

THE COINAGE OF ATHELSTAN, 924-939

A SURVEY

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THE COINS

Southern group (London, Canterbury, Winchester, Oxford, Rochester, Exeter, Lewes, Shaftesbury, Southampton, Wallingford, Wareham, Chichester, Dorchester, Bath, Bridport or Bredy, 'Darent', Dover, Hertford, Langport, Lymne, Maldon, 'Smrierl')	61
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INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

IT must be clear that a study of this kind owes much to the work of previous writers and I have drawn freely on their researches. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Professor Panvini Rosati, of the Museo Nazionale in Rome, who gave me and my son the fullest facilities to photograph the great Forum hoard that is in his care, and to Dr. Plenderleith who was kind enough to give his time and skill to cleaning a number of these coins for me. I am also indebted to Mr. Elmore-Jones, with whom I collaborated in our study of the mint of 'Weardburh'; to Mr. Danson who has supplied valuable information on coins of the Nottingham mint; to Commander Mack, Mr. H. H. King, Dr. E. J. Harris, and Mr. G. S. Hopkins who have allowed coins from their collections to be illustrated; to the late Mr. Albert Baldwin who helped in locating a number of pieces that had passed through the sale room and become lost to sight; to Miss Pirie for her pioneer work in the *Sylloge* volume on the Chester mint; to Professor D. White-lock and Dr. N. P. Brooks for advice on a number of historical points; to the authorities in the British Museum Coin Room who have been, as ever, most co-operative in arranging for casts to be made, in this case of a large number of coins, and to Mr. Howes who actually made them.¹

In addition to the above I am indebted to the following public collections which, with invariable courtesy, have supplied me with particulars of coins in their collections and have, in many cases, allowed me to illustrate them here:

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
The Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
The City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.
The Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
The Royal Collection, Copenhagen.
The Museum and Art Gallery, Derby.
The Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man.
The National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.
The National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.
The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
The Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.
The City of Gloucester Museum.
Leeds University.
City of Leicester Museums.
The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
Liverpool Public Museum.

¹ A number of coins, known only from the Forum hoard, have had to be illustrated from my own photographs, taken in many cases of coins in their uncleaned state. These cannot reproduce as satisfactorily as one

would wish, but, since no other photographic record is at present available, it has been thought best to include them.

The Museum, Mont St. Michel, France.
 Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery.
 University Coin Cabinet, Oslo.
 The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
 The Pitt Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset.
 The Public Library and Museum, Shrewsbury.
 St. Edward's Hall Museum, Stow-on-the-Wold.
 Somerset County Museum, Taunton Castle.
 Westminster School Collection.

My greatest debt is to Mr. Dolley and to Mr. Pagan. With both I have discussed the problems of Athelstan's coinage over the years and received much valuable advice. The latter has helped me notably over the reconstruction of the Scotby hoard (see Appendix II) and he has played a leading part in editing this volume and guiding it through the press. I am extremely grateful to both.

THE BACKGROUND

On the death of Edward the Elder in 924, his eldest son, Athelstan, succeeded to a kingdom that comprised virtually the whole of England with the exception of Northumbria. In 918 the Danish armies south of the Humber had surrendered to Edward and, after the surrender of Nottingham, all the people settled in Mercia, Danes and Englishmen, submitted to him.¹ The north-west boundary probably extended to the river Eamont in the area of Penrith.² By the defeat in 927 of Anlaf and of his uncle Guthfrith, king of the Irish Norsemen, who came over from Dublin to support him, Athelstan became possessed of the Northumbrian kingdom. Within the next four years his supremacy had been established over the western as well as the northern kings of Britain; at a meeting with most of the Welsh princes at Hereford, he secured the promise of a substantial yearly tribute and reached agreement with them that the Wye should form the boundary of Welsh and English territory in the neighbourhood of Hereford, an agreement that was found still to be in force at the Norman conquest.³ Athelstan could thus justifiably style himself, as he did both in charters and on coins, king of the whole of Britain, and, although this title disappeared after a short time from much of the coinage, Northumbria in fact remained under his control for the rest of his reign.

Historically therefore the reign is an important one; numismatically it is highly significant, primarily because, for the first time, the names of mints are found in quantity on the coins—hitherto their appearance had been both limited in number and spasmodic in time—and because the decrees issued by Athelstan at Grateley are the earliest to survive containing clauses dealing with the coinage. The exact date of this code cannot be established, but Professor Whitelock points out that reference is made back to it in other legislation of this reign,⁴ which at least must indicate that it cannot have been drawn up in Athelstan's latest years. She also remarks that the manner in which the sections are numbered suggests that those dealing with the coinage, and

¹ *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 331.

² *Ibid.*, p. 332.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁴ *English Historical Documents* i, p. 381, where a translation is given from which the quotations that follow are taken.

one or two others adjoining, result from the incorporation of a separate set of statutes at this point. Professor Grierson, accepting this, considers that those sections may be a repetition from an earlier code, interpolated, as was certainly done in later Anglo-Saxon times, at a suitable place in a new code. The numismatist will probably be content to accept these sections as applicable in Athelstan's time and have in mind that they may originate from an earlier set of laws, now lost.

Section 14 provides 'that there is to be one coinage over all the king's dominion, and no one is to mint money except in a town'. The subsection that follows deals with moneyers accused of false practices. Then follows specific reference to mints:

In Canterbury (there are to be) seven moneyers; four of the king, two of the bishop, one of the abbot; in Rochester three, two of the king, one of the bishop; in London eight; in Winchester six; in Lewes two; in Hastings one; another at Chichester; at Southampton two; at Wareham two; (at Dorchester one); at Exeter two; at Shaftesbury two; otherwise in the other boroughs one.

The places mentioned are in Wessex and Kent, with London, and it will be seen later that, although Athelstan was king of the whole of Britain, the divisions of the old heptarchic kingdoms seem in some measure to have been preserved in the administration of the coinage. In Mercia, for instance, coins bearing the king's head are not known to have been issued; whereas in East Anglia this type was exclusively used. In the area covered by the Grateley decrees both types are found, though the evidence suggests they were not issued concurrently. In Northumbria the type with the cross on both sides predominated and only an ephemeral issue was made bearing Athelstan's head.

The provision in section 14 'that there is to be one coinage over all the king's dominion' is therefore superficially puzzling. It cannot mean only one *type* of coin; rather would it seem to mean that only coins of the English king (and no doubt of his predecessors) were to be the accepted currency. The hoard evidence suggests that foreign money was successfully kept out and the list of hoard provenances of Viking coins published by Mr. Dolley¹ shows how rarely they have been found in the midlands and the south. This interpretation of the order would also account for the not unsubstantial number of irregular pieces bearing Athelstan's name that are known today, often of good weight and seemingly good metal. Some of these may be regarded as Viking products carrying the king's name in order that they would circulate in the rest of England.

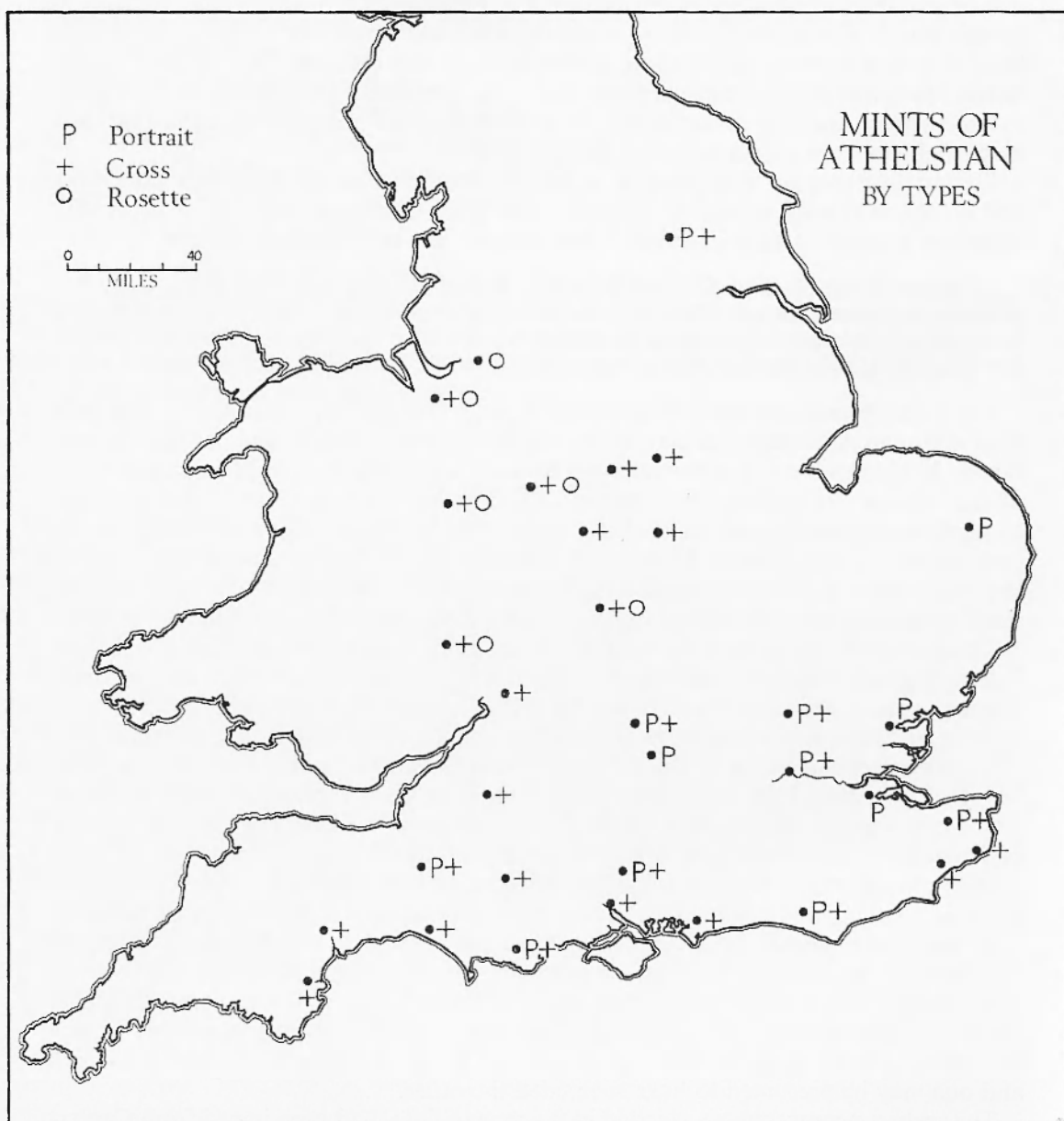
Of the mints named in the Grateley code, coins are known of all save Hastings and Dorchester.² In addition the following are identifiable as mints in this reign in the area covered by the code: Bridport or Bredy, 'Darent', Dover, Langport, and Lymne. These would have been 'other boroughs', each entitled to one moneyer, and in fact one moneyer is known of each, except in the case of Langport. Here two names are found and one may be presumed to have succeeded the other.

The earliest penny coinage, starting in the time of Offa, had been issued from Canterbury, to which London, Rochester, an East Anglian mint, and perhaps Winchester were in due course added. No other mints are identifiable until the time of Alfred, when the names of Exeter, Gloucester, and Lincoln appear. Edward's coins do not give mint-names, save in the case of two coins both from the mint of Bath.

¹ 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1957-8, pp. 19 ff.

² Coins have in the past been attributed to Dor-

chester but seem more likely to be of Canterbury. See p. 64 below.

