decline with the advent of the Lunettes coinage.

The Æthelberht of Wessex Lunettes Penny

This coin, in the Blunt collection at the Fitzwilliam Museum, was first published by Blunt some years ago.⁹⁴ The reverse is Lunettes D and it was struck by the well-known, probably London moneyer, Dudda, who is also known to strike Lunettes D for Burgred. The reverse style is good, but the coin looks to be from worn dies. The obverse has a bust that has nothing in common with Wessex Regular Lunettes coins and draws on features found on the Floriate Cross coins of Æthelberht and also on some coins of Burgred. The obverse legend is double struck in parts and reads in a blundered form \div AE \div DEBEARHE. It commences at seven o'clock. The coin is heavy, weighing 1.50 g.

In his 1952 note Blunt suggested the possibility, although without coming to any definite conclusion, that this was a Lunettes penny of Æthelberht, supporting the view that the transition to the Lunettes coinage in Wessex began at the very end of his reign. There are, however, four major problems about categorising this coin as a precursor to the Lunettes series for Wessex. First, it is of relatively crude manufacture and looks nothing like the Canterbury-style coins that are the mainstay of Æthelred I's moneyers. It is difficult to imagine that, if the coin were official, it would have passed the rigorous quality control standards that we can observe on all other Canterbury coins at this time. The weight is also very heavy. Second, the illiteracy of the legend, the most debased of any Wessex Lunettes coin examined in this study, places it well outside the normally highly literate Canterbury Regular coins and even the Group 3 Irregular coins. Third, the tunic design is unique, not being recorded on any other coin of Æthelberht, Æthelred I, Ælfred or Burgred known to the authors. Finally, the Four Line issue in the name of Æthelred I succeeded Æthelberht's Floriate Cross issue before the introduction of the Lunettes issue in Wessex.

Since Blunt's article we are now aware of the Group 3 Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins of Æthelred I, where variant v also uses the Type D reverse found here. The authors believe this coin must now be considered in the context of this variant. When comparing this coin with other Type Ds it is clearly highly anomalous. It was therefore almost certainly produced outside the mint at Canterbury. There are a number of possible explanations for the existence



Fig. 5. The Æthelberht of Wessex Lunettes penny. © Copyright The Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

⁹⁴ Blunt 1952.

of this coin. It could be an irregular piece produced 'somewhere in Mercia' during or shortly after Æthelberht's reign, but drawing on familiar styles found on current issues. Alternatively it could have been produced some time in the period 866–75 by a shadowy ruler or agency outside Mercian or Wessex control.⁹⁵ Lastly, it might be a contemporary copy of a coin of Æthelred I with a hopelessly blundered legend – an extreme example of a Group 3 coin.

The authors think the second option is unlikely, for reasons that have been stated in the analysis of the Æthelred I Irregular Group 3 above. The third option is possible; while the weight seems high for a copy, it does have very distinctive characteristics linking it to the Wessex Irregular series. The first option also looks plausible. Perhaps the only certainty is that this is clearly an irregular coin produced in the 860s at a date more likely after 865 than before.

Curiosities

There are four coins that, for the sake of completeness, should be recorded as part of the Æthelred I corpus. Although they bear his name they are clearly altered coins of Burgred. The first three letters of the king's name are altered to read E-ÐEL. Three of the coins have provenances stretching back into the early nineteenth century and the fourth is a near die duplicate of one of these.

The coins of Diga (Corpus AeC3; *BMC* 12) and Hussa (AeC4; *SCBI* 4, no. 667), Lunettes A and D respectively, are almost certainly altered from genuine coins. It is highly unlikely that these are contemporary alterations and the working supposition is that these coins are eighteenth-century concoctions. That it was worth the effort of altering a coin of Burgred to Æthelred I indicates that from the earliest days of collecting, coins of Æthelred I were seen to have a margin of value over the coins of Burgred.

Two coins of Cenred, but in this case near die-duplicates, pose a similar problem. They are the only Type C coins known for Æthelred I and are of highly anomalous style: one is in the possession of one of the authors (AeC2) and the other is in St Petersburg (AeC1).⁹⁶ The obverse reads +ÆÐELRED RE+, with a well-figured, but most untypical king's head, with almond eyes and well-formed lips that appear on no other coins of the period. The first four letters of king's name appear to have been added by re-cutting the dies. Both coins are of good (almost too good) silver and weight for the Lunettes series at 1.17 g (St Petersburg coll.) and 1.38 g (Lyons coll.).

While both coins are struck from the same dies, the second M of MOM is changed to an N on the St Petersburg example. Was the die re-cut once the mistake was noted? The St Petersburg example seems to be struck from more worn dies. This would be a logical explanation for the MOM/MON change.



Fig. 6. The curious Æthelred Lunettes reverse Type C coins. A and B, obverse and reverse, AeC1 (*SCBI* 50 no. 111); C and D, obverse and reverse, AeC2 (Lyons coll.).

⁹⁵ The status proposed by Pagan (1966, 16).

⁹⁶ *SCBI* 50, no. 111 (under Burgred).

The authors believe it most likely that these are imaginative eighteenth-century forgeries. They have no stylistic affinity with other coins of Æthelred I or Burgred. Additionally the obverse legend uses the ligated *Æ* which is not found on the coins of Æthelberht or on any other coins of Æthelred I. (It is, though, common on those of Æthelred II, 120 years later, and was used by Ælfred – see London Monogram coins *c.*880.) The forger probably began by creating coins of Burgred, realised his mistake in that what he was making was not of great value, and re-engraved his dies to read Æthelred.

It should be noted that none of these coins are recorded in the lists of forgeries produced by Lawrence⁹⁷ or Blunt and Thompson.⁹⁸

A coin weight with a coin of Æthelred I

A number of coin weights have appeared in recent years. At least three have had Lunettes coins attached, one certainly of Ælfred, one possibly of Ælfred, and the other of Æthelred I.⁹⁹ The latter, on the Kingston coin weight (now in the British Museum), was found on the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset at a Viking site that can be dated with confidence to 875–76. The coin bears obverse inscription style 16 (*†AEÐEREDREX*). It is almost certainly a Wessex Irregular Lunettes variant *v* coin.

Conclusions – The coinage of Æthelred I

Historically and numismatically ignored, the reign of Æthelred I is nevertheless a critical point in the development of the English coinage. Immediately preceding and coinciding with the Danish onslaught that destroyed all the old English kingdoms except Wessex, his short reign saw the introduction of the first uniform English coinage south of the Humber.

This paper constructs the first comprehensive Corpus of the coins of Æthelred I, the Lunettes types of Archbishop Ceolnoth, and certain other associated coins. This has been placed in the context of the coinage of Burgred and the Lunettes coinage of Ælfred, although the authors have yet to undertake a comprehensive survey of these series.

Past assessments of this coinage, especially the Lunettes element, have focused on the reverse style. In this study we have taken a different view and primarily assessed the coinage based on obverse styles. This reflects the authors' belief that the Lunettes reverse was relatively easy to reproduce, whereas the obverse left much greater scope for variation in die-cutting. The surviving coins have been subjected to an analysis based on stylistic characteristics. While such analysis may be subjective, it may highlight patterns which can, when combined with other evidence such as moneyers and hoard details, explain what was happening to the coinage. Based on this analysis, this paper proposes an alternative classification for the coinage of this reign. It finds that there are three principal groups of coins.

TABLE 17. The coinage of Æthelred I. Summary of classifications: obverse bust typologies.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Variants</i>	<i>Description</i>
Group 1: Four Line Type	i	Inscribed Cross style
	ii	Floriolate Cross style
	iii	Crude Bust
Group 2: Wessex Regular Lunettes of Æthelred I	i	Standard Bonnet 1 – Neat style
	ii	Standard Bonnet 2 – Coarse style
	iii	Bold Head 1 – Neat style
	iv	Bold Head 2 – Coarse style
Group 3: Irregular Wessex Lunettes of Æthelred I	v	Neat style, reverse D
	vi	Irregular Bonnet, reverse A
	vii	Degraded style, reverse A

⁹⁷ Lawrence 1905. No coins of Æthelred are cited. There is an Æthelred I coin listed as a modern forgery (*SCBI* 29, no. 1117), but it is stylistically completely different and our belief is that the coin is almost certainly genuine.

⁹⁸ Blunt and Thompson 1955–57. Assuming this coin is contemporaneous with the St Petersburg coin, it is too early for Blunt and Thompson's 'Master Forger' of the mid-nineteenth century.

⁹⁹ Archibald 1998.

The earliest group, with stylistic antecedents in the Floriate Cross issue of Æthelberht, has been designated Group 1, the Four Line issue. This group has three defined obverse style variants, one of which is decidedly irregular. This latter strongly suggests production outside Canterbury in Wessex, in the mid-860s. In agreement with previous assessments, the Four Line issue is dated to the first year of Æthelred I's reign. This short-lived issue was soon replaced. In late 866, the Lunettes style, a heavier coinage, replaced earlier issues in Wessex and became the sole English coinage for the next eight to ten years, achieving a uniformity which would only be attained again more than a century later, with the Reform Coinage of Eadgar in c.973.

The second group, Æthelred I Group 2, Wessex Regular Lunettes, demonstrates distinctive obverse stylistic traits that are only found in Wessex and which do not appear on any coin of Burgred noted by the authors. These can be linked across the bulk of the surviving Lunettes coins of Æthelred I and form the core Wessex issues. The majority of the coins are well executed in two broad styles: variants i and ii, the Standard Bonnet issue, and variants iii and iv, the Bold Head issues. Variants i and ii continue through to Ælfred's reign, while variants iii and iv do not. Variant i coins are linked in style to the issues of Archbishop Ceolnoth and can, with confidence, be assigned to Canterbury. The Bold Head coins do not seem to have been a specific issue, but rather a bust style used by one or more Canterbury based die-cutters. Variants ii and iv are less well-executed versions of the Standard Bonnet and Bold Head issues. They probably derive from Canterbury, but it is possible that they may have been produced elsewhere. Whatever the circumstances of their production, they seem to have been produced concurrently with variants i and iii. There is no evidence that a separate mint existed at Rochester.

Following the introduction in Wessex of the Lunettes style penny, the hoard evidence clearly shows that the intended monetary union between the two kingdoms worked, with coins of Wessex and Mercia circulating together. The bulk of surviving coins of Æthelred I are of the Lunettes type. Die studies of 118 surviving Group 2 coins indicate this was a substantial coinage, with total production of up to one and one and a half million coins. In comparison with the Lunettes coinages of both Burgred and Ælfred, the coinage of Æthelred presents a relatively simple and compact series that, overall, seems to reflect a high standard of fiscal and production discipline.

The Lunettes coinage brought not only a shared design and common circulation with Mercia. The presence among Æthelred I's moneyers of men known to have also struck pennies for Burgred indicates that the monetary union saw some resource sharing in production as well. Some moneyers were probably based at London but were using Canterbury-supplied dies cut in the distinctive Group 2 Wessex Regular Lunettes style. However, support seems to have come from Mercia and not *vice versa*. There is little evidence of Mercian coins struck in Canterbury style and, even where there is, these coins can be linked to Mercian-controlled production in London.

