



Leofwold and Leofwine are undoubted Northampton moneyers in the preceding type (*Æthelred II Last Small Cross* type<sup>1</sup>) and are almost equally certainly also *Northampton* moneyers in Canute's Quatrefoil type.

As Mr. Dolley points out in his paper on that coin, Leofwold is also a Winchester moneyer in this same (Quatrefoil) type, and I think he was right to attribute it to *Southampton* despite the strange coincidence implicit therein of there having been *two* moneyers of the same name striking in the same type at the two Hamtun mints. This coincidence and a possible alternative explanation is fully discussed by Mr. Dolley in his paper.

So far so good, but we are now confronted with yet another unpublished and seemingly unique Quatrefoil type coin of Winchester style by yet *another* Hamtun moneyer, Leofnoth, a moneyer who hitherto has always been assigned to Northampton<sup>2</sup> (Pl. X, 4). Leofnoth is *not* a Winchester moneyer in this type<sup>3</sup> and apart from this one coin in Paris all his Quatrefoil type coins (although very few<sup>4</sup>) are from obverse dies of barbarous work which, if English and not Scandinavian imitations, are more likely to have emanated from Northampton than from Southampton where it would seem uniformity of style prevailed and where there were certainly five, and possibly as many as six, moneyers at work in this type namely *Ælfwerd*, *Ælfsige*, *Eadwine*, *Leofwine*, *Leofwold* (if rightly so attributed), and *Siboda*. All of these except *Ælfwerd* were also Winchester moneyers in this same type but only *Leofwine* is also a possible Southampton moneyer in Canute's next (Pointed Helmet) type. Both that moneyer and *Leofnoth* continue striking in that type at one Hamtun mint or the other but probably *not* at both. A coin of *Leofwine* of Pointed Helmet type lately in my collection (also from the late Mr. Wells's cabinet) is from the same obverse die as Hild. 1131 of *Leofnoth* of which there is a die duplicate in the British Museum (Pl. X, 5 and 6) and which, if it does nothing else, proves that those two moneyers must have been operating at the same Hamtun mint in that particular type. Unfortunately we have nothing to guide us as to the date of the closure of the Southampton mint nor can we be absolutely sure at which Hamtun mint *Leofnoth* and *Leofwine* were operating in Pointed Helmet type. However, the presumption is that coinage was continuous at Northampton and of the two mints Northampton seems by far the more probable. There are two coins of the type in the British Museum (one of each moneyer) and both attributed to Northampton. Two other moneyers, *Cinsige* and *Godric*, appear at Hamtun in that same type but seemingly very fleetingly and neither can be assigned to either mint with any reasonable degree of certainty. On stylistic grounds *all* the Hamtun coins of Pointed Helmet type which, incidentally, are extremely rare, could have been struck at almost any mint south of the Humber.

In this attempt to separate the coins of the two Hamtun mints I have been helped enormously by both members of the 'Anglo-Irish team working on the unpublished hoards in Sweden'<sup>5</sup> who have very kindly furnished me with photographs of all the Quatrefoil type coins in the systematic collection in the Royal Swedish Cabinet without which I could not have found the obverse die-link between *Leofwine* (Hamtun) and

<sup>1</sup> For confirmation of this see *BNJ* xxxv (1966), p. 27 (*Leofwine*) and p. 31 (*Leofwold*).

<sup>2</sup> Unique coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Hild. 3780 which purports to be of this mint and moneyer is a Scandinavian imitation—see *BNJ* xxx

(1962), p. 244 and pl. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Hild. nos. 1129, 1130, and 1130a.

<sup>5</sup> See *BNJ* xxxv (1966), p. 25, for this reference of Mr. Dolley's to the work jointly carried out by himself and Mr. Stewart Lyon.



with the coins (one each) of Ælfsige and Siboda. The one coin of Leofwold, of faultless London style, is attributed to Northampton and the fact that there are only four Hamtun coins of the type in the National Collection reflects their rarity.

Having shown which moneyers may definitely be assigned to Southampton we are still left with the problem of which coins of the three Hamtun moneyers, Leofwine, Leofwold, and Leofnoth, *apart from any coins of Winchester style*, should be assigned to Northampton.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Leofwine and Leofwold, both Northampton moneyers in the preceding type, are also Northampton moneyers in Quatrefoil type and that their coins of faultless London style are rightly so attributed. The difficulty is, however, to decide whether their coins of other styles, and in particular those of Severn Valley style, automatically follow suit.