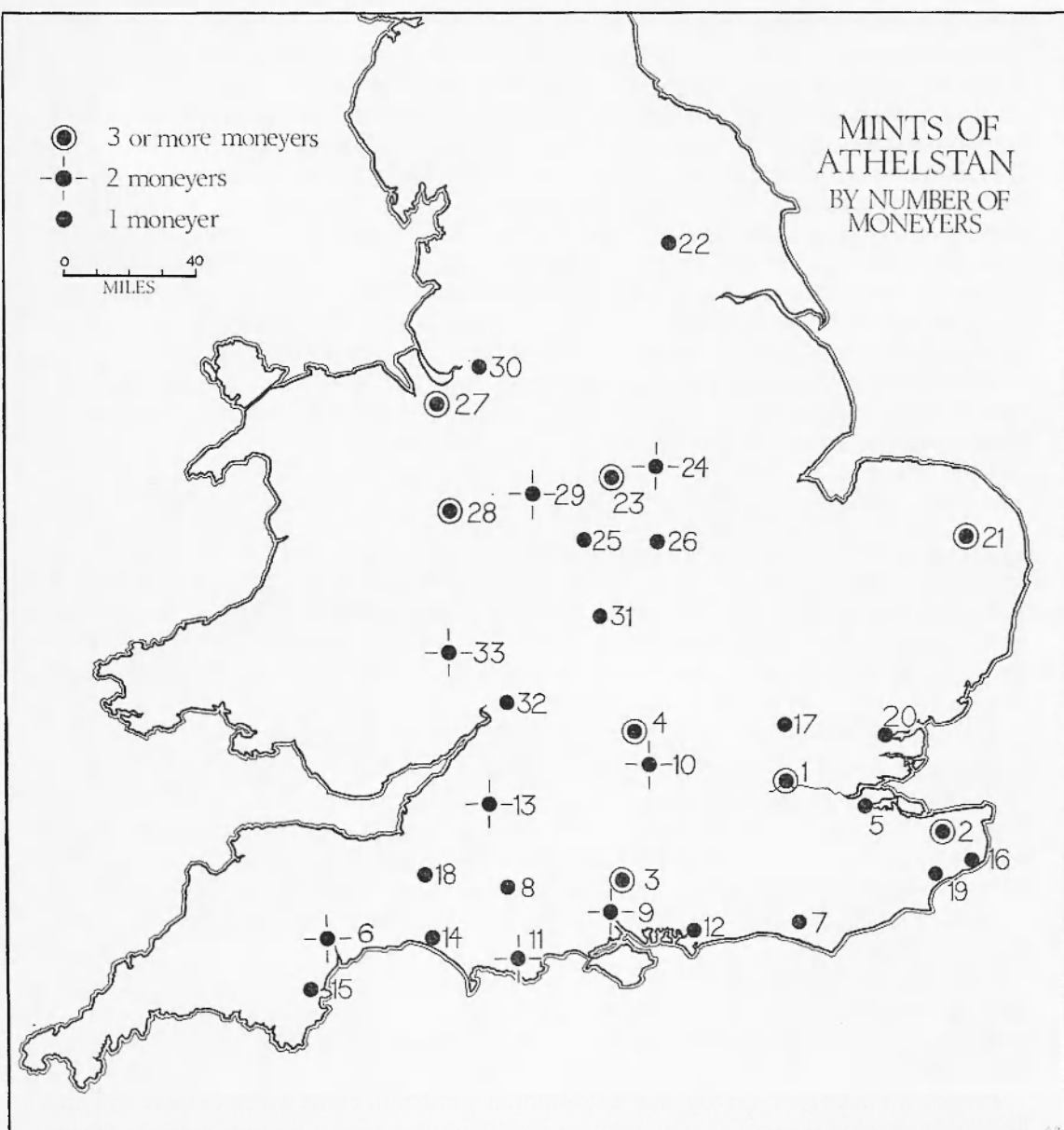


KEY TO MAPS

1. London
2. Canterbury
3. Winchester
4. Oxford
5. Rochester
6. Exeter

7. Lewes
8. Shaftesbury
9. Southampton
10. Wallingford
11. Wareham
12. Chichester

13. Bath
14. Bridport
15. 'Darent'
16. Dover
17. Hertford
18. Langport

KEY TO MAPS (*cont.*)

- 19. Lyme
- 20. Maldon
- 21. Norwich
- 22. York
- 23. Derby
- 24. Nottingham

- 25. Tamworth
- 26. Leicester
- 27. Chester
- 28. Shrewsbury
- 29. Stafford
- 30. Thelwall?

- 31. Warwick
- 32. Gloucester
- 33. Hereford

Unlocated: 'Smrierl' and 'Weardburh'

It is, however, apparent from the great increase in the number of moneyers that minting had by this time spread, and a comparison of the coins of Athelstan bearing mint-signatures with those of his predecessor by the same moneyers should enable a pattern of minting places in Edward's reign to be built up.

Even before the end of Athelstan's reign the bulk of the coinage had again lapsed into anonymity, so far as mints were concerned, and this state of affairs persisted with little intermission down to the reign of Edgar, until the great monetary reform in his last years, one result of which was that the name of the mint, as well as of the moneyer, became a regular feature on every coin. Further study of moneyers' names and styles on mint-signed coins at the beginning and end of this period and comparison with coins of the intervening period bearing the same names but without a mint signature should, as in the case of Edward's coinage, enable a picture of mint organization in the reign of Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig, and the earlier years of Edgar to be built up.¹

Two maps of the mints identifiable in Athelstan's reign (on pp. 42-3) show on the one the three main types struck at each of them, and on the other the number of moneyers working at each mint, as evidenced by surviving coins.

THE MINTS AND THEIR GROUPINGS

Any attempt to arrange in chronological sequence the various types of coins issued by Athelstan is doomed to failure. It is only when it is appreciated that the issue of a number was restricted to certain areas, and when these areas have been defined, that some order begins to appear. Nothing like finality has been achieved in the work that follows but it is hoped that the material collected and presented here may facilitate further research on this series.

The groups into which it is suggested the coins may be divided are as follows:

Southern group. Kent and Wessex, with London, Hertford, and Maldon.

East Anglia. The only identifiable mint in this area is Norwich.

North-Eastern I, II, and III. None of the coins of these groups have mint-signatures, but the reasons for associating them with the north-east are given later.²

Northumbria. York is the only identifiable mint-town north of the Humber.

Mercia: Midland. In this group Derby is the dominating mint, with Leicester, Nottingham, and Tamworth.

Mercia: North-Western. This group is dominated by Chester but also includes Shrewsbury, Stafford, and two uncertain mints, possibly Thelwall and Warwick.

Mercia: Western Marches. A small group consisting of Gloucester, 'Weardburh', and Hereford.

Irregular. I have grouped together a substantial number of coins which display irregularities in varying degrees. A few may be identified as straightforward contemporary forgeries, but the greater part show evidence of coming from reasonably well-equipped mints and there are instances when one side is irregular and the other regular. The considerable problems presented by these coins is discussed in more detail on pp. 107 ff.

¹ A trial has now been made in the case of the Stafford mint and a series produced which it seems likely represents part, if not all, of the products of that mint between Athelstan and Edgar. See 'The

Origins of the Stafford Mint' by C. E. Blunt in *Otium et negotium, Studies in onomatology and library science presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, Stockholm, 1973.

² See pp. 82 ff.

These eight groups are dealt with individually below in that order.

The status of the majority of the mints is not shown on the coins, but the following are styled *Civitas*: Bath, Canterbury, Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Gloucester, Leicester, London, Rochester, and Winchester. Four are styled *Urbs*: 'Darent', Lewes, Oxford, and Southampton. The remainder have no style: Bridport/Bredy, Derby, Dover, Hereford, Hertford, Langport, Lymne, Maldon, Norwich, Nottingham, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, 'Smrierl', Stafford, Tamworth, Thelwall (?), Wallingford, Wareham, Warwick (?), and 'Weardburh'. On Regnald's substantial cross-type issues at York no style is added to the mint-name but on one or two of the rare pieces with the king's bust and the 'church' there are traces of *Civitas*.

THE STYLES

Style in numismatics must always be used with caution, as has been demonstrated time and again, but with this reservation it can serve a very useful purpose where other evidence is lacking. In the case of Athelstan's coinage the student is confronted with a large amount of material bearing no mint-signature and here the criterion of style can be applied and in some measure checked against other evidence, as in many cases the name of a moneyer occurs on coins both with and without mint-signature.

Thus, a London style with well-formed letters with serifs is found on mint-signed coins of the cross type (e.g. no. 182) and two-line type coins by the same moneyers (no. 23) are clearly to be associated with it. Elsewhere in the south, coins are found with small neat lettering and frequently varying the normal trefoils at top and bottom of the reverse by single pellets (no. 13), crosses (no. 69), or even (in an isolated case and unexpectedly) a rosette (no. 71).

In what is here designated North-Eastern I, a distinctive large loose lettering is found (e.g. no. 370). Usually readily recognizable, there are, however, odd pieces such as a coin by the moneyer Gislemer (no. 386) which stylistically one would certainly not associate with this group, were it not for another specimen bearing this unusual name which is of typical NE I style (no. 385); or a piece by the Hertford/Maldon moneyer Abonel (no. 8) which shows an individual style comparable to but not quite matching the style of NE I.

The North-Western Mercian style is characteristic. On Chester mint-signed coins the lettering will be seen to be smaller than the last, ill formed, and somewhat straggling (e.g. no. 136). A feature is the unusual form of the letter \mathfrak{d} , which in Mercia normally has the cross-bar on the rounded as opposed to the upright element of the letter: \mathfrak{d} . Compare with the last-mentioned coin one by the same moneyer of the two-line type (no. 7).

The Midland Mercian style shows compact neat lettering enabling unusually full mint-readings sometimes to be given, e.g. on a Nottingham coin where SNOTENCEHAM is found (no. 193) or a Derby coin reading DEORABV (no. 161). The king's name often starts ED in this group.

The York style, introduced with the cross type, is readily recognizable. The letters are squarely formed, without serifs, the letter M resembles two conjoined un-barred AS, the letter O is usually much smaller than the other letters, C is found in its rounded (as opposed to the normally square) form, the L in the moneyer Regnald's name often

takes the form of an inverted T and, by contrast, the T in BRIT the form of an inverted L (nos. 230-46).

TYPES AND MULES

The British Museum *Catalogue*¹ identifies 13 types and 5 subtypes for Athelstan's coinage; Brooke² reduces these to 7 types and 2 subtypes. To avoid the confusion which would result from giving the classification put forward here a further set of figures, the practice used elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon series of designating the types by descriptive titles has been adopted and a concordance of the three classifications is set out below:

<i>Southern group</i>	<i>BMC</i>	<i>Brooke</i>	<i>Plate numbers</i>
Diademed bust	—	—	1-6
Two-line	I	1	7-115
Cross	V, Vb	5	128 ff.
Crowned bust	VIII, IX	4	262 ff.
<i>East Anglia</i>			
Crowned bust	VIII	4	279-87
<i>North-Eastern I</i>			
Two-line	I	1	370-408
<i>North-Eastern II</i>			
Two-line	I	1	421-4
Helmet	XII, XIII	7	409-20
<i>North-Eastern III</i>			
Bust in relief	X, Xa	4	428-37
<i>Northumbria</i>			
Church	IV	3	438-44
Cross	V, Va	5	230-46
Crowned bust	VIII, IX	4	307-9
<i>Mercia: Midland</i>			
Cross	V	5	e.g. 161 ff.
<i>Mercia: North-Western</i>			
Two-line	I, II	1	e.g. 7
Flower	III	2	116
Cross	V	5	e.g. 136 ff.
Cross/Rosette	Vc	5/6	326-36
Rosette/Cross	VIa	6/5	337-44
Rosette	VI	2	345-69
<i>Mercia: Western Marches</i>			
Cross	V	5	e.g. 175
Rosette	VI	6	362

BMC type VII (diademed bust/two-line) is here treated as a mule, *BMC* type XI (bust in relief/helmet) as a combination of two types.

From the above it will be seen that, under the arrangement here proposed, the coins have been divided into nine types, several of which are exclusively regional. The types

¹ *BMC* ii, pp. 103-5.

² Brooke, pp. 58-60.

that dominate the coinage are in effect four: two-line, cross, crowned bust and rosette (the last confined to Mercia).

The diademed bust type (nos. 1-4). That this is an early type is shown by its presence in the Vatican hoard, deposited about 930.¹ The obverse design is a refinement of the obverse bust used by Edward the Elder but normally the bust faces right; the reverse differs radically in repeating a type confined under Edward the Elder to the obverse, namely a cross in the centre with a circular legend around. The diademed bust type was short-lived—no more than four specimens of the true coin are known, each, however, by a different moneyer—and was confined to the south. Two mules with the two-line type are known (nos. 5 and 6), on one of which the bust faces left. The king's title is simply *Rex*.

The two-line type (nos. 7-115, 370-408, 421-4). Again the king's title is simply *Rex*. The type, a substantial one struck by some 140 moneyers of whom some thirty are attributed to the NE I group, was widely issued across the country, but is notably absent from East Anglia and York. It is the type predominantly used by both Athelstan's predecessor and successor and it is therefore reasonable to assume that it was issued both early and late in his reign. That it was in issue early is demonstrated by the Vatican hoard, which provides evidence for the style of some of the early coins; that it was also issued late is clearly brought out in the NE I group where many of the moneyers worked also for Edmund. There are, however, grounds for believing that in most parts of the country its issue was not continuous. Further study will probably make it possible to separate early from late issues outside the NE I group.

I have followed Brooke in including in this type a unique coin (presumptively of Chester, *BMC* ii) which varies from the norm in having a star-like object in the centre of the obverse with an unexplained letter above and beneath (no. 85).

The NE I variant of this two-line type is distinguished by having large, rather coarse lettering (nos. 370-408). Most are quite distinctive but a few border-line cases are doubtful.

The flower type (no. 116). This may almost be regarded as a variant of the two-line type. The king's title is simply *Rex*; the obverse has a small cross with circular legend and the reverse the moneyer's name in two lines with three single pellets (instead of crosses) between and, in place of the group of three pellets at top and bottom, a floral spray reminiscent of the spray found on Heremod's coins of Edward the Elder. Only two specimens are known and the moneyer's name suggests that they were struck at Warwick.

The cross type (nos. 128-254). On this type the king for the first time uses the title, variously abbreviated, *Rex totius Britanniae* or, more rarely, on some Mercian coins, *Rex Saxorum*. It is also marked by the regular appearance of mint-names. The type is a combination of the obverse of the two-line type (save for the change in the king's title) and the reverse inaugurated with the diademed bust type (but now with the mint-name added). Though the inclusion of the mint-name is a regular feature, a very few coins are known on which it is omitted. These are discussed on p. 49.