Thirdly, the emergence of a sizable group of coins that do not fit with the styles found in Æthelred I's Wessex Lunettes coinage is confirmed by this paper. They are designated Æthelred I Group 3, Wessex Irregular Lunettes. In the past anomalous coins of different styles have been noted, but their apparent rarity and oddity has led them to be explained as imitations or posthumous issues. With twenty-five coins now known from thirteen moneyers and struck in a considerable diversity of styles, this group can no longer be so simply explained. A reassessment of the hoard evidence, the recognition that a similar body of coins exists in the Ælfred Lunettes series, as well as a consideration of wider political events, reinforces this, showing that these coins were in fact struck before the death of Æthelred I in 871.

It is proposed here that these coins should be seen as issues whose origin lies in the sharing of monetary production resources that was part of the wider adoption of a uniform coinage

by Mercia and Wessex. With similar weights to the Wessex Regular Lunettes coins, they seem to be official issues. However, they are sufficiently diverse and different in style to merit being regarded as irregular issues struck outside the normal Wessex monetary production processes. The key difference between these coins and the Wessex Regular Lunettes coins lies in their widespread use of Mercian style characteristics on the obverse, particularly in their legend forms, drapery and bust treatments. The fact that Lunettes reverse Type D is found only in this group is further evidence for their irregular nature. The moneyers provide few clues to assist in understanding why these coins were struck, as some are known as Wessex moneyers in Group 2, others are also known for Group 3 and for Burgred, some are known to be shared Wessex/Mercian moneyers, and others are only known from this Group. This mirrors a pattern of shared resources that is paralleled in the Wessex Regular coinage.

A stylistic assessment of the Wessex Irregular Lunettes coins identifies three variants: Wessex Lunettes variants v, vi and vii. Variant v, with the Type D Lunettes reverse, can be linked on stylistic grounds to the final, Floriate Cross issue of Æthelberht and the Four Line issue of Æthelred I, and also to a few distinctive coins of Burgred. For this reason, and because this style is not found in Ælfred's Lunettes issues, it is placed as the earliest of the irregular issues in 868–70. This paper assigns a London origin to these coins.

For variants vi and vii a later date is proposed. Variant vi was introduced around 870 at London, where an attempt was made to copy the Canterbury Wessex Standard Bonnet style on London-cut dies. This issue was continued under Ælfred after his accession in April 871. With a reverse die link between a variant vi coin and a variant vii coin, these two can be considered as parallel coinages issued in 870–71. Variant vii reflects a breakdown of normal production controls that can be explained by the Danish attacks in 870–71 on the middle Thames valley region of Wessex curtailing access to normal production derived from Canterbury. The crudeness and blundering seen in variant vii suggests that these were an emergency issue, probably struck away from the normal production centres using improvised dies in the Mercian style. A middle Thames valley location on the borders with Mercia is the favoured location for the minting of this coinage.

The related Lunettes coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth, all of which align with the Group 2 Wessex Regular Lunettes variant i (Bonnet – neat style), firmly place the commencement of the high quality Wessex Lunettes in the period before his death in 870. However, because so few coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth survive, it is not possible to tell whether the facing bust type preceded or followed the more conventional Lunettes type. Archiepiscopal production was in decline at this time, apparently culminating in a total lack of Lunettes coins being struck for Archbishop Æthelred after Ceolnoth's death in 870.

Finally, this study has sought to clarify the position of a number of other coins that seem to relate to Æthelred I. We believe the Lunettes Type D coin attributed to Æthelberht in the Blunt collection has undoubted affinities with the Æthelred Wessex Irregular Lunette variant v. On this basis it is provisionally identified as an irregular issue from an unlocated Mercian mint after 865. Four coins with the name of Burgred altered to Æthelred (one Lunettes Type A, two Type C and one Type D) are most probably eighteenth-century forgeries.

The wider Lunettes series remains intriguing, with many questions still to be addressed. Further work focusing on the obverse style of the Lunettes issues of Ælfred and Burgred will demonstrate the continuation of the patterns observed in Æthelred I's coinage, and provide further clues to the management and evolution of the first English uniform coinage.

CORPUS OF COINS OF ÆTHELRED I AND RELATED COINAGES

The authors must once more record their particular thanks to Hugh Pagan, who freely shared the very considerable information he has on his card index for this series. His comments and assessments have been unfailingly helpful. We would also like to thank Dr Stewart Lyon for letting us draw on his immense knowledge of this series. Our thanks also go to Tony Holmes in his capacity as Society Librarian for unfailingly guiding us to the right place in the RNS/BNS Library.

All coin details contained in the Corpus have been derived from actual coins, published sources, or photographs and coins in possession of the authors. The British Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum coins in particular were

seen and individually recorded. Careful vetting has been undertaken to establish the identity of each coin on the basis of provenance, weight and images where available. Three coins that have been published but not illustrated are placed in the unallocated category.

In addition the authors have noted a number of references in auction catalogues and sale lists (principally pre-1920) that cannot with certainty be linked to coins in the Corpus. In an attempt to identify whether any additional coins might exist, a summary of these references, assessed against hoard records up to and including Beeston Tor 1924, is given at the end of the entry on each moneyer in the Group 2 listing. In total we believe that up to twenty coins found before 1925 may be unrecorded in modern times.

Almost all the moneyers of the Wessex Group seem to have used dies differentiated by variations on the reverse (either by means of pellets or by such devices as transposing \diamond for \circ). There are some recurrent motifs that may reflect a special moneying project (notably the trefoils of pellets found on coins of Biarnmod, Burgnoth, Dudda, Dunn, Herewulf, Liabine, Mann (but this on an 'irregular' coin) and Torthmund, and the very complex, but consistent, patterns on the two coins of Ella). However it cannot be automatically assumed that pellets were used to differentiate dies, as the two similar dies of Ella demonstrate. A short note at the start of the section on each moneyer indicates whether the authors believe die-differentiation may have occurred on his coins. However it has not been possible to draw any general conclusions applicable to the coinage as a whole.

Coins in the Corpus are numbered in the following series:

Ae1: Æthelred I Group 1 – Four Line

Ae2: Æthelred I Group 2 – Wessex Regular Lunettes

Ae3: Æthelred I Group 3 – Wessex Irregular Lunettes

AeC: 'Curiosities'

Ce: Archbishop Ceolnoth.

Each coin is given a unique reference number that identifies it and the Group to which it belongs (for example, Ae1.3 is the third coin listed for Group 1, the Four Line type). Each entry next records to which obverse style the coin belongs and which legend style is used on it (so coin Ae1.3 is noted as var. ii/3, meaning it is a variant ii coin – Floriate Cross type bust – with legend style 3). See Table 18 for a full list of the legend styles. Die links are noted (Table 19), but have proved problematic in a few cases, since the act of striking a coin can alter the appearance of letters, especially near the rim.

Obverse dies have been identified by upper case letters (A, B, C, etc.) and reverse dies by lower case letters (a, b, c, etc.). The allocation of letters to dies has inevitably been arbitrary and the letters do not indicate the order in which the dies would have been used.

Note that in the Corpus –

* indicates that the coin is illustrated in the publication noted.

bt bought

wnr weight not recorded

TABLE 18. The coinage of Æthelred I. Summary of classification: obverse legend styles. Readings are in all cases taken from 7 o'clock.

<i>Obverse legend style</i>	<i>Legend</i>
1	REX+AE+DELRED
2	RE++AE+DELRED
3	REX+AE+DELRED
4	DREX+AE+DELRE
5	EDREX+AE+DELRE
6	+AE+DELREDREX
7	REX+E+DELRED
8	EX+E+DELREDR
9	REX+AE+DELREX-
10	REX+AE+DELREDM
11	REX+AE+DELRED trefoil of pellets
12	EL+DEREDMX-X
13	-RE+AE+DELRE
14	REX+AE+DELRE
15	XAEDEREDREX trefoil of pellets
16	+AE+DEREDREX
17	RE+A+DELRED
18	REX+A+DELRED
19	REA+DELRED
20	RE++AE+DELRE
21	DERED+E+REVI+

TABLE 19. The coinage of Æthelred I. Group 2 (Wessex Regular Lunettes) Corpus die analysis

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>No. of obv. dies</i>	<i>No. of rev. dies</i>	<i>Die duplicates</i>	<i>Die-links</i>
Biarneah (Including one coin of 'Berheah')	5	4	4	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Biarnmod	17	12	12	2 (1 pair)	I/i – I/j(2) – I variant/j – I/k – J/j – K/j – K/k
Biarnwine	4	4	4	Nil	Nil
Burgnoth	3	2	2	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Diarulf	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Dudda	8	7	7	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Dunn	6	6	6	Nil	Nil
Elbere	14	12	12	4 (2 pairs)	Nil
Ella	2	1	2	Nil	A/a – A/b ¹⁰⁰
Ethelred	14	11	10	4 (2 pairs)	C/c – C/h – I/h F/f – G/f
Herebald	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Herewulf	4	4	3	Nil	C/c – D/c
Lang	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Liabinc	7	6	6	2 (1 pair)	Nil
Lulla	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Mann	13	13	12	Nil	F/f – G/f
Manninc	9	9	8	Nil	B/b – C/b
Oshere	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Torhtmund	2	2	2	Nil	Nil
Wine	1	1	1	Nil	Nil
Wulfheard	1	1	1	Nil	Nil

GROUP 1 – FOUR LINE TYPE

Biarnmod¹⁰¹

Ael.1. *BMA* 409. Four Line. 1.04 g. Var. ii/3. *Rev.*: inverted trefoil, A, trefoil of pellets/BIARNM/ODMONE/TA. Weakly formed in area of mouth and chin on *obv.* T.G. Barnett bequest 1935.

Dies: A/a

Ael.2. *SCBI* 1, no. 541*. Four Line. 1.28 g. Var. i/4. *Rev.*: A with trefoils of pellets facing outwards/BIARNM/ODMONE/TA Ex Young 1936; *NCirc* Jan./Feb. 1924, item no. 27247; *NCirc* Nov./Dec. 1918, item no. 67290, described as EF and offered at £6 10s.; Carlyon-Britton (1913) 335*; Astronomer (1906) 150; Montagu (1895) 504*; Brice, Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 43.96% silver – illustrated Plate 26, no. 83*.

Dies: B/b

Ael.3. Rashleigh (1909) 213, bt Spink, £4 15s. Four Line. 1.01 g. *Obv.*: not known. *Rev.*: not known. Described as fine. Ex Trewhiddle hoard, with similar penny of Torhtmund (Ael.8, see below). Almost certainly not *BMA* 409.

Dies: not known

Cuthelm

Ael.4. *BMC* 44. Four Line. 1.28 g. Var. ii/4. *Rev.*: A with trefoils of pellets facing outwards/CV-ÐHEL/MMONE/TA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 48.1% silver – illustrated Plate 26, no. 81*.