The complexity of the evidence of style<sup>1</sup> which at so many mints is such a useful guide to attribution in this type, will be apparent from the following analysis of the extraordinary admixture of style, *additional to London and Winchester*, which is found on the coins of those two moneyers.<sup>2</sup>

*Leofwine*. Severn Valley (1 die), Bath (1 die), Lincoln (1 die), barbarous (2 dies), anomalous (1 die).<sup>3</sup>

*Leofwold*. Severn Valley (2 dies).

The possibility has been suggested that the coins of Severn Valley style may have emanated from yet a *third* Hamtun mint<sup>4</sup> but there is no corroborative evidence for this. Furthermore, it is a possibility which presupposes the extraordinary coincidence that there would have been two moneyers of the same name operating at the same time at no less than *three* Hamtun mints.

I had a Hamtun coin of Leofwold of Æthelred II Last Small Cross type with a cross before the face which certainly has the appearance of being of the style associated with Severn Valley mints in that type<sup>5</sup> so that the appearance of the same style at Northampton in the succeeding type may not be so surprising as it seems.

For the present, at any rate, I feel that all the coins of Leofwold and Leofwine, including those of the latter which are from barbarous obverse dies but excluding those of Winchester style, should be attributed to Northampton.

This still leaves Leofnoth to be dealt with and this moneyer certainly poses a problem. It is one which is not made any the easier by the appearance of the unique coin of Winchester style in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

As already mentioned Leofnoth is not a Winchester moneyer in this type and apart from the one coin in Paris all his coins are from barbarous obverse dies which may not

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that it was style, and that alone, which led to the discoveries that 'Gothabyrig' die links with Exeter and 'Sithestbyrig' die links with Chichester thus resulting in the localization of those two enigmatic mints. (*BNJ* xxviii (1957), pp. 270-82).

<sup>2</sup> This results from an analysis of the coins in Hildebrand plus those in the Royal Danish Cabinet. Unpublished Scandinavian hoards might well reveal greater numbers but I know of no additions to the list in this country.

<sup>3</sup> *SCBI* Copenhagen, 1191, which has a cross before the king's face as is found on most Northampton coins of the preceding type (Æthelred II, L.S.C.).

<sup>4</sup> A suggestion put forward by Mr. Stuart Kinsey in *SNC* June 1955, cc. 269/272 where a number of possible candidates are suggested of which Wolverhampton, which geographically would suit very well, is considered the most likely.

<sup>5</sup> My sale Catalogue lot 597 and doubtless a die duplicate of Hild. 1264.

be English. As to whether they *are* English or Scandinavian must remain an open question, at any rate for the present.

A case can be made out for either alternative but perhaps the most telling argument in favour of their being English is that the reverse dies are of normal English style and that the same barbarous obverse die is used by both Leofnoth and Leofwine with the Hamtun mint-signature.<sup>1</sup>

It is against this complex background that the unique coin of Leofnoth of *Winchester* style must be considered. There are two possible explanations for it but neither is particularly convincing. One is the assumption that there were *three* moneyers of the same names (Leofnoth, Leofwine, and Leofwold) operating at both Hamtun mints at precisely the same time. The other is that this unique coin, unlike the unique coin of Leofwold which Mr. Dolley has assigned to Southampton,<sup>2</sup> could have come from one of the few parcels of Winchester style dies which, as Mr. Dolley has pointed out, we know *did* find their way to mints far removed from Wessex such as Oxford, Aylesbury, and as far north as Leicester where the eleven coins listed in Hildebrand reveal the following admixture of styles: Winchester 5, Lincoln 4, and York 2.

I personally favour this latter theory and, at any rate for the time being, I feel that Leofnoth should be attributed to Northampton (only) even if this has to be provisional.

It may seem inconsistent, as of course it is, to attribute one of these unique Hamtun coins of Winchester style to Southampton and the other to Northampton but, as already mentioned, there is a distinction between the two; Leofwold is also a Winchester moneyer in this same type whereas Leofnoth is not.

To sum up therefore my suggested division of the Hamtun moneyers in this type, and it must be stressed in this type only, is:

*Northampton.* Leofnoth, Leofwine, Leofwold.

*Southampton.* Ælfsige, Ælfwerd, Eadwine, Leofwine, Leofwold, Siboda.

As previously mentioned, it may be assumed with reasonable certainty that Leofnoth and Leofwine are both Northampton moneyers in the succeeding (Pointed Helmet) type. Also that the moneyer Ælfwine of whose coins there is virtually an unbroken run from Canute's third and last (Small Cross) type to the ninth (Facing Small Cross) type of Edward the Confessor is also a moneyer of Northampton (*only*) but no prediction is possible as to which mint the other two Hamtun moneyers of Canute's reign (Cinsige and Godric in Pointed Helmet type) should be assigned. If this could be determined with reasonable certainty we should be able to deduce the date of the closure of the Southampton mint and so write the final chapter on this problem of the separation of the coins of the two mints. This work, so ably pioneered by Mr. Dolley, already covers the reign of Æthelred II<sup>3</sup> but it still remains to be finished.

Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley have dealt with the pre-979 period<sup>4</sup> and it is the purpose of this paper to carry the work a stage further from the point to which Mr. Dolley has taken it but without making any claim to finality. It will be apparent that there are a number of critical problems still to be resolved of which certainly the

<sup>1</sup> Leofnoth—Hild. 1129. *SCBI* Copenhagen 1178/9; Leofwine *SCBI* Copenhagen 1191.

<sup>2</sup> In the Polish paper cited above.

<sup>3</sup> 'Further Southampton/Winchester die-links in the

reign of Æthelred II', *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 25–33, and previously in *SNC* 1955, cc. 159–61.

<sup>4</sup> In *Mints, Dies, and Currency*, dedicated to the memory of Albert Baldwin.

most crucial is the determination of the date of the final closure of the Southampton mint.

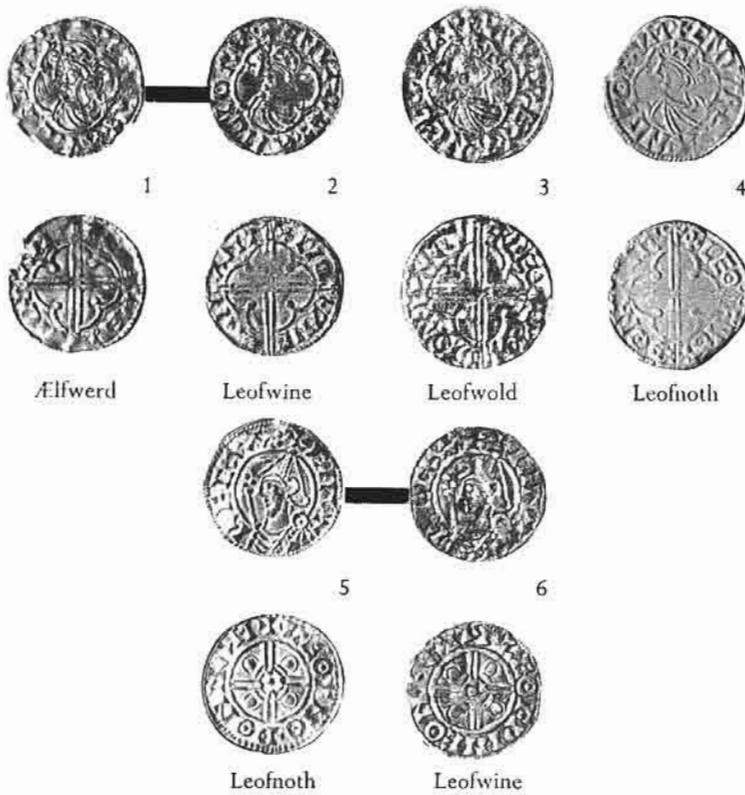
The evidence of Florence of Worcester that Canute first received formal recognition as king of all England at Southampton is accepted by historians and it is interesting to speculate whether there could be any connection between that and the apparent upsurge of coining activity there in the early years of his reign.

The rarity of the coins of both mints is such that it is difficult to assess their relative output. The evidence certainly points to output at Southampton outstripping that at Northampton in the run of Quatrefoil type, possibly even to the same extent as the disparity in the number of the moneymen of the two mints would seem to imply, but just how long this lasted and just when the mint there finally closed down it is still impossible to say.

One day perhaps the evidence which is now lacking may come to light and then, and only then, will it be possible to write the final chapter of the work begun by Mr. Dolley some fifteen years ago, a task which, as he has said, underlines the urgent need for a drastic reappraisal of the late Mr. W. C. Wells's work on these two mints.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, and the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen for kindly supplying photographs of the coins in their collections and for permission to reproduce photographs of several of them here.

I am especially grateful to Mr. Stewart Lyon for his very helpful advice when I first drafted this paper in 1966 and without which by no means all the vital Southampton/Winchester obverse die-links in the Quatrefoil issue could have been recorded here. This does not, however, imply that Mr. Lyon is necessarily in agreement with all the opinions expressed in this paper; those opinions and any conclusions to be drawn therefrom are mine and mine alone. It will be apparent that this paper has been inspired by a study of Mr. Dolley's writings on the subject of the two Hamtun mints and I gratefully acknowledge the interest he has shown and the encouragement he has given me in its preparation.



COINS OF NORTH/SOUTHAMPTON IN CANUTE QUATREFOIL AND POINTED HELMET TYPES



HENRY IV—HEAVY NOBLE



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS—MOSSOP