The crowned bust type (nos. 262-325). This is the first time the king's head is depicted on the coins wearing a crown, a simple band with three stalks, each surmounted by a globule. It is interesting to compare this with the similar crown worn by Athelstan in the

¹ See p. 54 below.

manuscript of the Life of St. Cuthbert¹ (frontispiece). Hitherto the king had normally been depicted on the coins wearing a diadem. The workmanship of the head and hair is markedly superior to that found on the general run of Edward's coins. The king reverts to the simple title *Rex* save on a small issue from Winchester on which head and shoulders are contained within the inner circle, thus making room for the longer title (e.g. no. 299). At York too the title *Rex totius Britanniae* persists on the few coins known of this type (nos. 307-9), as if Athelstan were reluctant to abandon in Northumbria this high-sounding title.

As a general rule the mint-name persists on the crowned bust type, but there are a number of coins on which it is absent (nos. 310-25) and it must be significant that most of these are by moneymen who did not produce mint-signed coins.

The rosette type (nos. 345-69). This is similar to the cross type save that the central ornament on both sides is a rosette of pellets instead of a cross. It is a purely Mercian type chiefly confined to the north-western area but probably including Warwick (on a 'mule') (no. 336) and (on a single coin) Hereford (no. 362). The king's title is invariably some abbreviation of *Rex totius Britanniae* and a mint-name is always found. The use of the Mercian \mathfrak{D} has already been noted.

The reverse of this type is found, especially at Chester, combined with an obverse of the cross type on a scale—I have records of some twenty-five specimens of this variety of that mint—that suggests that they should not be regarded as mules in the ordinary sense of that word, but rather indicates that the two types overlapped (nos. 326-36). The combination the other way is found somewhat more rarely—I have records of fourteen of Chester—but these are enough to point to the same conclusion (nos. 337-44).

The helmet type (nos. 409-20). This may be a misnomer, but I have used it as a matter of convenience. The type appears to come from the north-east and I have designated it North-Eastern II. The obverse shows a crude bust of the king wearing a crown over what appears to be a helmet. The title is simply *Rex*. The reverse is a cross crosslet with a circular legend and there is no mint-name.

The bust in relief (nos. 428-37). On this type the king's bust is often reduced to a caricature, but in somewhat higher relief than the crowned bust type of the south. Reasons will be given for associating this type too with the north-east and I have designated it North-Eastern III. The king's title is again *Rex*. The king's head, which normally faces right, sometimes on this issue faces left. On these latter coins the obverse legends are retrograde which shows that the die engraver has made a mirror impression by copying a coin straight on to his die.

The 'church' type (nos. 438-44). The obverse has a small cross in the centre. The king's title is *Rex* and, a curious little feature, the first letters of the king's name are always separated, $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{E}$, instead of being ligulated \mathfrak{AE} . The type may be attributed to York, the name of which (in its Latin form, it is to be noted) is found on certain of them. The reverse shows, in the upper half, a building with a steep roof which is generally regarded as a church (York minster?); but it is always shown apparently on a base, so that it is possible that a reliquary or shrine is intended. The type is to be compared with the more elaborate versions found on coins of Edward the Elder.

The mules. Mules occur between a number of types and, as most have not hitherto been recognized, they are described below.

¹ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 183.

The mule between the diademed bust and two-line types (nos. 5-6) has been mentioned. The two-line type is also found muled both ways with the cross type. The cross/two-line mule (nos. 117-18) may be recognized by the title *Rex totius Britanniae*, never found on true two-line coins. I have records of only two specimens of this mule but others may well be lying unrecognized. The one by Rihard (no. 118) is from the same obverse die as a true cross-type coin by this moneyer and one that is exceptional in omitting the mint-name on the reverse (no. 253). This suggests that the maker of this die was not clearly instructed at the outset of the issue that the mint-name had to be added. His irregularity in this respect may have brought the moneyer to book for his name then disappears from the coinage. The two-line/cross mule (nos. 119-27) is rather more plentiful; at least a dozen are known, one of which is by Eadulf, one of the two moneyers recorded for the mule the other way (no. 126). It may of course be recognized by the obverse title being no more than *Rex*.

Mules between cross and crowned bust are more difficult to identify with confidence. However, there are a few coins that can be shown to be mules with obverse crowned bust, reverse cross type. The clue in this case lies in the spelling of the mint-name. All true cross-type coins of London of official issue¹ read LVNDCIVITT whereas all true crowned bust-type coins spell the name with an O and abbreviate CIVITAS to CI or CIVI. The few coins which combine a bust with the reading LVNDCIVITT (nos. 258-9) (three are in Rome and one each in Glasgow and Edinburgh) can therefore confidently be regarded as mules between the two issues. The likelihood of there being comparable mules (both ways) at Winchester (nos. 229 and 260) is discussed under that mint.

Since the use of the mint-name on coins of the cross type is so regular a feature, one must look critically on any that omit it to see if they are likely to be mules with the crowned bust type. In one case one can confidently assert that this is so. The coin, by the moneyer Cynewald (no. 256), is from the same reverse die as a true crowned bust coin recently acquired by the British Museum (no. 315) and there can be little doubt that it is to the latter type that the reverse belongs. In the case of another, by the moneyer Athelmund (no. 255), the style of the lettering on the two sides differs markedly and, though a true crowned bust type by this moneyer without mint-name is not recorded, the likelihood is that this is a mule. On a third, by Sigelf (no. 257) the difference in lettering is not so marked, but the moneyer's name in the form Sigulf is found on the crowned bust type (no. 324) so the coin may be a mule. Of a fourth, by Theodulf, I have no reproduction (no. 254). My records merely show it as having been at one time in the hands of B. A. Seaby Ltd. This moneyer does not appear on any coins of the crowned bust type, but the name is found on coins of Edmund that bear rosettes on the reverse and are consequently of Mercian origin. It is more likely, therefore, to be a true cross-type coin than a mule, unless indeed it is no. 126 misread.

Five other coins of the cross type without mint-signature are known to me. One, by Biornvic (no. 250), has lettering of differing styles on the two sides. The moneyer does not appear again but there is insufficient evidence to claim it as a mule. It is worth noting, however, that an irregular coin of this type with retrograde reverse legend reading Bernvic has similarly no attempt at a mint-name (no. 502). The next, by Megenfreth (no. 251), is clearly of Derby style. The king is described as *Rex Saxoru*, there is on the

¹ This qualification is made because there is a substantial irregular group by a moneyer signing EFE, ELE, etc. See p. 108 below.

reverse an M in the field and the legend ends MOT. The moneyer is known on a mint-signed coin of Derby (no. 167). The next (no. 252) is clearly associated with the last coin. The obverses are generally similar though from different dies. On the reverse the moneyer's name reads Mageneth followed by MOT. There is no M in the field. Since the crowned bust type was not issued at Derby it can confidently be asserted that neither of these last two is a mule. The coin by Rihard (no. 253) is from the same obverse die as a cross/two-line mule (no. 118).

The remaining coin is peculiar and interesting. It is by a moneyer, Alwerd (no. 249), and is discussed further under the mint of York.¹

The crowned bust type is found muled with the two-line type (no. 261). Two specimens are known (one in Rome, the other in Glasgow), both by Eadgild.

The helmet (NE II) and bust in relief (NE III) types are found combined both ways. This must occasion surprise as the moneyers striking the one type are in no cases the same as those striking the other and it may be that the coins should not be strictly regarded as mules. That the bust in relief type is the earlier is suggested by a unique coin in the Leeds University collection (no. 426) of the helmet type by Smala with a small cross on the reverse. On another, in the Cambridge collection (no. 415), from the same reverse die and also unique, the small cross has been extended to form a cross crosslet, the true reverse for this type. A further reason for placing the helmet type late is that it continues into the next reign, which the bust in relief type does not.

The combination the other way is found on a unique coin in the British Museum which combines an obverse with bust in relief with a reverse cross crosslet (no. 427). This curious coin is discussed later.²

The divergence of moneyers' names found on the bust in relief and helmet types points, in spite of these combinations of types, to their not having come from the same mint. It suggests rather that when the mint for the helmet type was opened (quite late in Athelstan's reign) it may have been supplied initially with dies from the mint issuing the earlier type.

The question remains as to the extent (if any) to which these various types were issued in conscious sequence. Under Edward the Elder, at the southern mints at any rate, coins of the two-line type with cross obverse appear to have been issued concurrently with coins with a diademed bust and a two-line reverse. Was this the case under Athelstan?

The introduction of the cross type with its proud royal title and with the addition of the mint-name would seem to be the result of deliberate policy. The rarity today of mules with the two-line type, and the very fact that until now they have not even been recognized as such, point to their always having been exceptional and to the two-line type having been discontinued on the introduction of the cross type.

In the south the crowned bust type would seem to have replaced the cross type. The evidence is not entirely convincing but at the London mint there are three moneyers who struck the former, and not the latter, type and all three are found working for Edmund.³ This suggests that the cross type had been discontinued considerably before the end of Athelstan's reign.

In the north-west midlands group most of the moneyers at Chester struck both cross and rosette types and the more extensive combination of the two types makes it likely

¹ See p. 90 below.

² See p. 87 below.

³ See table of London moneyers, p. 62.

that the two were at one moment being issued concurrently. There is, moreover, a coin of the cross type by the moneyer Osulf which is overstruck on a coin with the bust in relief (no. 149). This makes it clear that this latter type was in issue before the end of the cross type at Chester and so vitiates the otherwise attractive idea that the rosette type was introduced there when the crowned bust type started in the south.

The mules so far identified on southern types may be tabulated as follows:

REVERSE TYPE	OBSERVE TYPE			
	Diad. bust	Two-line	Cross	Crowned bust
Diad. bust	x			
Two-line	x	x	x	x
Cross		x	x	x
Crowned bust			x	x

HOARD EVIDENCE

The table of hoards containing coins of Athelstan shows the extent to which we are dependent on continental finds; how many of the others come from areas under Viking control, or from the north of England; and how very few come from the south.

The great Forum hoard was first published in the report on the Forum excavations written by De Rossi and a list of the coins was given in *NC* 1884, pp. 224 ff., with some notes by Keary. There was no indication as to the ultimate fate of the hoard and it came as a very pleasant surprise to the writer to find it intact in the Museo Nazionale in Rome. The coins were uncleaned¹ and the readings on many were hard to decipher even in a strong light. It speaks volumes for the scholarly way in which De Rossi carried out his far from easy task of recording the readings on both sides of every coin when it proves that, on cleaning, many of his readings that before appeared doubtful are completely vindicated. Add to this the fact that he was in no way a Saxonist and in only a very limited way a numismatist and our admiration for the quality of his work is further enhanced.

The lack of illustration, however, was a serious defect and the deceptively simple division into coins 'without bust' and 'with bust' has at times led later writers astray and failed to bring out important new varieties.² A full reassessment of the hoard will no doubt have to await the cleaning and weighing of all the coins; to weigh them uncleaned would be positively misleading. But meanwhile there is set out in Appendix I a broad reassessment; many of the Athelstan coins in the hoard are the only ones of their kind recorded and, while a few are here illustrated cleaned, a number have had to be shown in their uncleaned state.

This hoard, with nearly 400 coins of Athelstan, provides by far the greatest single source of material for the reign, with a large southern element—note the 119 coins of the crowned bust type. There is also a substantial block of coins of the NE I type—60 in all—but a distinctly smaller Mercian element than the number of surviving coins as a whole might lead one to expect. Northumbria too is relatively lightly represented and it will be

¹ Some, thanks to the work of Dr. Plenderleith, have now been cleaned and prove generally to be in the finest state.

² For instance there is nothing to suggest that one

of the coins under no. 291 in De Rossi's list provides an entirely new type for Edmund or that no. 183 was one of the rare coins with the diademed bust.