Dies: A/a

Torhtmund

Ael.5. *BMC* 45. Four Line. 1.16 g. Var. ii, with two tufts in front of diadem instead of normal pellets/3. *Rev.*: A with trefoils of pellets facing outwards/TORHTM/VNDMON/ET Ex Gravesend hoard 1838. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 43.6% silver – illustrated Plate 26, no. 84*.

Dies: A/a

¹⁰⁰ See Corpus Postscript coin Ae2.60a (following Ae2.118). This adds a coin from a second die combination for Ella.

¹⁰¹ Although sometimes transcribed as Biarnmond, Biarnmod would seem more logical and ties in with the Lunettes series.

Ae1.6. *SCBI* 9, no. 244*. Four Line. 0.95g. Var. ii, with three (?) tufts in front of diadem/3. *Rev.*: A with trefoils of pellets facing outwards/ *TORHTMV/NDMONE* vertical line of three pellets/TA. Ex Browne Willis. This coin was given by Willis to Oxford between 1731 and 1758. Ruding 1840, Plate 15, Æthelred: 5*, but the weight is given as 16.0 gr (1.04g) and the line of pellets on the third line is omitted.¹⁰² Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 46.19% silver – illustrated Plate 26, no.82*.

Dies: B/b

Ae1.7. Stack (1999) 414*. Four Line. 1.09g. Var. ii, with three tufts in front of diadem/5. Similar dies to Ae1.6, but on third line vertical line of pellets omitted and NE not ligated. Unless there is a fifth Four Line coin of this moneyer, this is almost certainly 'A Gentleman in Scotland' (1905) 61, 'fine and very rare type', bt Fenton £1 18s.; Brown (1869) 354, bt Taylor; Devonshire (1844) 164, bt Cureton 1 guinea.

Dies: C/c

Ae1.8. Ryan (1952) 710. Four Line. Wnr, but chipped. Var. not determined/? *Rev.*: not known. Bt Spink, ex Wells, for £4 5s.; ex Drabble (1939) 381, described as 'rather chipped'; Brushfield (1929) 26b, sold for £1 18s. with a coin of Denewald (see Ae3.7 below); Carlyon-Britton (1916) 1643b, bt Brushfield £3 3s.; Rashleigh (1909) 214, bt G.H. Smith 15s.; ex Trewhiddle hoard, with similar coin of Biarnmod (Ae1.3, see above).

Dies: not known

Osric

Ae1.9. EMC 1999.0160*. Four Line. 1.17g. Var. iii/5. *Rev.*: +/OSRIC/MONETA/+ Found at Stanmore, Hants., 1999 (SU4628). Now in Fitzwilliam Museum collection.

Dies: A/a

GROUP 2 – WESSEX REGULAR LUNETTES TYPE

Biarneah

No evidence of deliberate reverse die variation except, interestingly, on the coin of 'Bearhea', which is considered to be by the moneyer Biarneah.

'Bearhea'

Ae2.1. *SCBI* 1, no. 538*. Lunettes A. 1.14g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MNO/BEARHEA/ETA. Bt Lincoln 1910. Metcalf and Northover 1985 noted this coin as 30.64% silver – illustrated Plate 27, no. 88*.

Dies: A/a

Biarneah

Ae2.2. *BMC* 2. Lunettes A. 1.34g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: HMO/BIARNEA/NETA Ex G. Fox; ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.3. *SCBI* 30, no. 295*. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: HMO/BIARNEA/NETA Dresser, bt Spink 1949.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.4. Bruun (1925) 60b. Lunettes A. 0.97g. Large piece missing. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: HMO/BIARNEA/NETA Ex Croydon hoard 1862 and Allen (but not in Allen (1898) sale). Illustrated in Corbett Anderson 1877 as number 6*. Almost certainly Pegg (1980) 16, sold for £50.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.5. Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha (1928) 1386*. Lunettes A. 1.17g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: HMO/BIARNEA/NETA Subsequently *NCirc* May 1976, offered at £450, *NCirc* July 1983, item no. 4736, offered at £1250, and CNG 76 (12 Sept. 2007), 1856*, sold for \$4200.

Dies: D/d

There are probably two other coins, one that could have emanated from Murchison and another badly broken specimen recorded in the Bruun sale. Neither can be traced to any hoard provenance.

Biarnmod

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.6. *BMC* 4. Lunettes A. 1.23g. Var. i, but die quite coarsely cut/1. *Rev.*: DMO/BIARNMO/NETA (letters are thicker than normal). Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.7. *BMC* 6. Lunettes A. 1.24g. Var. i/8. *Rev.*: ODMO/BIARNM/NETA Has the coppery appearance common to many Fox (and Gravesend) coins. Ex G. Fox 1838; ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.8. *SCBI* 9, no. 240*. Lunettes A. 1.25g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.6. Ex Fagan (but not in 1933 sale), bt Ashmolean. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 40.77% silver – illustrated Plate 27, no. 85*.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.9. *SCBI* 50, no. 190*. Lunettes A. 1.47g. Var. i/1, thicker lettering. *Rev.*: DMO/BIARNMO/NETA St Petersburg; ex Reichel 1858. In Reichel 1843 catalogue as 63b (the number after AeC1, the Centred Type C: see under 'Curiosities' below).

Dies: D/d

Ae2.10. Stack (1999) 410*, sold for £990. Lunettes A. 1.15g. Var. i/3, thicker lettering. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.9. Ex Spink 29 March 1990, item no. 229*, sold for £990; *NCirc* June 1975, item no. 5488*, offered at £550; Lockett

¹⁰² Neither Ruding's weights nor the engraving by Bazire can be guaranteed as entirely accurate.

(1955) 481*, sold for £10; *NCirc* Aug. 1928, item no. 80235, bt Lockett £7. Subsequently Baldwin (2 May 2002) 566*, estimated at £750–850.

Dies: E/e

Ae2.11. *NCirc* Sep. 1924, item no. 33698*, offered at £6. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/i. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.9.

Dies: F/f

Ae2.12. *BMC* 5. Lunettes A. 1.29 g (broken and somewhat corroded). Var. ii/i. *Rev.*: **DMO/BIARNMO/NETA** Ex G. Fox 1838; ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies G/g

Ae2.13. Stack (1999) 409*, sold for £715. Lunettes A. 0.99 g. Var. ii/i. *Rev.*: **DMON/BIARNMO/ETA** Ex Elmore Jones (1971) 42*, sold for £160; *NCirc* Dec. 1973, item no. 9879*, described as 'choice' and offered at £275.

Dies: H/h

Ae2.14. *BMC* 3. Lunettes A. 1.26 g. Var. iv/8. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.9. Very brassy appearance. Ex G. Fox 1838; ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: I/i

Ae2.15. *BMC* 7. Lunettes A. 1.21 g. Var. iv/8. *Rev.*: **DMON/BIARNMO/ETA** trefoil of pellets. Rather coppery appearance. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: I/j

Ae2.16. LaRiviere (2002) 995*, sold for £1495. Lunettes A. 1.26 g. Var. iv/8. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.15. Ex Münzen & Medaillen sale no. 92 (4 Oct. 2001), 1226; *SCMB* Apr. 1972, item no. H2707*, offered at £225; Drabble (1943) 834*. This seems to be the earliest state of obverse die I.

Dies: I/j

Ae2.17. *SCBI* 30, no. 297*. Lunettes A. 1.13 g. Var. iv/8. *Rev.*: **ODM/BIARNMO/ONETA** This seems to be a worn state of obverse die I. Ex Walter J. Zimmerman, bt Spink 1964; *NCirc* June 1938, item no. 71917, offered at £8; *NCirc* Sep. 1920, item no. 85569, 'perfect preservation', FDC, offered at £6 10s.; Montagu (1895) 509, bt Lincoln; Brice (1887); Bergne (1873) 148, bt Webster £4 6s.

Dies: I/k

Ae2.18. *SCBI* 30, no. 296*. Lunettes A. 1.26 g. Var. ii/8. American Numismatic Society; bt Spink 1952; Argyll (1949). *Rev.*: same as Ae2.14. This seems to be a later state of obverse die I. It would seem that damage to the obverse die has been repaired. There is a different treatment of the hair, which is enclosed in a bonnet.

Dies: I variant/j

Ae2.19. Ratto (1930) 2620*, Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. iv/8. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.15. *NCirc* Dec. 1922, item no. 11965*, offered at 6 guineas.

Dies: J/j

Ae2.20. British Museum 1975 11–26–10. Lunettes A. 1.16 g. Var. iv/1. Drapery variant with 2 extra vertical bars added to the normal single vertical bar in the central panel. Additional bars both shorter than the vertical 'norm' bar. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.15. Presented by H.H. King. *SCMB* Oct. 1960, item no. 7236*, offered at £22 10s. Ex Parsons (1954) 129*; ex Bruun (1925) 59*; 'Property of a Gentleman' (1903) 345.

Dies: K/j

Ae2.21. Ryan (1952) 709*, sold for £10 10s. Lunettes A. 1.30 g. Var. iv, but with same drapery pattern as Ae2.20/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.14. Ex Reynolds (1913) 43b, bt Spink.

Dies: K/k

Ae2.22. *SCBI* 42, no. 733*. Lunettes A. 0.54 g, badly chipped. Var. ii/nr. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.14. St Albans Museum; found Abbey Orchard, St Albans 1968.

Dies: L/l

Seven nineteenth-century hoard coins are unaccounted for (comprising five from the Gravesend hoard and two coins owned by Sir John Evans from the Croydon hoard) and the list shows twelve coins without a hoard provenance. Nineteenth-century sale references are matched by coins currently recorded.

Biarnwine

A moneyer whose reverse dies do not seem to be differentiated using pellets. However, the O and ◇ may act as differentiators.

Ae2.23. *SCBI* 42, no. 734*. Lunettes A. 0.87 g, slightly chipped. Var. i/i. *Rev.*: **NEMO/BIARNNI/NETA** St Albans Museum; found Abbey Orchard, St Albans 1968.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.24. *BMA* 434. Lunettes A. 1.28 g. Var. ii/i. *Rev.*: **NEMO/BIARNVI/NETA** Ex Beeston Tor hoard 1924.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.25. EMC 2004.0171*. Lunettes A. 0.41 g, severely chipped. Var. ii/i. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.24. Found at Roxton, Beds. (TL 1554). See also *BNJ* 75 (2005), Coin Register no. 158.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.26. *SCMB* July 1971, item no. H1012*; Nov. 1971, item no. H2214* (offered on both occasions at £195). Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. ii/i. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.25.

Dies: D/d

One other coin (NCirc June 1933, item no. 25098, and NCirc Nov. 1933, item no. 28206) not currently recorded. This moneyer otherwise not recorded for either the Gravesend or Croydon hoards.