HOARDS CONTAINING COINS OF ATHELSTAN

Hoard	Dolley no.	Size	Diademed bust	Two-line	Mules	Cross	Mules	Crowned bust	Rosette and cross	Rosette	North-Eastern			'Church'	Irregular	No details	Approx. date of deposit
											I	II	III				
Bossall/Flaxton	71	xxx	..	?1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	?	927
Glasnevin	72	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	927
Morley St. Peter	69	xxx	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	927
Tywardreath	73	x	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	929
Rome (Vatican)	..	xxx	2	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	930
Oxford	74	x	..	2	1?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	930
Cockburnspath	75	xx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	'Considerable number'	935?
Co. Cork	76	x?	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	935
Co. Dublin	77	xx	..	4	..	1	..	..	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	935
Co. Kildare	78	x	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	935
Scotby	79	xx	..	5	..	7	1	..	4	2	1	1	..	..	..	6*	935-40
Skye	80	xx	..	15	..	19	1	4	1	4	5	1†	..	3	4	..	935
Stengade, Denmark	..	?	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	940?
'Sicily'	..	xx	..	5	..	2	..	6	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	940
Terslev, Denmark	..	xxxx	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	After 940
Durrow	..	x	..	2	..	4	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	940
Glendalough	81	xx	..	1	..	13	..	..	2	5	2	..	..	..	2	8*	942
Co. Tipperary	82	x	..	3	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	942
Mont St. Michel, France	..	x	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	942-5
Rome (Forum)	..	xxx	3	81	8	78	7‡	119	3	13	60	5§	..	1	20	..	945
London (Threadneedle St.)	83	x	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	945
Jydevad, Denmark	..	xxx	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	After 946
Skaill, Orkney	84	xx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	950
Honedon, Suffolk	85	xxx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	953
Macroon	86	xx	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	953
Monasterboice	87	xx	..	..	..	1?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	953
Rome (1846)	..	xx	..	4	..	2	..	8	..	..	11	1	1	..	2	..	After 946
Mungret	88	xx	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	953
Rønvik, Norway	..	xx	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	955
Killyon Manor	89	xx	..	3	..	13	..	3	1	5	1	..	..	..	1	..	958
Kintbury	90	xx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No details	958
Bräcke, Sweden	..	xxx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	? after 959
Bath	93	xx	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	950-5
Ballitore	94	xx	..	4?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	965
Ireland (1862)	95	xx	..	2	..	4	..	5	..	1	8	..	..	..	..	..	965
Lough Lene	96	xx	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2||	965
Armagh	98	xx?	..	1?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	970
Chester (1950)	102	xxx	..	15	..	15	..	5	2	1	6	..	..	..	3	..	970
Killincoole	103	xx	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	970
Snarmore	107	xx	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	970
Dalkey	110	xx	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	975
Derrykeighan	111	xxx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	975
Douglas, Isle of Man	112	xxx	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	975

Islay	114	xx	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	975
Tirree, Hebrides	119	xxx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	?	975
Iona	124	xxx	..	1	..	2	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	986
Quendale	136	xx?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	?	1000
Villie, Sweden	..	xxx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1009

NOTES:

1. The Dolley numbers refer to the list of hoards published by Mr. Dolley in *SCBI H/Norse*, pp. 47–54, where references are given.
2. The size of the hoard follows the pattern set by Mr. Dolley in the same work, viz. x = less than 20 coins; xx = 20–119 coins; xxx = 120–1,199 coins; xxxx = 1,200 coins or more.
3. The following are the references for the hoards for which no Dolley numbers are given:
 - Bracke. *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 26.
 - Durrow. *NC* 1882, pp. 103–7 (without indication of find spot and (?) confused with another hoard). The hoard will be the subject of a forthcoming note by Mr. Dolley.
 - Jyndevad. *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 26.
 - Mont St. Michel. *BNJ* xl (1971), pp. 1–16.
 - Rome (1846). *BNJ* xxviii (1955–7), pp. 32 ff.
 - Rome (Forum). *NC* 1884, pp. 225–55.
 - Rome (Vatican). *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 7–29.
 - Rønvik. *NMÅ*, 1960, pp. 9–13.
 - Sicily. *NC* 1961, pp. 151–61.
 - Stengade. *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 25.
 - Terslev. *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 26.
 - Villie. *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 31.
4. Two more finds from Ireland containing coins of Athelstan have kindly been brought to my notice by Mr. Dolley:
 - Fennor, Co. Meath (c. 1871). One coin of Athelstan, not identified. (*BNJ* xxxviii (1969), p. 20.)
 - Ireland (before 1726). 'Many coins of Athelstan' (no details). (*SCBI H/Norse*, p. 54.)
5. A single coin of Athelstan of the cross type was in a small find from Knowth, Co. Meath, dep. c. 950. (*BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 16–21.)
6. A single coin of Athelstan of the two-line type was in a small find made in 1973 at Dunmore Cave, Co. Kilkenny (information from Mr. Dolley, not yet published).
7. A coin of Athelstan of the crowned bust type was in the Sejre, Denmark (1858) hoard (*SCBI* Copenhagen, 694).
8. The Co. Cork find. (Dolley no. 76 listed above), is possibly identical with a hoard of coins of Athelstan and Edmund, not described in detail, found in the 1790s (?) at Castle Freke, Rathbarry parish, Co. Cork (information from Mr. Pagan).

* Cross, rosette, or combination of the two.

† Of which one is a mule crowned bust/two-line types.

‡ Of which one is cross, rosette, or combination of both.

† NE II, two-line type.

§ Of which one is NE II two-line type.

noticed that, although there were over 200 coins of Edward the Elder, there is not a single specimen of the St. Peter coinage struck in his reign and possibly in the early years of Athelstan; there was only a single coin of the ‘church’ type and none at all of NE III—the type with the bust in relief. The hoard thus provides the best sample of coins from the south of the country and the presence in the find of a papal badge must add weight to the belief that it represents Peter’s pence, largely collected in the south of England for transmission to the Holy See in Rome.

But, if for sheer volume of material the Forum hoard must stand alone, there are hoards which, in other respects, have no less significance. The Vatican hoard, for instance, deposited early in the reign, confirms other evidence that the cross type was not introduced initially, shows that the rare diademed bust-type coins, which have some affinity with the later bust-type coins of Edward the Elder, came early and, of most significance, shows, by the presence of a single coin of NE I type, that this type was inaugurated early in the reign.

The Morley St. Peter hoard contained a single coin of Athelstan, of southern style, but it will be suggested later that some of the coins in the name of Edward the Elder may have been posthumous issues and the date of deposit suggested by Dolley as *c.* 925 has accordingly been amended to *c.* 927.

The Scotby hoard (if the reconstruction in Appendix II is accepted) may be dated *c.* 935–40. Its content is predominantly west-midlands—out of a total of 19 coins identifiable as mint-signed, 13 are of Chester, 1 of Shrewsbury, and 1 is tentatively attributed to Thelwall. Among the cross- and rosette-type coins the former predominate and, though the record is far from complete, the hoard tends to confirm other evidence that the latter succeeded the former.

Another hoard with a markedly west-midlands flavour is that associated with Glendalough. Here, out of the thirty-three coins recorded, twenty-five are of the Chester mint, two of Shrewsbury, and one of Stafford. The Killyon Manor hoard has also a strong Mercian representation. Evans listed twenty-one coins of which nine are mint-signed coins of Chester and one more (of the two-line type) may be associated with that mint; one is of Tamworth and two are of Leicester. There are, however, five of the mint of York. By contrast, the ‘Ireland 1862’ find, from which twenty coins are recorded, contained eight of the NE I type, three of York, and only two from Mercia.¹

The record of the Rome hoard of 1846 may not be complete,² but its composition points more in a north-easterly direction, though not exclusively so. Out of the twenty-nine coins of Athelstan recorded, thirteen are of the North-Eastern types and one is of York. There is only one mint-signed coin of Chester and no others that can be associated with Mercia.

A critical hoard for the dating of some of the irregular pieces is the one from Skye. It contained the largest number of coins of Athelstan found in the British Isles—fifty-seven in all—and of these four were irregulars. As will be seen from the table, the Skye hoard also contained an unusually representative selection of Athelstan’s coinage. It

¹ Eleven out of the twenty coins of Athelstan were in fact sold by Evans to the British Museum in 1862 and a further three acquired later when his collection came to it from Morgan: *BMC* 50, 75, 80, 94, 101, 108, 111, 116, 123, 131, 132 and *BMA* 509, 531, 533. This hoard provenance is not recorded in *BNJ*

xxviii (1955–7), pp. 47–8, but the hope was expressed on p. 33 that a provenance might in due course be found for the parcel acquired from Evans in 1862. This hope is now realized.

² *BNJ* xxviii (1955–7), p. 33.

contained no coin of Edmund and it seems likely that it was deposited before his accession. The point is important because, if this interpretation of the evidence is correct, it follows that these irregular coins were made in Athelstan's lifetime. The question of their origin is discussed in the section dealing with irregular issues.¹

The Chester (1950) hoard was not deposited until some thirty years or more after Athelstan's death and it is not surprising to find that by then the currency of different areas had become more mixed. In fact, of the forty-seven coins of Athelstan in the hoard, eleven bore signatures of Mercian mints and five others (of the two-line type) may be of Mercian origin; but there was also a substantial southern element including five of the crowned bust type besides six coins of NE I and five of York.

The 'Sicily' hoard, on the other hand, was deposited only shortly after Athelstan's death and one might there have expected to find a more regional pattern. In fact, in the sample recorded, which may well not be the whole, the distribution is fairly widespread, with the exception of Mercia from which only one coin is likely to have come.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Forum hoard offers us the most representative evidence of the currency circulating in southern England, while the finds at Glendalough, Scotby, and Killyon Manor offer a sample of Mercian currency and those from 'Ireland 1862' and 'Rome 1846' of that of north-eastern England.

DATING

Edward the Elder died on 17 July 924 and was succeeded by Athelstan who was crowned at Kingston on 4 September 925. The succession was a peaceful one and it is quite possible that coinage in Edward's name would have continued for some months, at any rate until the existing supply of dies was exhausted.² Athelstan died on 27 October 939 and coinage in his name is likely to have gone on until well into the new year.

If one could establish from documentary sources the date when Athelstan first used the title *Rex totius Britanniae*, one could secure a reasonably firm date for its introduction on the coinage in the cross type. It cannot have been earlier than 927 when Athelstan secured Northumbria, and, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MS. D, s.a. 926), 'brought under his rule all the kings who were in this island'. Nor is it likely to have been later than 931 when the style is commonly found in charters.

Two charters would seem to support the earlier date. In one, dated 927, he describes himself as *monarchus totius Brittaniae*;³ in another, dated 929, as *regnum totius Albionis Deo auctore dispensans*.⁴ But both charters are suspicious.⁵ The first is preserved only in twelfth-century Christ Church copies and is called 'questionable' by J. Armitage Robinson.⁶ It has no sign of Athelstan formulae and its alleged date is at variance with the title bishop of Winchester, given to Ælfheah, since he did not become bishop until 934. The second charter is also suspicious. Armitage Robinson rejected all Worcester charters which refer to a church of St. Mary at a date earlier than the building of a church with this dedication by Archbishop Oswald. Moreover, its proem is one which does not occur as early as this in genuine texts.

¹ See pp. 107 ff.

³ BCS 660.

² This is known to have been the practice later in the Middle Ages, and that it operated in earlier times too is shown by the fact that no coins at all are known in the name of Edmund Ironside who occupied the throne for seven months in 1016.

⁴ Ibid. 665.

⁵ I am very much indebted to Professor D. Whitelock and to Dr. Nicholas Brooks for advice on the validity of the charter evidence.

⁶ Armitage Robinson, p. 42, note 5.

Finally, there is a charter dated 930 where Athelstan uses the title *Rex et Rector totius Britanniae*. In this charter the episcopal attestations are inconsistent, but it can hardly be before 934, even if this has a genuine charter behind it.

The basic difficulty is that few charters datable between 927 and 930 survive and, as has been seen, several of the few are suspect. Dr. N. P. Brooks, moreover, writes:¹ 'It is only from 931 that royal diplomas are sometimes drafted and written in a single writing-office. Until 931 charters were drafted either by the recipient or by a scribe in a local church or monastery. It is therefore very doubtful how far one can talk of kings "using" (or "adopting") particular titles in charters before 931. (The single writing-office itself was a temporary expedient only (see P. Chaplais, "The origin and authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon diploma", *Jour. Soc. Archivists*, iii (2) (1965), pp. 48-61, and "The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: from the diploma to the writ", *ibid.* iii (4) (1966), pp. 160-76) and came to an end when the revival of monasticism provided plenty of alternative *scriptoria*.) Until 931 kings were given a variety of titles by ecclesiastical scribes, but there is no reason to suppose there was any "official" title in royal diplomas. It is therefore perfectly possible—in my view it is likely—that Athelstan was officially known as "king of all Britain" before he is so found in charters. In other words that "*rex Anglorum, per omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britanniae regni solio sublimatus*" and such titles are elaborations of a style (*rex totius Britanniae*) that had been in use on coins and at court for some time. Since we have only three or four genuine Athelstan diplomas for the period 927-930, and none are "Chancery" products, there are no strong grounds for supposing that the style must have been introduced on the coins in or shortly before 931.'

There seems therefore insufficient evidence to date the first use of the title *rex totius Britanniae* on the coins to 931 as Brooke tentatively sought to do on the strength of the charter evidence.²

The second potential source of evidence is the York coinage which cannot have started in Athelstan's name before 927. By far the greater part of this consists of coins of the cross type with the title *rex tot Brit* (nos. 230-46); but there is a relatively small issue, with the title simply *rex*, of the 'church' type (nos. 438-44). These could be either the initial issue of the York royal mint for Athelstan, which would involve dating the cross type and the introduction of the longer title on the coins rather later than 927, or an issue of the archbishop's mint, as the type itself might suggest, in which case the cross type could have been struck at the royal mint practically from the moment that Athelstan recovered the city.

The two coinages are linked by the fact that the name Regnald appears as a moneyer's name on both. Reasons for believing that Samuel Pegge may well have been right in regarding the coins of 'church' type as the archbishop's are given later.³

Provisionally, therefore, it seems best to regard the introduction of the cross type as having taken place shortly after Athelstan's capture of York, say in 928. This would give a period from about the end of 924 to 928 for the first groups, the two-line and diademed bust types and would leave eleven or twelve years for the cross, crowned bust, and revived two-line types in the south and for the cross, rosette, and revived two-line types in Mercia. Here we can do little more than guess that the cross type

¹ In a personal letter to the author which he has kindly allowed me to quote.

² Brooke, p. 57.

³ See pp. 90 ff.

may have had a life of some five years, 928-33 and the crowned bust type about the same, 933-8, but continuing in East Anglia to the end of the reign.

Norwich coins (all of the crowned bust type) can be shown to be late; none of the moneyers who struck them worked for Edward and six of the seven recorded did so for Edmund. On the same grounds the helmet type is also a late issue.

What is here designated North-Eastern I (two-line) was long-lived and was probably issued throughout Athelstan's reign. A specimen was found in the Vatican hoard, which contained no cross-type coins and therefore must have been deposited early in the reign, and a number of the NE I moneyers are found striking coins of similar style in the name of Edmund.

North-Eastern III (bust in relief) can hardly have started before the introduction of the crowned bust type in the south, which it appears to imitate. On the other hand, the fact that a cross-type coin of Chester is found to be over-struck on it¹ points to its having been introduced not long afterwards.

Coins of the royal mint at York are predominantly of the cross type; those with the crowned bust are notably rare. This could suggest that the change from the one type to the other took place later at York than in the south. Since, however, none of Athelstan's York moneyers apparently worked for Anlaf,² it may equally well indicate a falling off of mint activity there in the latter part of Athelstan's reign.

Derby, which was in English hands at Athelstan's accession, was most active after the introduction of the cross type, but an isolated coin exists on which the king's title, simply *Rex*, suggests a mule with the two-line type, or a coin transitional between the two types, and may point to the mint having been operating prior to 928. The coin (no. 127) bears no mint-signature but is clearly of Derby both from its style and from the same moneyer's name being found on a mint-signed coin (no. 171).

Moneyers of the North-Western Mercian group, most prolific in the cross and rosette types, are also found striking coins of the two-line type and a number of them also worked for Edward. It is apparent that the Chester mint in particular was operating throughout Athelstan's reign and that it had also been operating in the reign of his predecessor.

The broad pattern may therefore be summarized in the following table:

	925–928	928–933	933–938	938–939
Southern	Two-line; diad. bust	Cross	Crowned bust	Two-line
East Anglian	Coinage in name of Edward ?		Crowned bust	
N-Eastern I	Two-line			
N-Eastern II	Two-line		Helmet	
N-Eastern III	Bust in relief			
York royal	Sihtric and Anon. Viking	Cross	Crowned bust	
York archbishop	St. Peter ?	Church ?		
Mercia, Midland	Two-line	Cross		
Mercia, NW.	Two-line	Cross and rosette		
Mercia, Western Marches		Cross and rosette		

¹ No. 149.

² See discussion on Æthelred and Athelferd on p. 90.

The Western Marches group may have been short-lived. Little enough has survived from it and, with one exception, all the coins are of the cross type. I have placed it early after 928, though not without reservations.

WEIGHTS

The following table is based on 568 coins of Athelstan of which I have recorded weights. As far as possible damaged coins and irregular pieces have been excluded.

	Below 20	20-20.9	21-21.9	Grains		24-24.9	25-25.9	26 and over	Total
				22-22.9	23-23.9				
Two-line	12	12	9	15	25	28	8	1	110
Two-line NE I	3	1		14	16	11	3	1	49
Cross/two-line			1						1
Two-line/cross		1		2					3
Diademed bust					1	1			2
Floral					1	1			2
Church	2	1	7	6	1	1			18
Cross									
Chester	3	1	2	8	17	26	9	4	70
York	2	3	7	8	11	8	6		45
Others	5	2	9	13	18	10	8	2	67
Total	10	6	18	29	46	44	23	6	
Cross/rosette				2	1	12	1		16
Rosette/cross					4	5	2		11
Rosette		1	1	2	18	29	13		64
Diademed bust/two-line				1					1
Crowned bust/cross				1		1			2
Crowned bust/two-line				1					1
Crowned bust	4	3	5	7	20	24	12	3	78
Crowned bust in inner circle		1			1	2			4
Bust in relief (NE III)	2	2		3	2	1			10
Helmet (NE II)	1	3	4	1	3				12
Helmet in inner circle (NE II)							2		2
	34	31	45	82	141	160	64	11	568

Brooke prepared a comparable table of the weights of 499 Anglo-Saxon coins in the Vatican hoard, 420 of them of Edward and thirty-three of Athelstan.¹ He concluded that it suggested 'a standard weight as high as 26 gr. during the reign of Edward the Elder; it seems likely that the weight of the penny was increased during his reign, . . . pennies exceeding 25 gr. are still found, but less commonly, in the reigns of Athelstan and Edmund'.

Brooke's table, which of course contained only early coins of Athelstan, shows a single one weighing over 25 gr. (as against nearly 25 per cent of Edward's) but strong representation in the 24-grain bracket. This is broadly borne out by the table set out above, though this shows a larger proportion (about 13 per cent) of coins weighing over 25 gr.

¹ *NC* 1931, pp. 134-5.

The official weight would appear to have changed little during Athelstan's reign and, though it probably did not achieve the highest level of Edward's, the evidence suggests a standard of at any rate 25 gr.

The consistently high standard of the North-Western mints will be noted; also the rather lower weights of the three North-Eastern groups. This latter feature may reflect a somewhat laxer control being exercised in the areas occupied by the Danish settlers. Certainly on the coinage in the name of Edward a great deal more licence was allowed to, or was taken by, East Anglican moneyers in the spelling (or blundering) of the legends on the coins.¹ In contrast, however, to the three North-Eastern groups, the standard at the mint of Norwich under Athelstan is well maintained. Of the sixteen recorded weights at this mint five are in the 24-grain bracket, five in the 25-grain bracket, one weighs 26 grains, and one 27.5. This is well above the average for the crowned bust type (of which Norwich-signed coins are exclusively composed).

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¹ Mr. Dolley will no doubt be discussing this further in his forthcoming study of the Morley St. Peter hoard in *SCBI*.

- SCBI* *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* followed by name of collection. London, various authors and dates.
- Seaby's Bulletin* *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*.
- SNC* Spink & Son Ltd., *Numismatic Circular*.
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THE COINS

SOUTHERN GROUP

THIS large group covers Wessex and Kent and includes London, Hertford, and Maldon. The inclusion of London in the Wessex-Kentish group rather than in the Mercian group, for the purpose of coinage administration, need occasion no surprise nor need the inclusion of Hertford which was, no doubt, in the lands belonging to London to which Edward the Elder succeeded (ASC s.a. 911); but it is interesting to find Maldon linked with the same group. Oxford as a marcher mint between Wessex and Mercia occupies a particularly interesting position, which is discussed later.

Diademed bust and two-line type coins are the currency issued in this area at the outset of the reign. None bear mint-names but many coins may with fair confidence be associated with specific mints by the moneyers' names, and others may stylistically be associated with the area, if not with specific mints.

The cross type which follows was issued over a wide area. The mule two-line/cross is found at Dover, Hertford, London, and Oxford; one of the two recorded specimens of the mule the other way, however, is probably not from this area (no. 117); the other is of distinctly southern style (no. 118).

The bulk of the crowned bust-type coins come from the southern area, by far the greatest number from the London mint.

The mule cross/crowned bust is known of three or four moneyers, of whom Athelmund struck mint-signed coins at Wallingford from which the mule may be presumed also to emanate. The mule the other way has, so far, only been confidently identified at London but both forms probably occurred at Winchester also. The two known mules between the crowned bust and two-line types, both by the moneyer Eadgild, may be presumed to be from Southampton where a moneyer of this name issued mint-signed coins of the cross type. It is likely that the true two-line coins by this moneyer represent the later issue of this type, as do coins of similar type by the moneyer Ælfstan.

Individual mints are dealt with briefly below. London, with its authorized eight moneyers, has been treated first, followed by Canterbury (seven authorized), Winchester (six), Oxford (not included in the Grateley code), and Rochester (three). There then follow the five mints authorized to have two moneyers, plus Wallingford which, like Oxford, may have been outside the area covered by the Grateley code. After that come two mints authorized to have one moneyer, Chichester and Dorchester, followed by the remaining mints of the area which would have been 'other boroughs', authorized to have one moneyer each.

In the table at the head of each mint is shown whether a moneyer of the same name worked for Athelstan's predecessor or successor; whether the name is found on coins without mint-signature; and, generally, whether it is identifiable at any other mint.

LONDON

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Diad. bust</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Two-line/ cross (mule)</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Crowned bust/ cross (mule)</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ÆTHERED	x		x	x					121
BIORHTRIC			x		x				183
EHLSTAN	x		x		x				184
FAWLE					x				186
GAREARD	x	x	x		x				187
ECLAF (ELLAF)	x		x	x	x		x		122, 185, 272
BEAHRED	x		x		x		x	x	182, 270
GRIMWALD	x	x	x		x		x	x	188, 273
IGERE	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	123, 189, 258, 274-5
LIOFHELM	x		x		x		x	x	190, 276
WULFHELM	x			x	x		x	x	124, 191, 277
ÆLFSTAN	x		x				x	x	268
ÆLFWALD							x	x	269
BIORNEARD							x	x	271
MAN	x		x			x		x	259

Note: None of these names is found on mint-signed coins elsewhere, though Manen occurs at Norwich and Manna at Canterbury and Tamworth.

Under the Grateley decrees London was allowed 8 moneyers. The above list gives a total of 15. But it will be seen that 10 are known of the cross and 9 of the crowned bust types, with in addition, in each case, another known only on a muled coin; also that the first 4 in the cross type are not found in the crowned bust type and that the last 3 in the latter are not found in the former. It is apparent therefore that there was a substantial turn-over of moneyers at the London mint and it is quite possible that the quota prescribed at Grateley was in fact adhered to.

It will be noticed that the coins of the cross type with the moneyer's name reading EFE, EFE, ERE, EIE, or simply FF (nos. 456-62) have not been included in the above table. This quite substantial group is irregular and they are dealt with in that section.¹

Judging by the number of moneyers, London is by far the most prolific mint in the crowned bust type, and in the cross type is only exceeded by Chester where at least twenty-two moneyers are found working in it. However, as has already been explained, there are grounds for believing that this latter type lasted longer at Chester than it did in the south. London may also be shown to be the source of two of the few known true coins with the diademed bust (nos. 3 and 4). The style on these two is typically southern; Gareard and Grimwald, both London moneyers, are unknown elsewhere, and their early dating is shown by the fact that one was found in the Vatican hoard.

London is our main source for mules with obverse two-line type and reverse cross type (nos. 121-4),² Altogether I have records of seven specimens (four of them in Rome, from the Forum hoard) by four moneyers. It is more than possible, however, that others are lying unrecognized.

In spite of the names of no less than ten moneyers being found on the cross type, the number of surviving specimens is small. Of Biorhtric, Eahlstan, Fawle, Gareard,

¹ See p. 108 below. Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson has arrived quite independently at the same conclusion (SCBI Edinburgh, pl. vii, 193).

² None of the mules the other way can be attributed to this mint.

Grimwald, and Wulfhelm I have a record of only a single specimen and of the other four exactly three each. This is the more remarkable when compared with the record of upwards of a dozen surviving specimens of the imitative group with the name of ELE, EFE, etc. referred to above.

The mint-name on the cross coins is spelt consistently LVND CIVITT. On the coins with the crowned bust the v is replaced by an o and the legend ends CI or CIVI. As explained above,¹ the difference in the form of the reverse legend has made possible the identification of mules between the two types.

Of the five London mules with obverse crowned bust that I have recorded, three are by the moneyer Igere (two in Rome, one in Glasgow) (no. 258), and two are by Man (one in Rome, one in Edinburgh) (no. 259).

In contrast to the cross type at London, coins with the crowned bust have survived in substantial quantities, though the number of moneyers is virtually the same. The following table records the number of specimens I have noted and the list is unlikely to be complete. The figures in brackets are the number found in the Forum hoard and it will be seen how much we are dependent on this hoard for this type:

Ellaf	6 (4) (no. 272)	Wulfhelm	2 (2) (no. 277)
Beahred	11 (6) (no. 270)	Ælfstan	5 (2) (no. 268)
Grimwald	12 (6) (no. 273)	Ælfwald	14 (9) (no. 269)
Igere	2 (1) (no. 274-5)	Biorneard	16 (9) (no. 271)
Liofhelm	14 (6) (no. 276)		

The total is thus eighty-two. The coins are of good workmanship. Minor varieties show a rosette of pellets (no. 268), or a single pellet (no. 272), as a clasp to the king's cloak on his right shoulder. On a few coins the king wears a necklace (of pearls?) (no. 271).

A number of the two-line coins struck by moneyers whose names are found on mint-signed coins of London may confidently be attributed to that mint. The style of the following is typical: Beahred (no. 23), Biorhtric (no. 32), Gareard (no. 58), Grimwald (no. 60), and Igere (no. 69). Ellaf's (no. 53, not illustrated) are of this style but others where the name is spelt Eclaf (no. 52) differ. Ælfstan's coins (no. 10) are not of early southern style and since he first appears in this reign in the crowned bust type and is also known for Edmund, these if of London are likely to be of the late issue. The coin of Æthered (no. 18) is clearly not of the early style normally associated with London, but that it is in fact an early coin is shown by its close resemblance to coins struck by this moneyer for Edward the Elder. The coin of Liofhelm (no. 72) is also not of early London style and, as he worked also for Edmund, this may be a late piece. A coin by Man in the Forum hoard (no. 74) is of southern style and may be of London. Coins of Ealhstan are of the same style (no. 48) but one on which the moneyer's name reads Alhstan (no. 20) differs.