Burgnoth

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.27. Allen (1898) 190c; ex Croydon No. 2 hoard 1862. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/3. Rev.: ÐMO/BVRGNO/NETA. Small chip at 10 o'clock. Illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 9*. Allen catalogue states that coin has been mended. Possibly NCirc Sept./Oct. 1917, item no. 55873, EF, offered at £3 (almost certainly the Croydon Hoard coin as the price is slightly lower than one would expect for a coin of this grade, which could indicate that it had been repaired). Almost certainly Bruun (1925) 60a, described as 'fine, but a piece broken out', no other details except reading BVRGNOÐ MONETA.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.28. BMC 8. Lunettes A. 1.13g. Var. ii/1. Rev.: trefoil of pellets ÐMO trefoil of pellets/BVRGNO/NETA trefoil of pellets. Provenance unknown.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.29. SCBI 30, no. 298*. Lunettes A. 0.92g. Var. ii/1, same dies as Ae2.29. Triton catalogue no. VII (12 Jan. 2004) 1246*, sold for \$1600; ex John Hopkins University, sold Bank Leu (Oct. 1994), 745*; J.W. Garrett 1942; W. Raymond 1922. Almost certainly Murchison (1866) 169.

Dies: B/b

Hoard coin traced. No other records outstanding.

Diarulf

A moneyer who appears to differentiate reverse dies.

Ae2.30. BMC 11. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. i/1. Rev.: FMON/DIARVL/ETA. Central lines of lunettes are pelleted lines. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

This is the sole hoard coin recorded. No other coins recorded.

Dudda (including coins of Dudd)

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Dudda

Ae2.31. SCBI 20, no. 724*. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. i, with two tufts of hair in front of diadem/6. Rev.: MON/DVDDA/ETA. NCirc July 1982, item no. 5724*, offered at £750; Mack, bt Spink 1955, not in Mack sales; NCirc May 1923, item no. 18608*, offered at £4 10s. and possibly overgraded as FDC.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.32. BMC 15. Lunettes A. 1.42g. Var. ii, with tuft of hair in front of single-banded diadem/6. Rev.: same as Ae2.31. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.33. BMC 14. Lunettes A. 1.19g. Var. ii, but bonnet not very distinct/3, big lettering. Rev.: MON/DVDDA/ETA. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.34. BMC 13. Lunettes A. 1.11g. Var. iii/3. Rev.: MON/DVDDA/ETA. Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.35. Lockett (1958) 2699*, sold for £20. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. iii/3. Rev.: similar to Ae2.34. Ex Evans, bt Spink £5 15s. Almost certainly ex Carlyon-Britton (1916) 926, bt Spink £2 18s. Subsequently Glendining (27 May 1987) 364*, sold for £580.

Dies: D/d

Ae2.36. SCBI 9, no. 241*. Lunettes A. 1.30g. Var. iv, but very coarse/1, thick letters. Rev.: similar to Ae2.35, but coarser. Glendining (6 Apr. 1954) 133, 'fine and rare', estimated at £8 10s. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 35.8% silver—illustrated Plate 27, no. 86*.

Dies: E/e

See also Postscript coin Ae2.36a (following Ae2.118).

Dudd

Ae2.37. Grantley (1944) 993 (sold for £3 12s. 6d.) Lunettes A. 1.21g (wt derived from Noble catalogue). Lunettes A. Var. i/1. Rev.: MON/÷DVDD vertical line of three pellets (although described as two in Grantley catalogue)/ETA. Rev. in very much more degraded style than *obv.* Ex Lawrence (1903). Almost certainly Allen (1898) 189a. Ex Croydon No. 2 hoard 1862; illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 2*. Subsequently Noble (1975) 384*, where described as 'slightly porous, otherwise good very fine', sold for £310.

Dies: F/f

Ae2.38. SCBI 27, no. 1944*. Lunettes A. Fragment (less than 30% of coin). Var. iii(?)1. Rev.: only visible (DV)DD vertical row of three pellets. Excavated at St Paul in the Bail church, Lincoln 1976. EMC 2000.0298. See Blackburn 1993.

Dies: G/g

Seven nineteenth-century hoard coins unaccounted for (six from Gravesend and one from Croydon) with only three coins without a pre-1900 provenance. One well-attested coin in EF condition no longer recorded is ex Crompton

Roberts (1920), item no. 81339, offered at £6; ex Montagu (1895) 506; ex Marsham-Townshend (1888) 140, bt Spink. This coin subsequently appeared in NCirc three times: Sep. 1921, item no. 9645; Mar. 1922, item no. 11967; and Mar. 1925, item no. 38443. The location of NCirc Jan. 1969, item no. 328, VFIEF, offered at £90 but not illustrated, is also currently unknown. This coin is said to read DVDA. This could of course be a mis-print or a mis-reading, although the latter would be surprising in view of the simple name.

Dunn

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.39. BMC 17. Lunettes A. 1.27 g. Var. i/1. Rev.: MON+DVNN/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.40. BMC 18. Lunettes A. 1.55 g. Var. i/1. Rev.: as Ae2.40, but trefoils of pellets pointing outwards at each end of first and third lines. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.41. SCBI 2, no. 558*. Lunettes A. 1.22 g. Var. i/3. Rev.: MON/DVNN/ETA Coats collection.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.42. SCBI 29, no. 1117*. Lunettes A. 1.30 g. Var. i/1. Rev.: similar to Ae2.41. Stated to be a modern forgery, but weight acceptable and style looks genuine. Coin is very similar in design and die-cutting to Ae2.41, but is clearly not from the same die. If it is a modern forgery, it is a most assured production. Ex Nelson 1953.

Dies: D/d

Ae2.43. SCBI 30, no. 299*. Lunettes A. 0.97 g. Var. ii/1. Rev.: similar to Ae2.39. American Numismatic Society; ex D.P. Dickie 1967; ex Drabble (1943) 835, sold for £5 5s.; ex Bascom (1914) 58*, bt Baldwin £2 18s.

Dies: E/e

Ae2.44. Stack (1999) 411*. Lunettes A. 1.18 g. Var. ii/1. rev. similar to Ae2.39 but has trefoils of pellets at each end of first and third line. Ex Lovejoy (1997) 1426.

Dies: F/f

Four hoard coins not currently recorded, including two owned by Sir John Evans from the Croydon hoard. Four coins in the above list lack a pre-1900 provenance. Interestingly there are also two reverses not recorded in the above list: MON/DVNN/ETA (Crompton Roberts (1920), item no. 81338; subsequently NCirc Sep. 1921, item no. 96451, and NCirc Mar. 1925, item no. 38443) and .MON/DVNN/ETA. (NCirc June 1913, item no. 6017, and NCirc Mar. 1916, item no. 39367). The location of these is unknown. Including these coins, it is possible that three or four additional coins may exist.

Elbere

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.45. BMC 22. Lunettes A. 1.29 g. Var. i/1. Rev.: .MON/ELBERE/ETA. Ex Miles (1820); Barker (1803) 468. Almost certainly ex Tyssen (1802). 19.4 gr (1.25 g, but all Ruding weights seem to be around 0.5 gr light, which would bring weight up to that of BMC 22). Ruding 1840, Plate 15, Æthelred 3*. Also quite possibly Fountaine (1705), 32*.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.46. Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Gallery. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/1. Rev.: same as Ae2.53. Ex Walmsgate, Lincs., hoard 1985.

Dies: H/h

Ae2.47. Blunt 340*. Lunettes A. 1.21 g. Var. iv, but very anomalous bust, with die occlusions to face and head, but standard drapery/3. Rev.: MON/ELBERE/ETA in large letters. Ex Lockett (1955) 482, sold for £9 10s.; Wilcox (1908) 6, bt Lockett £4.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.48. SCBI 1, no. 539*. Lunettes A. 1.12 g. Var. i/3. Rev.: MON/ELBERE/ETA Ex Henderson (1933), purchased Spink 1895 (also illustrated in North 1994*); possibly NCirc Dec. 1892, item no. 1410, a VF coin offered at £2 5s. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 32.42% silver – illustrated Plate 27, no. 89*.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.49. SCBI 9, no. 242*. Lunettes A. 0.93 g (chipped). Var. i/1. Rev.: MON/ELBERE/ETA in thick lettering. Bt 1951; ex Lawrence (1951) 227, bt Baldwin for £4 5s. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 23.22% silver – illustrated Plate 27, no. 91*.

Dies: D/d

Ae2.50. SCBI 24, no. 379*. Lunettes A. 1.19 g, but coin struck on irregular flan. Var. i/1. Rev.: MON/ELBERE/ETA. Taunton Museum, catalogued in 1962, original provenance uncertain.

Dies: E/e

Ae2.51. Drabble (1939) 379*. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/3. Rev.: similar to Ae2.48.

Dies: F/f

Ae2.52. Marshall (2004) 42*. Lunettes A. 1.12 g, but edge chipped below bust. Surface crack on rev. Var. i/1. Rev.: similar to Ae2.48. Ex NCirc Oct. 1942, item no. 16359, for £1 15s.

Dies: G/g

Ae2.53. BMC 20. Lunettes A. 1.53 g. Var. iii/1. Rev.: MON/ELBERE/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: H/h

Ae2.54. *BMA* 436. Lunettes A. 1.28g. Var. iii/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.48. Ex Evans; Croydon hoard 1862 (illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 11*).

Dies: I/i

Ae2.55. *BMC* 21. Lunettes A. 1.35g. Var. iii/1. *Rev.*: MONE/ELBERE/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: J/j

Ae2.56. *SCBI* 16, no. 139*. Lunettes A. 1.43g. Var. iii/1. *Rev.*: as Ae2.53. Norweb (1986) 778*, sold for £1700; Brand; Carlyon-Britton (1913) 334*, bt Spink £3 3s. Subsequently *NCirc* May 1990, item no. 2478*, offered at £1800, and Stack (1999) 412*, sold for £2860.

Dies: K/k

Ae2.57. Dr Bird (1974) 90*, sold for £360. Lunettes A. 1.32g. Var. iii/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.56, but middle line reads ELBERE.

Dies: L/l

Ae2.58. Goodacre (on permanent loan to Ashmolean Museum). Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. iii/3. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.57. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 24.94% silver – illustrated Plate 27, no. 90*.

Dies: L/l

Four nineteenth-century hoard coins not currently recorded (two each from Gravesend and Croydon), but eight coins above lack pre-1890 provenances.

See also Postscript coins Ae2.46a and Ae2.52a (following Ae2.118).

Ella

A moneyer with the most complex reverses in the Wessex series. Ella has two reverses (a and b) that are definitely of the same design, but from different dies, indicating that in this instance at least a privy marking system to differentiate dies did not operate. With such a small sample it is impossible to assess whether die differentiation was used.¹⁰³

Ae2.59. *BMC* 23. Lunettes A. 1.23g. Var. ii/3. *Rev.*: :MON/+ELLA five pellets/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.60. *BMA* 437. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. ii/3. *Rev.*: very similar to Ae2.60. Ex Beeston Tor hoard 1924.

Dies: A/b

See also Postscript coin Ae 2.60a (following Ae2.118).

Ethelred

A moneyer with no immediately obvious reverse die variation except for O and Ø.