A blundered coin of the two-line type with a moneyer's name on the obverse apparently followed by LOND CI (no. 450) is clearly an irregular piece. This coin does not bear the name of any king and can only doubtfully be regarded as of this reign.

¹ p. 49.

CANTERBURY

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ETHELFRETH	x	x	x	x*			131, 310
ÆTHELSIGE	x	x	x	x		x	132, 263
ÆLFRIČ			x	x		x	133, 262
MANNA	x	x	x		Tamworth, London (Man)	x	134
TORHTELM	x		x	x	Lymne		135, 264

* Without mint-signatures.

The mint-signed coins all read DOR, for Dorobernia, the Ancient British name of Canterbury which, for some reason unexplained, survived on the coinage until this time,¹ followed by some abbreviation of CIVITAS, and the reading DOR has raised the question whether some should not be attributed to Dorchester, which is one of the burhs specifically mentioned in the Grateley decrees as entitled to a moneyer. Brooke for one attributed no less than five moneyers to Dorchester as opposed to three to Canterbury.² Of Brooke's three Canterbury moneyers, Eadgild can probably be eliminated. As far as can be traced the only coin of this moneyer attributable to the Canterbury mint was the one in the Forum hoard which was read by De Rossi as CANTVNVRB (his no. 194). This has now been cleaned and in fact reads ANTVNVRB and is a coin of Southampton under which mint it is discussed (no. 212). The other two moneyers that Brooke attributes to Canterbury, Elfric and Ethelfreth, he regards as moneyers at Dorchester also. Space did not allow of his giving his reasons for a seemingly arbitrary and curious division of moneyers with the same name between these two mints, but Mr. Dolley has already made the point that it is highly unlikely that a one-moneyer mint would have five successive moneyers in a reign of fifteen years and that the volume of coins surviving points to a far greater output than might have been expected from a one-moneyer mint.³

I can find no reason to separate any one moneyer from the others in this group and, until one can do so, it seems wiser to attribute all to Canterbury. If this is accepted, we have five moneyers on Canterbury mint-signed coins. One further moneyer may be associated with Canterbury. Sigehelm, whose name is found on a solitary coin of the two-line type (no. 94), was a moneyer for Archbishop Plegmund. His coin in the name of Athelstan is of typical southern style, with a cross at top and bottom of the reverse, and his is the only coin that can be identified today as having possibly been struck by the archbishop's moneyer.

Plegmund died in 923 and it is possible that his successor was not appointed until after Athelstan's accession. Certain it is that Plegmund's is the last name of an archbishop of Canterbury to be found on the coins and it would appear that Athelstan seized the opportunity of a vacancy to order that for the future the archbishop's share in the profits of coining should take the form of participation in the profits of the royal mint at which, under the Grateley code, he was allowed two moneyers. The somewhat comparable situation at York is discussed under that mint. The same code provided

¹ This form had occurred regularly when the Canterbury mint was named on the coins, but is last found under Athelstan. The next time the name

appears on the coinage, under Edgar, it is in the OE. form.

² Brooke, p. 59.

³ *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), p. 31.

for the king to have four moneyers at Canterbury and, quite exceptionally, for the abbot to have one. With the names of five moneyers on mint-signed coins, it is possible that one may have worked for the archbishop or the abbot, but it is not possible to identify him. Torhtelm, however, can be regarded as a royal moneyer as he worked at the neighbouring royal mint of Lymne.

Of the cross type (nos. 131-5) I have records of eleven surviving examples, that of the moneyer Manna (in Rome) being unique. One of the three by Ethelfreth is said, in the Montagu sale catalogue (lot 612), to have the first I of CIVIT in the field of the reverse. This is likely to be the coin previously in the Malmesbury museum but now missing. The crowned bust-type coins (nos. 262-4) are more plentiful: 12 are known of Ælfric, five of Æthelsige, and five of Torhtelm. Of this total of 22, 15 are in Rome. There are also recorded 5 crowned bust-type coins for Æthelfreth with no mint-signature (no. 310) and one of Æthelsige (no. 311). There is no reason not to associate these with Canterbury. Two coins by Torhtelm are known without mint-signature. That these are from the same mint as his signed coins is shown by the fact that the same reverse die is used for both (nos. 264 and 325).

Coins of the two-line type by Æthelfreth (or Ethelfreth) and Ethelsige (nos. 13 and 14) may be attributed to the Canterbury mint. They are relatively plentiful, as becomes so important a mint, the moneyers are not found striking elsewhere and the coins are of typical southern style, often exhibiting such features as a single pellet or a cross at top or bottom of the reverse or, in one instance, by Ethelfreth (*SBCI* Edinburgh 129), an annulet at the bottom. One of this type in the Forum hoard is of a different (though still southern) style and spells the moneyer's name *ÆDELFERÐ*.

With the two-line coins of Manna there can be less precision. Some are clearly not of southern style but the obverse of one, at Edinburgh (*SCBI* 136) (no. 76) (on which the moneyer's name has been curiously altered) is of this style and may conceivably be a Canterbury coin.

WINCHESTER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Mules</i>	<i>Crowned bust (1)</i>	<i>Crowned bust (2)</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
/ ATHELULF	x	x	x					x	226
\ ATHULF			x						227
EADSTAN	x	C. Britton	x					x*	228
AMELRIC			x		x				225, 300
RÆGENULF	x	x		x	x	x	RAENULF		229, 304-5
							at Chester		
ÆTHELM			x	x	x	x		x	224, 298-9
WULFHEARD	x	x			x				306
OTIC		North			x	x			302-3
LEOFRIC						x		x	301

* On rosette coins from Mercia.

Note: The crowned bust type is divided at this mint into two distinct varieties: (1) the normal type: (2) a variety with a smaller bust contained within the inner circle and with legend ending *To Br* (the subsidiary crowned bust type).

Under the Grateley code Winchester, entitled to six moneyers, ranked only after London and Canterbury among those listed there. Eight moneyers are in fact recorded, but, as two appear to have ceased to operate after the cross type, it is likely that the quota laid down was not exceeded. A relatively large number of coins survives. I have

records of thirty-five mint-signed coins of the three types. In addition several with the name of Eadstan and the Winchester mint-signature appear to be irregular and are dealt with under that section (nos. 498-501).

Pellet or, occasionally, wedge-shaped stops are found on a number of Winchester coins and there are found not infrequently one or two small crosses, a trefoil of pellets or four individual pellets in the field, usually on the reverse.

The subsidiary crowned bust type, with the *To Br* legend (e.g. no. 299), is exclusive to Winchester in the southern group (if one excepts the strange Oxford (?) coin by Sigeland), and one's first reaction was to wonder if it should not be regarded as a tentative issue from the Wessex capital that was soon abandoned, perhaps on the grounds that there was insufficient space within the inner circle for the bust. But this is not the case. One or two coins of the type start the obverse legend at eight o'clock and this unusual starting-point must surely arise from copying from the normal crowned bust type in which, because of the bust breaking the legend, it naturally starts there. The evidence of the moneyers' names, slight though it is, points in the same direction. Leofric, for instance, is not known on any earlier type but is found for Edmund.

The mint name reads *vvin* followed, normally, on the crowned bust coins by *ci*. On the cross-type coins this is extended to *civit*, *civita*, or even *civitatis*, e.g. on no. 227, the last reading satisfactory as showing that the tradition that the mint-name was in the genitive, already demonstrated at Canterbury under Archbishop Wulfred,¹ still continued.

The single coin of Rægenulf of the cross type reads *ci* (no. 229) and a single one of Æthelm of the crowned bust type reads *civit* (no. 260). These, on the analogy of the London coins, may probably be regarded as mules.

Only five of the eight moneyers recorded for Winchester are found striking the two-line type. Those of Æthelulf (no. 15), Rægenulf (no. 88), and Wulfheard (no. 113) are of southern style and are likely to be of Winchester. A coin by Eadstan is recorded (but not illustrated) in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue, lot 397, but I have not seen it. Mr. North records *Otic* in the two-line type² and this too I have not seen; it could well prove to be of the later two-line issue.

OXFORD

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Two-line/ cross (mule)</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Cross/ crowned bust (mule)</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ATHELMUND				?	x*	†	Wallingford	x	255
INGELRI				x					198-9
MATHELWALD		-WOLD		x					200
RÆGENWARD				x					201
SIGELAND		x	x	x	x	x*†			125, 202, 322-3
EARDULF	x	x				x		x	288
UTHELRIC						x			289
WYNELM						x		x	290-1

* No mint-name.

† Athelmund struck the crowned bust type at Wallingford.

‡ One specimen (Rome) has bust contained within the inner circle and reads *Rex to Br*.

Information about early Oxford from documentary sources is remarkably scanty. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records, s.a. 911, that Edward the Elder 'succeeded to

¹ *BNJ* xxxii (1963), p. 19.

² North, p. 92, no. 668.

London and Oxford and to all the lands which belonged to them'; in 924 Oxford is mentioned as the place where Edward's son, Ælfweard, died; and the next mention is not until 1009 when Viking forces came to Oxford and burnt the borough. There is an equal lack of charter evidence about Oxford; it figures, however, in a list of hides dating, says Stainer, from about the end of the eleventh century but surviving in only a later copy.¹

If documentary evidence is scanty, it does bring out an important point which is confirmed by the coinage at Oxford in Athelstan's reign. It is clear that London and Oxford passed to Edward prior to his assumption of full control of Mercia following the death of Æthelflæd.² It has been remarked earlier that the former kingdoms appear to have enjoyed some measure of autonomy in respect of the types of coins they issued and the peculiar position of Oxford as a former Mercian borough lately taken into Wessex is reflected in Athelstan's coinage there which shows a combination of Wessex and Mercian features not found elsewhere. Equally, with its eight moneyers (no doubt not all working together) it ranks numerically after London and equally with Winchester in the southern group. There can be no doubt that it was a place of far more importance than the documentary evidence might suggest.

Turning to the individual coins, it will be seen that the mint-signed coin of Athelmund of the cross type has been entered in the table with a query. The authority for the coin is a reference by Stainer, who had not himself seen it, to Spink's *Numismatic Circular* where a coin of this moneyer is described.³ Athelmund is recorded as a moneyer of the nearby mint of Wallingford in the crowned bust type and so might well have worked at Oxford in the one that preceded it. But the Oxford coin cannot at present be traced and it has been suggested that it might be a misread coin of Mathelwald who is known for the cross type at the mint. I am inclined, however, to accept Athelmund provisionally as an Oxford moneyer because, if in fact the coin cited by Stainer is a misread Mathelwald, it too is missing. None of the four recorded specimens by this moneyer was available for sale in 1893; two are in Rome, from the Forum hoard; one is from the 'Sicily' hoard acquired by the British Museum in 1961; the last came from the Killyon Manor hoard of 1876 and remained in the Evans collection until it was presented to the Ashmolean Museum in 1912 (no. 200).

Rægenward is represented by a solitary specimen at Edinburgh from the Skye hoard (no. 201).

Ingelri's coins present interesting problems. There are two specimens from the same dies of perfectly normal work, one in the Ashmolean, one at the British Museum (no. 198). Two others exist (Ashmolean (no. 199) and Forum hoard) which, while of normal work on the reverse—the Ashmolean specimen die-links with the reverse of the two regular coins, the other does not—have an obverse with a blundered legend of the king that one would normally associate with the irregular group. In view, however, of the die-link, this is not possible, unless one is to assume that the reverse die was stolen or that the moneyer decamped with it. But the fact that the irregular obverse is used with two different regular reverses makes this unlikely. That something unusual may have occurred at Oxford is suggested by the fact that none of the moneyers who sign coins of the cross type is found on a mint-signed coin of Oxford of the crowned bust type; and that, except for Athelmund who, if indeed he was an Oxford moneyer, seems to

¹ Stainer, p. xxxii, citing *BCS* iii, p. 672.

² See Chadwick, p. 207.

³ Stainer, p. 85.

have moved to Wallingford and might therefore be clear of any troubles at his original mint, none of the cross-type moneyers struck for Edmund. The evidence is very tenuous and the unusual features of Sigeland's coins now to be discussed may indicate that Oxford, as a border mint between Wessex and Mercia, enjoyed a degree of autonomy not allowed to others.¹

Of Sigeland two mint-signed coins are known (both from the Forum hoard) (no. 125) that combine an obverse of the two-line type with a reverse of the cross type and it is satisfactory to be able to record an obverse die-link between both of them and a true coin of the two-line type (no. 95). Of his true cross type a single specimen is recorded (no. 202) and this is very peculiar. Its lettering is of Derby style² and, like some of the Derby coins, it has the title *Re Saxorum*. This title is never found (otherwise) outside the Mercia Midland group³ and it is hard to resist the conclusion that the dies for this coin of Sigeland's were supplied from the centre where those dies were cut.

This is not the end of the Sigeland story. It is true that no further mint-signed coins of Sigeland are known, but three from the same obverse die, with a crude crowned bust on them (two in the Forum hoard, the third (no. 322) in Dr. Harris's collection) are signed SIGELAND or SIELAND. Yet another, reads SIELAN, and, an even more curious feature, has the bust contained within the inner circle and the title *Rex to Br* (no. 323).