Ae2.61. *BMC* 24. Lunettes A. 0.99g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MONE-DELRED/ETA Ex Sotheby, Misc. Sale (1842) 49. Possibly Fountaine (1705) 33*.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.62. *SCBI* 24, no. 380*. Lunettes A. 1.26g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.61. Taunton Museum, ex H. Norris 1890.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.63. Rose (1974) 79*, sold for £380. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.64. Ex Macfayden (1925) 31, sold for £2 18s.; Anthony (1871). Almost certainly *NCirc* Oct. 1911, item no. 92057, described as FDC and offered at £4 10s.; *NCirc* June 1913, item no. 6019, described as EF and offered at £4; *NCirc* Mar. 1916, item no. 39369, described as EF and offered at £3 15s. Possibly ex Christmas (1864) 173, bt Gibbs, described as 'very beautiful', and Croydon No. 2 hoard 1862.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.64. *BMC* 27. Lunettes A. 1.29g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: DMO/E+DELRE/ETA Unknown provenance.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.65. *BMC* 25. Lunettes A. 1.15g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.61. Ex Thane (1819).

Dies: D/d

Ae2.66. *NCirc* July 1970, item no. 8289*, VF and offered at £100. Lunettes A. 0.97g, with extensive chip across right side. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.65. Also *NCirc* Jan. 1971, item no. 398*, offered at £85. Subsequently Spink (8 Oct. 1980) 871*, estimate £300. Possibly ex Henry Clark (1898) 15, 'edge partly off'.

Dies: E/e

Ae2.67. *BMC* 26. Lunettes A. 1.32g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MONE-DELRED/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: F/f

Ae2.68. *SCBI* 50, no. 191*. Lunettes A. 0.98g, pierced. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.67. St Petersburg; ex Reichel 1858 (no. 100 in his inventory).

Dies: G/g

Ae2.69. National Museum of Ireland. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.67. Ex Burgred hoard (Ireland).

Dies: G/g

Ae2.70. *BMA* 438. Lunettes A. 1.23g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.61, but middle line reads E+DELRED Ex Evans; Croydon hoard 1862. Illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 12*.

Dies: H/h

¹⁰³ The Postscript coin (Ae2.60a) adds a second obverse and third reverse die. On this coin the reverse die is different.

Ae2.71. Burstal (1912) 50*, sold for £7 10s. Lunettes A. 1.28 g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.61. Almost certainly the second Evans coin mentioned in Corbet Anderson 1877. The impression is given that they are die duplicates. This is certainly true for the obverse but the reverse, although stylistically similar, is from a different die.

Dies: G/h

Ae2.72. Carlyon-Britton (1918) 1642*. Lunettes A. 1.10 g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.61. Bt Spink. Possibly O'Hagan (1907) 320, bt Spink £3 8s.; ex Samuel Smith (1895) 15, bt O'Hagan.

Dies: I/h

Ae2.73. *SCBI* 50, no. 192*. Lunettes A. 1.14 g, chipped. Var. ii just/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.61. St Petersburg; ex Reichel 1858.

Dies: J/i

Ae2.74. *SCBI* 20, no. 725*. Lunettes A. 1.34 g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.61. Ex Mack (1975) 110*, sold for £320; *NCirc* Mar. 1924, item no. 28872, offered at £3 10s.; Dunsforth Church find. Described in Mack sale catalogue as 'heavily patinated with verdigris, otherwise very fine'.

Dies: K/j

There are probably two Wessex Regular style nineteenth-century hoard coins, both from the Gravesend hoard, not accounted for here. These may be included in the above as three coins lack pre-1890 provenances.

Herebeald

A moneyer who, from the very limited evidence, seems to have differentiated dies.

Ae2.75. *BMC* 28. Lunettes A. 1.17 g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: LDMO/HEREBEA/NETA Ex Tyssen (1802); ex Hodson (1794).

Dies: A/a

Ae2.76. A.H. Baldwin private collection. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. nr/1. *Rev.*: as Ae2.76, but with pellet at end of third line. Possibly ex John Bennington and Croydon hoard 1862.

Dies: not known.

Two Gravesend hoard coins (one illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 5) and another from the Dunsforth Church find have not been traced, but the latter coin is probably NCirc Mar. 1924, item no. 2887, 'much broken'.*

Herewulf

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.77. *BMC* 29. Lunettes A. 1.21 g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: /MON three pellets above/HEREVLF/ETA Ex Cuff 1839.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.78. *SCBI* 20, no. 726*. Lunettes A. 0.98 g, edge chipped at 1 o'clock. Var. i/5. *Rev.*: /MON/HEREVLF/ETA. Bt Spink 1950, not in Mack sales. Previously Peace (1893) 33, bt Verity? Subsequently Spink sale (31 Mar. 1982), lot 58*, offered at £250, however this coin seems to have become extensively damaged since its illustration in the Mack catalogue.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.79. Goldberg Coins (16 Feb. 2001), 3554*, estimate \$400–550; ex Benson collection. Lunettes A. Wnr, but edge chipped. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: MÖN/HEREVLF/ETA.

Dies: C/c

Ae2.80. Lyons. Lunettes A. 1.11 g, but slightly chipped. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.80. Boyd (2005) 781* and Lord Airlie (1897) 3 (part).

Dies: D/c

For a moneyer entirely missing from the major finds a surprising number of coins are noted.

Lang

No evidence of die variation being used by this moneyer.

Ae2.81. *BMA* 439. Lunettes A. 1.17 g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MON/HLANG/ETA Ex Beeston Tor hoard 1924.

Dies: A/a

A unique coin for this moneyer.

Liabinc (including Leab)

With the exception of Ae2.82, a moneyer who does not seem to have used differentiated reverse dies.

Liabinc

Ae2.82. Drabble (1939) 380*. Lunettes A. 1.15 g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MON/LIABINC/ETA trefoil of pellets. Subsequently Bruun Rasmussen sale (11 Dec. 2006) 5433*, sold for £2550.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.83. Lockett (1960) 3628*. Lunettes A. 1.01 g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MON/LIABINC/ETA Ex Maish (1918) 23*, sold for £3; *NCirc* July 1918, item no. 64610, offered at £4. Subsequently Clonterbrook Trust (1974) 29*.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.84. *BMC* 30. Lunettes A. 1.21 g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.83. Ex G. Fox 1838 (almost certainly Gravesend hoard 1838).

Dies: C/c

Ae2.85. *BMA* 440. Lunettes A. 1.14g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.83. Ex Morgan and Evans, acquired 1915.

Dies: D/d

Ae2.86. Murdoch (1903) lot 70*, bt Spink £7 5s. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.83. Subsequently *SCMB* Mar. 1988, item no. E40, offered at £700*; *NCirc* Nov. 1986, item 7590*, offered at £700; *SCMB* Nov. 1972, item no. H3364, offered at £150*; *SCMB* June 1972, item no. H2877*, offered at £160; *NCirc* Oct. 1968, item 7320*, offered at £95; *NCirc* Feb. 1906, item no. 24345, described as EF, for £7 10s.; *NCirc* June 1904, item no. 5177, at £8; *NCirc* July 1903, item no. 94478, offered at £9 and described as FDC.

Dies: E/e

Ae2.87 *SCMB* Jan. 1968, item no. N1685. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: same dies as Ae2.86. Ex Westminster Abbey chalice.

Dies: E/e

Leab

Ae2.88. Dix Noonan Webb sale (8 Oct. 2002) 1018, sold for £310. Lunettes A. 0.82g. top of obv. badly chipped. Var. i/1. *Obv.* similar to Ae2.82. *Rev.*: .MON/+LEAB trefoil of pellets/ETA Almost certainly *NCirc* Mar. 1924, item no. 28943, offered at £1, and *NCirc* Apr. 1927, item no. 66992, offered at £1 10s.

Dies: F/f

One Croydon 1862 hoard coin not traced, but five coins have no nineteenth-century provenance. One coin seems to come from the early nineteenth century, being first recorded in the Rich (1828) sale; the others are later.

Lulla

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.89. CNG Triton V (16 Jan 2002), sold for \$1900. Lunettes A. 1.25g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MÖN/+LVLLA/ETA Ex Baldwin 18 (13 Oct 1998) 1667*, withdrawn; Frankfurt AK106 (1965); Frankfurt AK105 (1965); *SCMB* Aug. 1962, item no. H1109*, offered at £22. Also possibly Nott (1842) 'LVLLA MONETA'. If this link is correct it would make this a pre-Gravesend hoard coin as only one coin of this moneyer is known from the Gravesend hoard and that is in the British Museum. Subsequently CNG sale 66 (13 May 2004) 197*, sold for \$2600.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.90. *BMC* 31. Lunettes A. 1.17g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: MÖN/LVLLA three vertical pellets/ETA. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

No additional coins recorded.

Mann

Despite the variety of dies this moneyer seems to exhibit only limited reverse die variation.

Ae2.91. *BMC* 32. Lunettes A. 1.27g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MON/MANN/ETA Ex G. Fox 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.92. Lockett (1960) 3629. Lunettes A. 1.11g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANN/ETA Ex H.C. Miller (New York 1920). Subsequently Baldwin 1974 and Spink sale (12 July 2002) 15*, sold for £1100.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.93. Parsons (1929) 90*, bt Baldwin £2. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i, but not conventionally cut – tunic central panel has two vertical rows of three pellets either side of a central vertical bar/3. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets MOH trefoil of pellets/+MAHH/trefoil of pellets ETA trefoil of pellets. All in bold lettering. Ex *NCirc* Nov. 1912, item no. 107192, offered at £3, but stated that the last set of pellets on the first line is a pair (they can easily be mistaken as such).

Dies: C/c

Ae2.94. Watters (1913) 46* (*obv.* only; *rev.* from Rasmussen). Lunettes A. 1.30g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.91. Ex Sir J. McLean ('Astronomer') (1906) 152; Marsham-Townshend (1888), bt McLean for £5, 'very fine'; Cuff (1854) 445, bt Chaffers £1 (but not in Chaffers's 1857 sale). Subsequently offered for sale six times in *NCirc* between Apr. 1927 and May 1937.¹⁰⁴ Bruun Rasmussen (11 Dec 2006), item no. 5434*, sold for €3600. Possibly, in view of condition. *NCirc* July 1917, item no. 54174, 'a superb penny in perfect condition' offered at £5 10s.

Dies: D/d

Ae2.95. Grantley (1944) 995, sold for £2 8s. Lunettes A. Wnr. Slightly chipped. (Wt of 1.77g given in *NCirc* Dec. 1990 must be wrong; possibly 1.27g). Var. i/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.96. Almost certainly ex Corbally Brown (1935) 351; Mann (1917) 152, bt Gantz £2 5s., 'fine and rare, but a little chipped'. Subsequently *NCirc* Dec. 1990, item no. 7556*, offered at £700.

Dies: E/e

Ae2.96. Slaney (2005) 1319*, sold for £1900. Lunettes A. 1.24g. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: .MON/MANN/ETA. Ex *NCirc* Feb. 1995, item no. 102; Cassal (1924) 10, 'very fine and rare'; Young (1881); Bergne (1873) 149; Christmas (184) 174, described as 'very beautiful', bt Bergne; Croydon hoard 1862.

Dies: F/f

¹⁰⁴ Apr. 1927, item no. 66993, offered at £7; June 1929, item no. 88150, offered at £6 10s.; Apr. 1931, item no. 6417, offered at £4 15s.; Mar. 1932, item no. 14445, offered at £5; Nov. 1933, item no. 28205, offered at £6 10s.; and May 1937, item no. 61149, offered at £5 10s.