The name Si(g)elan(d) is otherwise unknown on Athelstan's coins and it seems logical to associate these curious pieces with the crowned bust with the no less curious cross type mint-signed coin of Oxford and to regard them all as the product of the same moneyer.

Of mint-signed coins with the crowned bust I have records of nine specimens: two by Eardulf from the same dies (no. 288), three by Uthelric, all from the same obverse die, (no. 289) (all five in Rome, from the Forum hoard), and four by Wynelm (British Museum (2) (nos. 290-1); *SCBI* Edinburgh, 190; Seaby, *Bulletin*, Nov. 1958; none in Forum hoard). Those by Eardulf and Uthelric show the normal style of bust, though the lettering on the reverse of Eardulf's is rougher than usual. Wynelm's show more variety. Three are normal, a minor variation being four small pellets in the field of the reverse opposite the ends of the central cross and near the border (no. 290). The fourth, in the British Museum from the 'Sicily' hoard, has a bust of crude execution clearly not the work of the same hand (no. 291). It too has the extra pellets in the reverse field.

A fragment of a two-line type coin by Eardulf was found in the Forum hoard (no. 49). A moneyer of this name worked also at Stafford but the use of the normal form of ð suggests that this may be by the Oxford moneyer. A single specimen of the same type is known by Mathelwold (no. 79) who may be the same man as the Oxford Mathelwald. Compare also the two coins by Ingeri (nos. 70 and 70a).

This is the sum of the evidence that I have collected on the Oxford mint. What are we to deduce from it? First, I think that this *Urbs* (one of only four mints to be so styled⁴) occupied an altogether exceptional position. It had only recently been taken over by the West Saxon king and not as a part of the general submission of Mercia. It may thus, though counting as a Wessex mint, have been subject to influences from Mercia. Initially its coinage formed an integral part of the southern group, but, as time went on,

¹ For a similar problem see Tamworth, p. 96.

² Compare, for example, nos. 162-3, and *SCBI* Edinburgh, no. 152.

³ The solitary coin with the London mint-name and this title (no. 461) must be relegated to the irregular group.

⁴ See p. 45 above.

increasing independence (so far as mint procedure was concerned) developed and dies seem to have been made locally or, in one instance, to have been derived from the centre that supplied Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, and Tamworth.

ROCHESTER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
HUNGAR		x	x			292

A single coin is known with the mint-name Rochester (no. 292). This is disappointing since, under the Grateley code, Rochester was entitled to have three moneyers, two for the king, one for the bishop. The coin, which came to the British Museum from the Lockett collection, has a pedigree going back only to 1898. It may, however, be the coin illustrated in 1842 by Lindsay, pl. iv. 108. The weight is the same and the legends correspond, but the shape of Lindsay's coin, as engraved, differs slightly from that of the British Museum specimen. Lindsay's was found 'somewhere in the south-west of Ireland'.¹

The mint reading is ROF CIVIT and there are four pellets in the field of the reverse. The moneyer's name is also found on a single coin of the two-line type, which may reasonably be associated with Rochester² (no. 67).

EXETER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ABUN, ABBON			x		ABBUN	173
RÆGENOLD	-ALD	-ALD	x	Regnald at York	x	174

Exeter was entitled, under the Grateley code, to two moneyers, which is the number that are known from mint-signed coins. Abun's was found in the Forum hoard, but the Forster sale catalogue (Sotheby, 28.5.1868, lot 6) records another, said to read ABBON, probably from the Scotby hoard, the present whereabouts of which I have not been able to trace.³ Of Rægenold's coins five specimens are recorded, four of them from the Forum hoard. The mint reading on the Forum coin of Abun is EAXCIVITA; on the rest the name is fuller, EAXANIE followed by CIV.

Brooke lists Sigeland as an Exeter moneyer of the crowned bust type.⁴ He probably follows De Rossi and if so the attribution must be rejected. The coins in question, mentioned above, p. 68, have a crude bust of unusual work (no. 322), and the reverse legend ends MOEA, not MOEA+ as recorded by De Rossi who mistook the initial cross for the final letter of the legend. EA could be an abbreviation of Exeter but, as Sigeland is unknown at that mint but recorded for Oxford, it is likely in this instance that EA is an abbreviation of MONETA, a form actually found in full on one of the specimens of this coin at Rome where the moneyer's name is spelt SIELAN (no. 323).

¹ NC 1839-40, p. 36.

² I am indebted to M. J. Yvon, formerly of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for bringing this coin

to my notice.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Pagan for this reference.

⁴ Brooke, p. 59.

Two specimens of the two-line type by a moneyer associable with Exeter are recorded, and they are from the same obverse die. One (in the British Museum) reads RÆGNALD (no. 87), the other (Lockett 554) RÆGENALD. Both must be early coins; the former is from the Tywardreath hoard, deposited *c.* 929; the latter from the Vatican hoard, deposited *c.* 930. A moneyer of this name is known otherwise only at York, a mint from the style of which the style of these coins differs radically, and, though not specifically resembling in style later Exeter coins of the cross type, there seems very good reason to associate these two coins with Exeter.

LEWES

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
WILEBALD		x	x				181
EADRIC				x		x	267

Under the Grateley code Lewes was specifically allowed two moneyers. Two names are found on the coins but it does not necessarily follow that they worked together; the one produced the cross type, the other the crowned bust type.

Of Wilebald two specimens are known, one in the Brighton Museum, the other in the writer's collection (no. 181) (probably lot 387 in the Carlyon-Britton sale, but not illustrated in that catalogue). They are from the same obverse die but from different reverse dies. The mint-name reads LÆ VRB, one of the rare uses of *Urbs* on the coins.

The crowned bust coin, in Rome, appears to be unique (no. 267). On it the more usual MO is expanded to MONETA and the mint-name is consequently cut back to LÆ (without VRB).

A coin of the two-line type by Wilebald in the Forum hoard (no. 108) is of southern style and may be attributed to Lewes. Another specimen is recorded in the Parsons (1929) sale catalogue, lot 99a, but was not illustrated.

SHAFTESBURY

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Diad. bust/ two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ÆTHELWINE	x	Brooke	x*	x		x	203
ÆTHELWOLD		x		x			204

* Without mint-name.

Under the Grateley code Shaftesbury was specifically entitled to two moneyers. This is the number known today from mint-signed coins. All the few known specimens of such coins are of the cross type. Of Æthelwold only one is known, at Glasgow (no. 204); of Æthelwine there are records of three: one in the British Museum (no. 203); one in the Forum hoard; one illustrated by Warne¹ which was later lot 622 in the Montagu (1896) sale and has recently reappeared. Æthelwold's coin has the unusual reading MO TO SCEFT; those of Æthelwine read MO SCEFTES.

¹ Plate facing p. 318, 1. H. Symonds sale, Glendining, 26.9.1973, lot 27.

In the Forum hoard was a unique coin of Æthelwine muling the diademed bust type with the two-line type (no. 5). The bust, an unusual one, faces left and is contained within the inner circle. The only other example of this mule is by a moneyer known at Wareham and there the bust faces right and breaks the circle (no. 6). Since the moneyer is unknown elsewhere in this reign, the mule by Æthelwine may well be of Shaftesbury.

Brooke records this moneyer in the two-line type. That I have not traced the coin is no evidence that it does not exist, but that it may perhaps be a slip on Brooke's part is suggested by the fact that he does not include this moneyer among those striking any form of bust type, though there is ample evidence that he used de Rossi's recording of the Forum hoard when preparing his lists for *English Coins*. It is possible that, when doing so, he entered the bust-type coin under the wrong heading.

Coins are known of the two-line type reading Æthelwld (formerly Duke of Argyll), and Æthelwald (Lockett 2731, no. 16a, and B.M. given by L. A. Lawrence, no. 16b). The Argyll coin is of typically early southern style and may well be of Shaftesbury. The attribution of the Lockett coin is indeterminate (it omits the E before the L in the king's name). The Lawrence coin equally cannot with any confidence be associated with Shaftesbury.

SOUTHAMPTON

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Crowned bust/ two-line (mule)</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
EADGILD	x	x	x	x*		x	212, 261
FRITHEBRIHT	x	x	x				213

* Without mint-name.

W. C. Wells, writing over thirty years ago, confidently attributed to Northampton a coin in his possession reading AMTVN VRB by the moneyer Frithebriht,¹ no doubt the one attributed by Hawkins to Southampton (no. 213). At that time it was believed to be the only surviving coin with this mint-reading, but in fact there was another, by Eadgild, in the Forum hoard (on which the mint was misread by de Rossi as *Cantun*) and a similar coin turned up in the Chester (1950) hoard and is now in the British Museum. When publishing this last coin, the authors noted that the style was identical with a Winchester coin in the same hoard.²

Wells based his attribution to Northampton on the argument that *Urbs* was synonymous with *burh*, that the latter meant a fortified place, and that there was no evidence that Southampton was fortified at this time, whereas evidence he adduces suggests that this was the case at Northampton.

Wells may be thought not to have given sufficient weight to the fact that Southampton is specifically mentioned in the Grateley decrees as being entitled to two moneyers. But what is fatal to his case is the fact (of which he apparently was not aware, but of which Professor Whitelock has very kindly reminded me) that Southampton is specifically listed as a *burh* in the Burghal Hidage, drawn up between 911 and 919, when Edward the Elder took over London and Oxford, but before he assumed full control in Mercia.³ While this does not of itself justify an attribution to Southampton, it does entirely demolish Wells's argument that Southampton is not eligible.

¹ *BNJ* xix (1927-8), pp. 69 ff. and xxi (1931-3), pp. 20 ff.

² *BNJ* xxvii (1952-4), p. 141 n.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 246-7 and 494.

The style of the coins is typically southern and the similarity in style to coins of Winchester has already been noted. Southampton was entitled to two moneyers which is the number we find here. Northampton, on the other hand, is in the part of England which does not, at this time, appear to have issued mint-signed coins. While one would certainly not wish to say that Northampton was not operating at this time, there seems no doubt that these mint-signed coins should be given to Southampton.

Eadgild was the only moneyer to produce a mule between the crowned bust and the two-line types. Two specimens are known, one at Glasgow (no. 261), the other in Rome, from the Forum hoard, and they are virtually certain to be of the 'Hantun' mint, for the moneyer is not known elsewhere in the reign. If this is correct, this would by itself rule out the possibility that 'Hantun' is Northampton since the crowned bust type was not issued in that part of the country. I have records of three specimens by Eadgild of the two-line type (Edinburgh (no. 45); Belfast and Leningrad). The first and last (at any rate) are from the same reverse die but none links with the mule. In view of the mule, these may be late varieties of the two-line type, but the name is also found under Edward the Elder.

Of Frithebriht three coins of Athelstan's are known of the two-line type, one in the British Museum from the Sicily hoard, the others at Rome from the Forum hoard (no. 56). These are of southern style and may reasonably be associated with Southampton.

WALLINGFORD

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross/crowned bust (mule)</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ATHELMUND			x*	x	Oxford?	x	255, 294
{ BEORNWALD	x			x		x†	295
{ BURNWALD				x		x	296

* Without mint-name.

† One of the few mint-signed coins of this reign (Forum 302).

Mint-signed coins of Wallingford are found of only the crowned bust type. Two moneyers are involved, one of whom spells his name normally Burnwald, but on one coin (in the British Museum, no. 295) Beornwald. The mint-name is generally no more than the first two letters *FE*, but on a coin of Athelmund's in the Forum hoard (no. 294) and on one of Burnwald's in the British Museum (*BMC* 88) the reading *FE LINGA* is found.

In addition to the Forum coin of Athelmund, one was illustrated in Seaby's *Bulletin*, March 1958, which may be the coin in the Rashleigh sale, lot 251. Another is in the British Museum, *BMC* 146. The reverse legend of this last is recorded in *BMC* as reading *MONNE* and the moneyer is doubtfully interpreted as Æthelfreth. Mr. Dolley has pointed out, however, that the correct reading is *MONFE* in which case the moneyer may confidently be taken to be Æthelmund.¹

The same moneyer produced one of the few surviving mules with obverse of the cross type and reverse of the crowned bust type, with this time the reverse legend clearly ending *MONE* (no. 255). This coin has a small cross at the bottom and near the edge of the obverse field. If Athelmund was also a moneyer at Oxford, this could be of either mint.

¹ *SNC* 1960, p. 262.

Of Burnwald there were four specimens in the Forum hoard, two of which de Rossi attributed to Wallingford. The other two he regarded as without mint-signature. In their uncleaned state precision is impossible, but it seems likely that all four in fact read *MONPE* which is the reading found on specimens in the Ashmolean and British Museums. It may be chance that has provided us with an exceptional number of surviving specimens of this relatively small mint.

WAREHAM

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Diad. bust/ two-line (mule)</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ÆLFRED	x	x		x	x		x	219, 297
WULFSIGE	x	x	x*	x				220

* Without mint-name.

Wareham was entitled to two moneyers under the Grateley decrees and this is the number of which we have coins today. But the coins are of the highest rarity, only one specimen of each of the mint-signed varieties being known. The mint-name is spelt differently on each: *VVERHA* (no. 219), *PERHAM* (no. 220), and *PERHA* (no. 297). On the coin of the crowned bust type the mint-name is preceded by *MOIN*, a most unusual use of this preposition on coins of Athelstan's reign. The use of *TO* at the nearby mint of Bridport/Bredy will be noticed later, and a similar reading at Shaftesbury has already been mentioned.