Ae2.97. *BMC* 34. Lunettes A. 1.16g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.96. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: G/f

Ae2.98. *BMC* 35. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.92. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: H/g

Ae2.99. *BMC* 36. Lunettes A. 1.15g, slightly chipped. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: as Ae2.92, but first and third lines have trefoils of pellets at each end pointing outwards. Thane (1819).

Dies: I/h

Ae2.100. *SCBI* 1, no. 540*. Lunettes A. 1.32g. Var. ii/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.92. Duncanson (1930); ex Smart; Sainthill (1870) 163. illustrated Sainthill 1844, Plate 20*; Southampton hoard 1836. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 23.91% silver – illustrated Plate 27, number 92*.

Dies: J/f

Ae2.101. *BMC* 33. Lunettes A. 1.28g. Var. iii/1. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.91, but As barred and pellets at beginning and end of first and third line. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: K/j

Ae2.102. Lockett (1955) 483, sold for £12. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. iii/1. *Rev.*: MÖN/MA.NN/ETA. Ex Baldwin, stock number 95720 (bt 1910), sold for £4; ex Allen (1898) 188; Croydon hoard 1862. Illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as Number 1*. *NCirc* July 1917, item no. 54174, 'a superb penny, in perfect condition' offered at £5 10s. Subsequently *NCirc* Nov. 1977, item no. 11446*, offered at £650; *NCirc* May 1978, item no. 6339*, offered at £750; *NCirc* Oct. 1989 item no. 5348*, offered at £900.

Dies: L/k

Ae2.103. Stack (1999) 413*, bt Hall for £792. Lunettes A. 1.43g. Var. iv, but with double diadem at 30° rather than 45° and slight variation with extra pellets in drapery/3. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.91, but As unbarred. Ex *SCMB* July 1986, item no.E260; *NCirc* Oct. 1967 6449*, offered at £100. Subsequently Hall (2006) 37*, sold for £2000.

Dies: M/l

Three nineteenth-century hoard coins and pre-1900 records largely match modern references. EMC 2001.0939 (with reverse possibly the same as or similar to Ae2.95, weighing 1.26g) is almost certainly a Group 2 coin, but no image is available.

Manninc

Ruding 1840 separates Maninc and Manninc as different moneyers, but the range of spellings suggests only one moneyer is involved. Such die variation as exists seems to be focussed on the epigraphy of the moneyer's name, at least five different arrangements being noted.

Ae2.104. *BMC* 38. Lunettes A. 1.32g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANINC/ETA Ex Young (dealer), otherwise provenance unknown.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.105. *BMC* 39. Lunettes A. 1.30g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANINC/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

Ae2.106. Lyons. Lunettes A. 1.14g, small chip. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: same as Ae2.105. Hopkins (2002) 24*, sold for £600. Possibly *NCirc* Feb. 1906, item no. 24346 (although the coin is described as EF, it is offered at £3 10s., which is somewhat cheaper than the other three Æthelred I coins on the same list and the price could be discounted because of the small chip).

Dies: C/b

Ae2.107. *BMC* 408. Lunettes A. 1.03g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: as Ae2.104, but moneyer reads MANNINC T.G. Barnett bequest.

Dies: D/c

Ae2.108. Neild (1993) 417*. Lunettes A? Wnr. Var. i/3. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANINC/ETA Ex Sotheby (13 Feb. 1986) 26*, estimated at £350–450. *NCirc* Sep. 1924, item no. 33699; *NCirc* Nov. 1917, item no. 57619; and *NCirc* June 1904, item no. 5178 all have this same unique reverse reading and are probably this coin.

Dies: E/d

Ae2.109. *SCBI* 4, no. 668*. Lunettes A. 1.34g. Var. i/1. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANNINC/ETA Ex Montagu (1895) 510.

Dies: F/e

Ae2.110. *BMC* 37. Lunettes A. 1.19g. Var. ii/3. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANNINC/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: G/f

Ae2.111. *SCBI* 11(i), no. 41*. Lunettes A. 1.34g. Var. ii, with single band diadem/1, in large letters. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANNINC/ETA in large bold letters. Ex Baldwin; almost certainly ex *NCirc* Sep. 1919, item no. 74706, 'unusually fine' and stated to be from 'noted collections' (e.g. Carlyon-Britton, etc.), offered at £5 10s.

Dies: H/g

Ae2.112. *SCBI* 9, no. 243*. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. iii, but with a coarse style bust/3. *Rev.*: MÖN/MANNINC/ETA Ex Fagan (but not in 1933 sale).

Dies: I/h

Two Gravesend hoard coins not currently recorded. Early references largely match coins listed above.

Oshere

From the very limited sample available, there is no evidence that this moneyer used reverse die variation.

Ae2.113. *SCBI* 50, no. 193. Lunettes A. 1.20g. Var. i/3. Rev.: MON/OSHERE/ETA St Petersburg; ex Reichel 1858; bt by Reichel 1843 (his inventory 101); Dawson (1842) 236, bt Till.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.114. *BMC* 40. Lunettes A. 1.10g. Var. ii/3. Rev.: MON/OSHERE/ETA Ex G. Fox 1838; almost certainly Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

One coin ex BM Duplicates 9 May 1842 337a, bt Danziger £1 13s, not recorded since sale.

Torhtmund

A moneyer with differentiated reverse dies.

Ae2.115. *BMC* 41. Lunettes A. 1.12g. Var. ii/1. Rev.: trefoil of pellets above M NDMO/TORHTMV/ETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae2.116. *BMC* 42. Lunettes A. 1.21g. Var. ii/1. Rev.: NDM/TORHTMV/ONETA Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: B/b

A Beeston Tor hoard coin not traced.

Wine

From the only sample available there is no evidence this moneyer used reverse die variation.

Ae2.117. Lockett (1955) 484, sold for £11. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. ii/1. Rev.: MON/+VVINE/ETA Ex Sir John Evans; Croydon hoard 1862 (illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 13*).

Dies: A/a

Possibly two other coins untraced, but could be Wessex Irregular style.

Wulfear

From the sole example available this moneyer seems to have used reverse die variation.

Ae2.118. Blunt 341*. Lunettes A. Wnr. chipped. Var. iv, but very coarse/5? Rev.: DOM/VVLFER/ETA (trefoil of pellets. Ex Wells (1949); Gantz (1941) 1027, sold for £1 14s.; *NCirc* Apr. 1927, item no. 66996, EF offered at £3 10s.; *NCirc* Nov. 1923, item no. 25265, EF and offered at £3; *NCirc* Nov. 1919, item no. 76233, 'Perfect, but for a slight chip,' offered at £5; Allen (1898) 190b; Croydon hoard 1862 (illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 3*). *NCirc* Apr. 1927 hints that the coin is ex Carlyon-Britton.

Dies: A/a

Single hoard coin noted. EMC 2001.0940, with rev. DMO/VVLFA/ETA and weighing 1.13 g, could be a Group 2 or 3 coin, but no image is available.

GROUP 2 POSTSCRIPT

Since writing this paper four additional Group 2 coins have come to light. These are recorded here but have not been included in the study, their discovery being too late for this. Their presence makes no difference to the conclusions of the paper.

Dudda

Ae2.36a. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, accession no. 1993 C 481. Lunettes A. 1.27g. Var. ii/3. Rev.: not known. Ian Donal Finney bequest, 1993; bt Seaby, 19 Feb. 1951.

Dies: H/h

Elbere

Ae2.46a. EMC 2006.0340*. Lunettes A. Wnr, extensive area of coin missing. *Obv.*: same as BMC 22. *Rev.*: similar to Ae2.45. Found Kelvedon, Essex.

Dies: A/m

Ae2.52a. Grantley (1944) 994, sold for £4 15s. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. i/1. Rev.: MON/ELBERE/ETA Subsequently Larsen (1972) 15*. Larsen catalogue states coin is ex Lincoln. This may be the Lincoln 'Number One' collection, dispersed 1934.¹⁰⁵

Dies: M/m

Elja

Ae2.60a. *NCirc* Feb. 2007, item no. HS2716*, sold for £480. Lunettes A. 1.03g, extensively chipped. Var. ii/3. Rev.: MON/+ELLA five pellets/ETA Almost certainly Sotheby, 6 Apr. 1899, 221, chipped, bt Lincoln.

Dies: B/c

GROUP 3 – WESSEX IRREGULAR LUNETTES TYPE**Biarneah**

Ae3.1. Carlyon-Britton (1916) 925*, bt Daniels £2 18s. Lunettes A. 1.04g. Var. vii, with a small crescent in front of diadem pellet/2. Rev.: trefoils of pellets at each end MON/BERIE (or HE)AM/trefoils of pellets at each end ETA

¹⁰⁵ See Manville and Robertson 1986, 377.

Lettering, especially on *obv.*, is thicker than normal and the head is cut to a style very similar to Ae3.3. Ex Shand (1949) 312, sold for £9 5s.; Waterloo Bridge Find (see *BNJ* 1906, plate facing p. 59, this coin illustrated as 23 *obv.** and 24 *rev.**).¹⁰⁶

Dies: A/a

Ae3.2. MacKay coll. no. 07/04. Lunettes A. 1.17g. Var. vi, bust with double inner circle and elaborate treatment of drapery/2. *Rev.*: HMO/BIARHEA/NETA. DNW Sept. 2007, 185*; ex Stack (1999) 408*; ex *NCirc* Sep. 1989, item no. 4595, offered at £975*; Ridgemount (1989) 51*, unsold; Lockett 2700*, bt Sieffert £22; Grantley (1944) 992, sold for £9; Andrews (1934); Shepherd (1885) 67, sold for £2 19s.; ex Durrant, 1870.

Dies: B/b

Ae3.3. BMC 1. Lunettes A. 1.00g. Var. vi, but non-standard drapery as there are two instead of one downward lines in bottom of central panel/2. *Rev.*: HMO/BIARNEA/NETA. Coin appears to be coppery in colour and almost certainly debased. Tyssen (1802); ex Southgate (1795). Also illustrated Ruding 1840, Plate 15, Æthelred: 4*.

Dies: C/c

Dealla

Ae3.4. BMC 9. Lunettes A. 1.26g. Var. vii, but two rows of hair and bust drapery standard/10.¹⁰⁷ *Rev.*: MON/DEALLA/ETA. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838. On a small flan. Pagan believed this coin to be a contemporary copy, see Pagan 1966, 17, but he now accepts our view that it is more probably official with weight and style consistent with the Irregular Wessex var. vii. Illustrated in North 1994 at Plate 10*.

Dies: A/a

Denewald

Ae3.5. BMC 10. Lunettes A. 1.22g. Var. vii, drapery: central panel, one vertical bar only/18. *Rev.*: DMO/DEN VAL/NETA. Ex Tyssen (1802). Also illustrated Ruding 1840, Plate 15, Æthelred: 1*.

Dies: A/a

Ae3.6. BMC 435. Lunettes A. 1.26g. Var. vii, drapery: outer panels, two hooped lines, central panel one vertical line/19. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets DMOII/DEHPAL/inverted trefoil of pellets ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. Ex Morgan; Evans; Croydon hoard 1862 (illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 10*).

Dies: B/b

Ae3.7. Carlyon-Britton (1918) 1643a. VF, bt Brushfield. Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. vii, drapery outer panels, three hooped lines; central panel, one vertical bar topped by a small horizontal/11. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets MON/DENEPALD/inverted trefoil of pellets ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. Ex Allen (1898) 190a; Croydon hoard 1862 (illustrated in Corbet Anderson 1877 as number 4*). Subsequently Brushfield (1929) 26a, 'a fine coin', sold with a Four-Line Torhtmund (see Ae1.8 above) for £1.18s., and Walker (1942) 71, sold for £2 10s.

Dies: C/c

Dudda (and Dudd)

Dudda

Ae3.8. BMC 16. Lunettes A. 0.92g, chipped. Var. vii, but non-standard drapery, central panel has two vertical bars topped with a horizontal one/13 (an illiterate inscription). *Rev.*: MOH/DVDDA/trefoil of pellets ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. Very base, on small flan. Miles (1820). Pagan 1966, 16, believes this coin to be a contemporary forgery, but the authors believe that it is within the standards and style of a Wessex Irregular issue.

Dies: A/a

Ae3.9. Blunt 339*. Lunettes A. 1.20g. Var. vi, distinctive bonnet, but with non-standard features to head and tunic that has three vertical bars in bottom of central panel/21 (an illiterate inscription). *Rev.*: MON/DVDDA/ETA: in tall thin letters. *Obv.* is illiterate and degraded while the *rev.* is of more conventional style.

Dies: B/b

Dudd

Ae3.10. SCBI 2, no. 557*. Lunettes A. 1.16g. Var. vi/3. *Rev.*: trefoils of pellets facing outwards MON/DVDD vertical row of three pellets/ETA with trefoils of pellets at each end. This is from a London-cut die that makes some attempt to reflect the Wessex bust style. Hunterian Collection, listed in Charles Combe's inventory (but *rev.* not exactly corresponding). Same *obv.* die as Ae3.19 and *rev.* die seems to share similarities also.

Dies: C (linked to Liabinc – in the name of Lifinc – die B)/c

Ae3.11. EMC 2006.0344. Lunettes A. 1.02g, slight chip. Var. vii/20. *Rev.*: as Ae3.10. Found Cambs., Sep. 2006. Sold by Timeline Originals, Dec. 2006, for £1450.

Dies: D/c

¹⁰⁶ The *rev.* of 23 and *obv.* of 24 are Carlyon-Britton (1913) 337 (of Ælfred)

¹⁰⁷ Montagu (1895) 511, a coin of Wine (Ae 3.25 below), states that the Rev. Shepherd 'considered it not improbably to have been struck by Alfred's brother-in-law, Ethelred, Duke of Mercia; the M on the *obv.* being the initial letter of Merciorum'. This view is no longer held.

Dunn

Ae3.12. *BMC* 19. Lunettes A. 1.29g. Var. vii, distinctly Mercian 'Horizontal' style bust with double diadem and swept back hair in lines ending in pellets/14. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets MON trefoil of pellets/4DVNN stack of three pellets/inverted trefoil of pellets ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. (This pattern is very similar to two 'Wessex' coins of Dudda: Ae2.38 and Ae3.10). Ex Tyssen (1802); Southgate (1795). Also Ruding 1840, Plate 15, Æthelred: 2*. Dies: A/a

Ealhmund

Ae3.13. *BMA* (no stated number). Lunettes D. 0.89g, partial coin, c.60% extant. Var. v/15. *Rev.*: HMON/EALHMD/ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. Lawrence noted this coin as 'Mercian' and assigned it, incorrectly, to Ælfred. It is now in the Æthelred trays in the British Museum. Pagan also noted the unusual way in which the moneyer's name is written across three lines.¹⁰⁸ Ex L.A. Lawrence (d.1949). Dies: A/a

Ethelgar¹⁰⁹

Ae3.14. MacKay coll. no. 93/02. Lunettes D. 0.94g, chipped. Var. v/16. *Rev.*: RMO in square of 4 pellets N/E ÆELGA/ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. Ex C.J. Martin 1993; *NCirc* Nov. 1990, item no. 6819*, offered at £650. North 1994, Plate 10, 16*. Dies: A/a

Ae3.15. Dix Noonan Webb (21 Mar. 1995) 479*, sold for £270. Lunettes D. 0.99g, chipped. Var. v/16. *Rev.*: M+N/E ÆELGAR/ETA Ex C.J. Martin Nov. 1990 (acquired by Martin, Sep. 1990). Dies: B/b

Ethered

Ae3.16. *BMA* (no stated number). Lunettes D. 1.24g. Var. v/16. *Rev.*: .MON/E ÆERED/ETA diamond of four pellets. Heavy bold lettering, distinctive Mercian style. Ex Beeston Tor hoard 1924. Dies: A/a

There may be other Group 3 coins of this moneyer, as the following reverse dies have been noted but not traced in recent times: Croydon Number 2 hoard: AE ÆELBRED (bt Weller); Croydon hoard 1862: E ÆELBRED (bt Weller); NCirc Mar. 1919, item no. 7075, E ÆERED, described as FDC.

Heawulf

Ae3.17. *SCBI* 24, no. 381*. Lunettes D. 1.31g, slightly chipped. Var. v, irregular style drapery and face, with tufts of hair at top of double-pelleted diadem/16. *Rev.*: HEAVLF vertical line of three pellets/MON/ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. In Taunton Museum, catalogued in 1962, original provenance uncertain. Dies: A/a

Liabine (including Lifine)**Liabine**

Ae3.18. Repton find 3395. (Illustrated, Pagan 1986*.) Lunettes D. 0.59g, chipped. Var. vii, coarse work/16. *Rev.*: .MOM/LIABINC/ETS inverted trefoil of pellets. Only 5.9% silver (see analysis in Biddle *et al.* 1986a). Stated by Pagan 1986 to be imitative. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 5.54% silver – illustrated Plate 27, number 93*. Dies: A/a

Lifine

Ae3.19. Assheton (in BM?). Lunettes A. Wnr. Var. vi/3. *Obv.*: same die as Ae3.10, of Dudda. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets MON trefoil of pellets/LIFINC vertical line of three pellets/inverted trefoil of pellets ETA inverted trefoil of pellets. Dies: B (linked to Dudda, in name of Dudd, die C)/b

Mann

Ae3.20. *SCBI* 2, no. 559*. Lunettes A. 1.00g. Var. viii/17. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets MON/+MAN+/ETA trefoils of pellets either side. Small flan. Coats Collection. Dies: A/a

Tirwulf

Some doubt has been expressed whether this is a coin of Æthelred I or Ælfred. The authors accept the attribution given in the British Museum trays, and initially made in the original listing of the hoard,¹¹⁰ that the basis of the obverse inscription, although blundered, has a reading much closer to Æthelred I than Ælfred.

Ae3.21. *BMA* 441. Lunettes A. 1.06g. Var. vii/12. *Rev.*: .MON/TIRWLF/ETA. Small flan. Ex Beeston Tor hoard 1924. Dies: A/a

¹⁰⁸ Pagan 1966, 16.

¹⁰⁹ One of the two coins below is almost certainly EMC 2000.0289, a coin noted in Blackburn 1993

¹¹⁰ Brooke 1924, 322.

Wine

Ae3.22. *BMC* 43. Lunettes A. 1.28 g. Var. vii/2. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets **MOM/VVINE** three pellets in a vertical line/ETA with inverted trefoil of pellets at each end. Ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: A/a

Ae3.23 Lyon (bt Spink 1963). Lunettes A. 1.09 g. Var. vii, with standard drapery except lines in outer panels curved/9. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets **MON** trefoil of pellets/**+VVINE**/trefoil of pellets pointing down **ETA** trefoil of pellets pointing down. Ex Montagu (1895) 502. Possibly *NCirc* May 1923, item no. 18609, although confusingly moneyer's name is transcribed as **VVINE**.

Dies: B/b

Ae3.24. *NCirc* Nov. 1987, item no. 6381*, offered at £800. Lunettes A. 1.27 g. Var. vii, drapery: outer panels, two lines curved, central panel, three vertical lines two horizontal lines above/9. *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets **MON** trefoil of pellets/**+VVINE** vertical row of three pellets/trefoil of pellets pointing downwards **ETA** trefoil of pellets pointing downwards.

Dies: C/c

Ae3.25. Bliss (1916) 69*, 'Fine and rare' (an interesting improvement in condition from earlier sales), bt Baldwin £2 8s. Lunettes A. 1.17 g. Var. vii/10.¹¹¹ *Rev.*: trefoil of pellets **MON** trefoil of pellets/**+VVINE/ETA**. Small dumpy flan, described as 'very base silver'. Ex Shepherd (1885) 66, bt Spink £1 11s., described as 'very base silver'; Montagu (1895) 511, described as 'rather base silver', bt Verity.

Dies: D/d

CURIOSITIES**ALTERED COINS: TWO LINE LUNETTE TYPES A, C AND D****Cenred**

AeC1. *SCBI* 50, no. 111*. Lunettes C. 1.17 g. Single band and anomalous bust; drapery: central panel has three verticals below a horizontal/22. *Rev.*: **MON/+CENRED/ETA** St Petersburg; ex Reichel 1858; bt by Reichel 1843 (his inventory no. 63). Almost certainly an eighteenth-century forgery.

Dies: A/a

AeC2. Lyons coll.*. Lunettes C. 1.38 g. Same dies as AeC1, with one small difference (**MOM** for **MON**) on *rev.* Almost certainly an eighteenth-century forgery.

Dies: A/a variant

Diga

AeC3. *BMC* 12. Lunettes A. 1.20 g. Var. vii, drapery: outer panels, three hoops, centre panel, 'fountain' arrangement, two supporting curved lines each side and pellet middle top/21. *Rev.*: **M+N/+DIGA** six pellets in two rows/ETA. Ex Bank of England Collection 1877. Pagan 1966, 15, states that this is an altered coin of Burgred; the alteration probably happened in the eighteenth century.

Dies: A/a

Hussa

AeC4. *SCBI* 4, no. 667*. Lunettes D. 1.47 g. *Obv.*: Burgred style bust/17. *Rev.*: **MON/+HVSSA/ETA** Ex Montagu (1895) 505; Hay (1880) and Hill (1847). Pagan 1966, 16, noted this coin to be an altered coin of Burgred, which is almost certainly the case.

Dies: A/a

COIN WEIGHT WITH COIN OF ÆTHELRED I ATTACHED

AeC5. British Museum. Lead weight, with silver coin of Æthelred I set with a fine silver pin into its top. Wt 99.97 g. *Obv.* of coin visible, with an unbroken legend. Var. v/16. Moneyer unknown. Found 1990/91, near Kingston, Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, close to another weight with a coin, thought to be of Ælfred, attached. See Archibald 1998, 11.

Dies: not allocated

RELATED COINAGE – ARCHBISHOP CEOLNOTH LUNETTES COINAGE.

Archbishop Ceolnoth Group 4 (Reverse Lunettes)

Obv.: Bust in profile right. *Inscription reads*: **ARCHIEP +CEOLNOÐ** starting at 12 o'clock.

Hebeca

Cel *BMC* 42. Lunettes A – broken. *Rev.*: **MON/HEBECA/ETA** Ex Hollis (1817) 68.

Dies: A/a

Obv.: Wessex Regular Lunettes var. I, but with two additional tufts at front of diadem and what looks like an attempt to indicate a tonsure, somewhat anomalously as the royal diadem is still retained.

¹¹¹ See comment on *obv.* inscription against Ae3.4, a coin of Dealla, above.

Hebeca

Ce2. EMC 1987.1014. Lunettes A. 1.07g. Rev.: M \diamond N/HEBECA/ETA Found in garden at Main Street, Kirmington, South Humberside. See also *BNJ* 57 (1987), Coin Register no. 104*. Subsequently Baldwin Auction (12 Oct. 1998) 1636*.

Dies: A/a

Tocga

Ce3. BMC 60*. Lunettes A. 20.6 gr. Rev.: MON/+TOCGA/ETA Ex Barker (1803) 465. Illustrated in Ruding 1840, Plate 13, number 8*.

Dies: A/a

Ce4. SCBI 20, no. 669*. Lunettes A. 1.18g. As Ce6, but no cross in front of moneyer's name on rev. Ex Grantley (1944) 903, 'very fine and rare', sold for £24; Montagu (1895) 326*; Addington; Southampton hoard 1836. Sainthill 1844, Plate 20*.

Dies: B/b

Ce5. Blunt 137. Lunettes A. 1.37g. As Ce4, but rev. die different. Ex Beeston Tor hoard 1924.

Dies: C/c

Ce6. SCBI 9, no. 52*. Lunettes A. 1.13g. Rev.: MON/+TOCGA/ETA Ex Lockett (1955) 343*; *NCirc* Nov. 1919, item no. 76227; Rashleigh (1909) 101*, sold to Spink for £10 15s. Metcalf and Northover 1985 note this coin as 36.12% silver – illustrated Plate 27, number 94*.

Dies: D/d

Ce7. Hall (2006)*. Lunettes A. 1.25g. Rev.: same as Ce6. Ex Patrick Finn Memorial List 2001*, bt Hall; Barnes (1974) 380; Drabble (1939) 351*; *NCirc* Nov. 1922, item no. 11929*, offered at £18; *NCirc* Sep. 1921, item no. 96435, offered at £18 and described as FDC (Compton-Roberts); Montagu (1895) 325 (from Brice 1887); Shepherd (1885) 52, sold for 10 guineas; Murchison (1866) 151; Dymock (1858) 48; Cuff (1854) 400, bt Cureton £6 10s. Possibly ex Gravesend hoard 1838.

Dies: D/d

Ce8. SCBI 42, no. 627*. Lunettes A. Fragment. Rev.: no cross before moneyer's name. Ex Fagan (1933).

Dies: E/e (but this must be a tentative assessment)

Ce9. SCBI 42, no. 628*. Lunettes A. 0.46g, fragment. Rev.: no cross before moneyer's name. Ex Abbey Orchard Wood, St Albans hoard.

Dies: F/f (but this must be a tentative assessment)

Ce10. Ryan (1952) 601*. Wnr, chipped at edge. Rev.: no cross before moneyer's name. Almost certainly ex Richardson (1895) 19, 'edge slightly chipped'.

Dies: C/c

LUNETTES PENNY IN THE NAME OF 'ÆTHELBEARHT'**Dudda**

Ae1. Blunt 338. Lunettes D. 1.50g. Obv.: similar to var. v, with a very distinctive drapery style; +AE-DEBEA RHE double struck (legend starts at 7 o'clock). Rev.: MOH/DVDDA/ETA Ex Ryan (1952) 708b; Carlyon-Britton (1913) 333*, sold for 2 guineas; ex Brown.

Dies: A/a

CONTEMPORARY EAST ANGLIAN/VIKING COINAGES IN NAME OF ÆTHELRED

These are no longer accepted as coins of Æthelred I. See Corpus in Blackburn 2005.

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- SCBI 4*. See Galster 1964.
- SCBI 9*. See Thompson 1967.
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- SCBI 16*. See Blunt *et al.*, 1971.
- SCBI 20*. See Mack 1973.
- SCBI 24*. See Gunstone 1977.
- SCBI 27*. See Gunstone 1981.
- SCBI 29*. See Warhurst 1982.
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AUCTIONS AND COLLECTIONS

'A Gentleman in Scotland' (1905)	Sotheby 16 May 1905
Airlie (1897)	Sotheby 30 June 1897
Allen (1898)	Sotheby 14 March 1898
Andrew (1934)	Sotheby 30 April 1934
Anthony (1871)	Christie's 9 Feb. 1971
Argyll (1949)	Collection sold en bloc to Spink, 1949
'Astronomer' (Frank MacLean) (1906)	Sotheby 11 June 1906
Bagnall (1964)	Collection sold privately in US
Barker (1803)	Sotheby 11 May 1803
Barnes (1974)	Sotheby 26 June 1974
Bascom (1914)	Sotheby 15 June 1914
Bergne (1873)	Sotheby 20 May 1873
Bird (1974)	Glendining 20 Nov. 1974
Bliss (1916)	Sotheby 22 March 1916
Blunt	Blunt Fitzwilliam Bequest
Boyd (2005)	Baldwin 26 Sep. 2005
Brice (1887)	Collection purchased en bloc by Montagu, 1887
Brown (1868)	Sotheby 26 July 1869
Brushfield (1929)	Glendining 2 May 1929
Bruun (1925)	Sotheby 18 May 1925
Carlyon-Britton (1913)	Sotheby 17 Nov. 1913, first portion
Carlyon-Britton (1916)	Sotheby 20 Nov. 1916, second portion
Carlyon-Britton (1918)	Sotheby 11 Nov. 1918, third portion
Cassal (1924)	Glendining 3 Dec. 1924
Christmas (1864)	Dowell 27 Apr. 1864
Clark (1898)	Sotheby 23 May 1898
Clonterbrook Trust (1974)	Glendining 7 June 1974

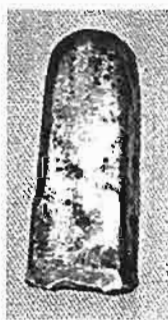
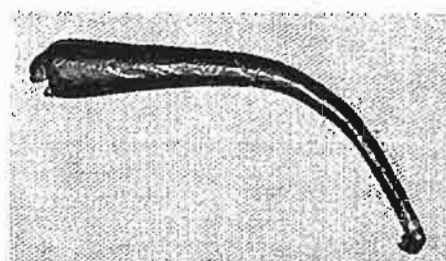
- Corbally Browne (1935)
 Crompton Roberts (1920)
 Crowther (1904)
 Cuff (1854)
 Dawson (1842)
 Devonshire (1844)
 Drabble (1939)
 Drabble (1943)
 Duncanson (1930)
 Durrant (1870)
 Dymock (1858)
 Elmore Jones (1971)
 Evans
 Fagan (1933)
 Gantz (1941)
 Grantley (1944)
 Hall (2006)
 Hay (1880)
 Hill (1847)
 Henderson (1933)
 Hodson (1794)
 Hollis (1817)
 Hopkins (2002)
 LaRiviere (2002)
 Lawrence (1951)
 Lockett (1955)
 Lockett (1958)
 Lockett (1960)
 Lovejoy (1997)
 Lyons
 Mack (1975)
 MacFadyen (1925)
 MacKay
 Maish (1918)
 Mann (1917)
 Marsham Townshend (1888)
 Marshall (2004)
 Miles (1820)
 Montagu (1895)
 Murchison (1866)
 Noble (1975)
 Norweb (1886)
 Nott (1842)
 O'Hagan (1907)
 Parsons (1929)
 Peace (1894)
 Pegg (1980)
 Rashleigh (1909)
 Ratto (1930)
 Reichel (1858)
 Rich (1828)
 Richardson (1895)
 Ridgemount (1989)
 Rose (1974)
 Ryan (1952)
 Sainthill (1870)
 Shand (1949)
 Shepherd (1885)
 Slaney (2005)
 Smith (1898)
 Southgate (1795)
 Stack (1999)
 Thane (1819)
 Tyssen (1802)
 Walker (1942)
 Watters (1913)
 Wells (1949)
 Wilcox (1908)
- Sotheby 25 Mar. 1935
NCirc May 1920
 Sotheby 10 Nov. 1904
 Sotheby 8 June 1854
 Sotheby 30 June 1842
 Christie's 18 March 1844
 Glendining 4 July 1939
 Glendining 13 Dec. 1943
 Bequest to Fitzwilliam 1930
 Christie's 10 Feb. 1870
 Sotheby 1 June 1858
 Glendining 12 May 1971
 Purchased en bloc by Spink c.1908 and much purchased by Morgan (qv)
 Glendining 24 May 1933
 Glendining 23 June 1941
 Glendining 22 March 1944
 Dix Noonan Webb 28 Sep. 2006
 Sotheby 8 April 1880
 Sotheby 20 Nov. 1847
 Bequest to the Fitzwilliam
 Collection purchased en bloc by Tyssen
 Sotheby 14 May 1817
 Baldwin 7 May 2002
 Spink 9 Oct. 2002
 Glendining 14 Mar. 1951
 Glendining 6 June 1955, English Part I
 Glendining 4 Nov. 1958, English Part III
 Glendining 26 Apr. 1960, English Part IV
 Stack 2 Dec. 1997
 Current collection
 Glendining 18 Nov. 1975
 Glendining 22 Jan. 1925
 Current collection
 Sotheby 25 March 1918
 Sotheby 29 Oct. 1917
 Sotheby 19 Nov. 1888
 Spink 31 March 2004
 Sotheby 14 March 1820
 Sotheby 18 Nov. 1895
 Sotheby 28 May 1866
 Glendining 11 Dec. 1975
 Spink 19 Nov. 1986
 Sotheby 30 May 1842
 Sotheby 16 Dec. 1907
 Sotheby 28 Oct. 1929
 Sotheby 18 June 1894
 Spink 8 Oct. 1980
 Sotheby 21 June 1909
 Ratto 9 Dec. 1930
 Bequest to Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
 Sotheby 7 July 1828
 Sotheby 22 May 1895
 Spink 20 April 1989
 Glendining 13 March 1974
 Glendining 22 Jan. 1952
 Sotheby 27 April 1870
 Glendining 8 March 1949
 Sotheby 22 July 1885
 Spink 29 Sep. 2005
 Sotheby 11 July 1898
 Sotheby 1 July 1795
 Sotheby 22 April 1999
 Sotheby 1 Dec. 1819
 Sotheby 12 April and 6 Dec. 1802
 Glendining 17 June 1942
 Glendining 23 May 1913
 Sold en bloc to Baldwin 1949
 Glendining 29 Jan. 1908



1 (gold)



3



5



6



7



8



9



12



14



15



16