Three coins of Ælfred (no. 9) and a single coin of Wulfsige (no. 114) are known of the two-line type. These are of early southern style and, as neither name is known elsewhere on a mint-signed coin, they are readily attributable to Wareham.

The mule between the diademed bust and the two-line type by Wulfsige (no. 6) has the diademed bust of the king facing to the right and breaking the inner circle (the only other specimen of this mule, probably of Shaftesbury, has the bust the other way and contained within the inner circle). The bust is unlike those on the true coins of this type, but it may have been tooled. Its basic authenticity is certain, for it comes from the eighteenth-century collection of the Duke of Devonshire and the obverse cannot be an altered two-line obverse because the legend on that type goes all round the coin.

Several coins bearing in more or less blundered form the names of Wunsige and Wareham (nos. 465-7), are clearly irregular pieces and are dealt with in that section.¹

CHICHESTER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
IOHAN	x	x	x		x	159

Three mint-signed coins are recorded of this mint which was specifically allowed one moneyer under the Grateley decrees. All are by the moneyer Iohan. The mint is spelt *CISSAN* on two, and possibly (but not certainly) *CUSSAN* on the third.

On the two-line type coins the moneyer's name is spelt *IOHANN*. They are of clearly southern style and features such as a single pellet or a cross in place of the trefoil of

¹ See p. 108 below.

pellets on the reverse are found. On one (71) there is, quite exceptionally, a rosette of pellets at the bottom (with a cross at the top). This might prompt a north-western attribution but the style is unmistakably southern.

Iohan(n) is not found on any other mint-signed coins and one would normally have no hesitation in attributing his coins of the two-line type to Chichester. Eight specimens, however, are recorded from at least four obverse and five reverse dies, which is more than would be expected from such a minor mint, and the attribution must therefore be made with this reservation.

DORCHESTER

Dorchester is one of the places specifically mentioned in the Grateley code as entitled to a moneyer and, in the context in which it appears, it is clear that Dorchester, Dorset, not Oxfordshire, is meant. Coins have been attributed to this mint but are here attributed to Canterbury, under which heading the question is discussed in detail.

BATH

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
BIORHTULF	Beorht-		x	Darent (Beorht-)	x	128
HEREWIS			x		Herewig	129

Three coins are known of this mint (the only one incidentally to be named on Edward's coins), two in Rome, one at the British Museum. Neither moneyer is found in the two-line type unless the somewhat obscure reading on no. 406 is intended for Biorhtulf. The coin cannot in any case be associated with the Bath mint. The mint-name is BAT CIVITATE or CIVITAE on Biorhtulf's coins (no. 128) and BADANN on that of Herewis (no. 129). De Rossi read this moneyer's name as HERECIS but the coin has now been cleaned and the fifth letter can clearly be seen to be ƿ. The obverse legends all end differently (and peculiarly): *Rex to Brani*; *Rex to Br Ang. T.I.* and *Rex O T.*

BRIDPORT OR BREDY

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
WIHTULF			x			130

Bridian is included in the list of burhs in the Burghal Hidage drawn up, Miss Robertson suggests, between 911 and 919.¹ F. W. Maitland regarded this as more likely to be Bredy, Dorchester, than Bridport,² but this view was challenged by H. Symonds on the grounds that there was no evidence that Bredy was a Saxon burh whereas Bridport undoubtedly was one.³ Miss Robertson, however, remained doubtful.⁴ Coins of Æthelred II and Cnut, previously attributed to Bridgnorth, were reattributed by

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 494.

² Maitland, p. 578.

³ *NC* 1922, p. 144.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 495.

L. Woosnam to Bridport (or possibly Bredy)¹ and the attribution to Bridport was supported by Symonds² and by Brooke, the latter of whom, however, mentioned the possibility of Stockbridge.³ This last attribution is now rejected and the discovery of a coin of Athelstan's with the mint-name *Bridian* fully justifies this rejection.

We must leave it to the specialist in place-names to decide between Bridport and Bredy as the correct interpretation of *Bridian*—the two places are only eight miles apart. What we can confidently say is that we can now identify as a mint under Athelstan yet one more of the *burhs* listed in the Burghal Hidage and that it is situate in Dorset.

The unusual reverse reading MO TO BRIDIAN (moneyer at Bridian) on the unique coin of this mint is to be noted. This is a feature more generally found in the northern part of the country but Mr. Dolley has pointed it out at Lymne⁴ and it is also found at Shaftesbury, Wareham, and Hertford. The coin, in its uncleaned state, left the reading in considerable doubt, but it has now been cleaned and both the mint and moneyer are quite clear (no. 130). Professor Panvini Rosati has very kindly supplied a fresh photograph of it.

'DARENT'

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
BEORHTULF	x		x	Bath (Biorht-)	x	160

Only two coins (both from the same dies) are known of this controversial mint, the reading of which is DARE.NT.VRB (no. 160).

Hawkins illustrated the Cuff (now BM) specimen but did not venture on an attribution.⁵ De Rossi, on the advice of Keary given fairly confidently, suggests Dartmouth (*Darentamuda* in ASC, s.a. 1049).⁶ In the *British Museum Catalogue*, the coin was again attributed to Dartmouth (by H. A. Grueber, responsible for this part of *BMC*) but the preface to the catalogue, by Keary, shows that he was of a different opinion as he there attributes it to Darent (Darentun in 940; *Darentun* c. 980) and says 'In the catalogue it is erroneously given to Dartmouth'.⁷ Carlyon-Britton first put forward Dartford⁸ (*Tarentefort* in Domesday) and in this was followed by Oman⁹ and, with some reservation, by Brooke, who in his list of British Museum Acquisitions puts 'Dartford?',¹⁰ but by the time he wrote *English Coins* he was more satisfied; the question mark is there omitted. More recently Mr. Dolley has suggested Totnes¹¹ and Mr. Percy Russell, Dartington, two miles north of Totnes, pointing out that the river Dart was once tidal as far as Skinner's Bridge, near Dartington, so that shipping might have come that far and the place have been of more importance than it is today.¹² Totnes, recorded first as a mint under Eadwig (955-9), might, Mr. Russell suggests, have taken over when the place was fortified c. 950. *Derentunehomm* is mentioned in a charter of 833 (*BCS* 410) and Ekwall tentatively identifies that as Dartington.¹³

¹ *NC* 1921, pp. 92-6.

² *Op. cit.*

⁸ *BNJ* vi (1909), pp. 24-5.

³ Brooke, p. 70, referring to *BNJ* xx (1929-30), pp. 49-61.

⁹ Oman, p. 57.

¹⁰ *NC* 1925, p. 356.

⁴ *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 30-3.

¹¹ Dolley (1964), p. 22.

⁵ Hawkins, p. 61.

¹² P. Russell, *The Good Town of Totnes*, n.d. but recent.

⁶ *NC* 1884, p. 254.

¹³ Ekwall, p. 139.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 101 and cxiii.

The only other occurrences of *Urbs* following a mint-name on coins of this reign are at 'Hantun' (which I hope to have shown is Southampton, not Northampton), Oxford, and Lewes. These are little help in guiding us geographically in one direction or the other. If the moneyer is the same as the Bath moneyer, this would point to the west country, but the two places are far apart and the name, Bright Wolf, is a common one, so little reliance can be placed on this evidence.

The argument in favour of Darent having been the predecessor mint of one known to have operated slightly later is a telling one, and, if the entry in the charter of 833 could be identified as Totnes, the case for that town would be convincing. As it is, the possibility of the mint having started in a nearby place such as Dartmouth or Dartington cannot be entirely ruled out, though Dartford and Darenth can, I feel, safely be so.

DOVER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Diad. bust</i>	<i>Two-line/ cross (mule)</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
FOLCRED		x	x*	x			2, 119

* Without mint-name.

Though not specifically mentioned in the Grateley code as entitled to a moneyer, the existence of a mint at Dover can safely be asserted from a unique coin in the British Museum reading DOFERA (no. 119). The coin is a mule between the two-line and the cross types, the moneyer is Folcred and the style is typical of the London mint from which the dies were no doubt supplied. A moneyer of the same name produced one of the few surviving specimens of the diademed bust type¹ (no. 2), which, though it does not bear a mint-signature, is evidence that the mint was operating very early in Athelstan's reign. The bust on this coin is quite unlike anything found elsewhere, indicative perhaps of the experimental nature of the issue, which seems to have been short-lived.

A single coin of the two-line type is recorded by this moneyer (no. 55). The style is southern and the coin may reasonably be attributed to Dover.

HERTFORD

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Two-line/ cross (mule)</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ABONEL		x	x	x	Maldon		120, 265

The only recorded mint-signed coins of Hertford are a mule from the Forum hoard with obverse two-line type and reverse cross (no. 120), and three of the crowned bust type, one from the same hoard, another, in Copenhagen, from a find at Sejrø in Denmark, and the third in Berlin (no. 265). All seem to be from the same obverse die but two different reverse dies are used, both of which present a slight variant from the normal type in having a trefoil of pellets in the reverse field.²

¹ Brooke lists him as a moneyer of the crowned bust type. I have not seen this coin and think it likely that he may have been relying on the printed account of the Forum hoard (in which the coin with

the diademed bust was found) where no distinction is made between types of bust.

² I am indebted to Mr. J. Porteous for bringing the Berlin coin to my notice.

On the mule the reverse reading is MON TO HIORTFD. This unusual use of TO has been discussed under Bridport/Bredy.¹ On the crowned bust type the reading is MO HIORT.

The same moneyer's name is found on three coins of the two-line type, one each in Edinburgh,² Rome, and Berlin (no. 8). The style is markedly different from that associated with the south of England and it is possible that this is some reflection of the peculiar position of this mint which, with the nearby Maldon (where Abonel also worked) and Norwich, is the only one north of the Thames (save London) to strike coins of regular crowned bust type. Whether the two-line Abonel coins are from Hertford or Maldon one cannot judge, but the name is a rare one and they are hardly likely to be from an entirely different mint.

A more detailed study of the mints of Hertford and Maldon is published in *BNJ* xli (1972), pp. 21-6.

LANGPORT

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
BURHTELM	Beorht-	Berht-	x		'Weardburh' Shrewsbury (Berht-)	Berht-	178
WYNSIGE			x	x		x	179, 266

Though not specifically mentioned in the Grateley code, Langport, as one of the boroughs in the Burghal Hidage, would have been entitled to one moneyer under the general provisions of that code. In fact the names of two are recorded and it may be that Burhtelm, who is found only on the cross type, was succeeded by Wynsige who is found on both that and the crowned bust type.

Of the cross type two specimens are known by each moneyer. Of Burhtelm there was one in the Forum hoard and another is at Taunton (no. 178). They are from different obverse dies; in the uncleaned state of the Forum coin precision as to the reverse die is impossible. Of Wynsige there was one in the Forum hoard and another, from the same dies, is in the British Museum (no. 179). Small pellets are used as stops or, in the case of the reverse (only) of the Taunton coin, small wedges. The mint has a full spelling, both LANGPORT and LONGPORT being found.

The coin of the crowned bust type appears to be unique (no. 266). The mint-spelling is LANGPORT, the form used by the other moneyer on the cross type. Brooke remarks that it is overstruck on a coin of the two-line type.

A coin of the two-line type is known by a moneyer signing himself Berhtelm (no. 29), but the style suggests that he may be equated with the Shrewsbury moneyer, who in addition spelled the name that way. Others by Berhelm, Burhelm, and Burnehem are also unlikely to be of Langport.

LYMNE

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
TORHTELM	x		x	Canterbury		192

Mr. Dolley has attributed to Lymne a single coin of the cross type by the moneyer Torhtelm (no. 192).³ This coin uses the preposition TO on the reverse, normally a

¹ See p. 75 above.

² *SCBI* Edinburgh, 118.

³ *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 30-3.

Midland or northern feature, and this had originally led to an attribution to Leicester.¹ However, the preposition is also found, as has been seen, at several places in the south and Mr. Dolley felt, having regard to a number of factors, including Torhtelm being a moneyer of Canterbury in this reign, that a Kentish attribution was more likely to be correct. The use of pellet stops in the legend also points in this direction.

The name Torhtelm also occurs on crowned bust coins without mint-signature, which are die-linked with Canterbury-signed coins, and are therefore more likely to be of Canterbury than of Lymne (above, p. 65).

MALDON

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ABONEL		x	x	Hertford	x	278

Maldon is known from a single mint-signed coin (no. 278) in the Forum hoard, by the moneyer Abonel, who also worked at nearby Hertford, a fact which disposes of any possibility that the mint in this case might be Malmesbury.

The mint is spelt MAEL-D, with an abbreviation mark between the last two letters. Thanks to Dr. Plenderleith's cleaning every detail of the coin, which is in splendid condition, is now apparent. The trefoil of pellets before the moneyer's name is to be compared with a similar trefoil found in the field of his Hertford coins.

The two-line coins in Abonel's name have been discussed under Hertford.

'SMRIERL'

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
EADBALD			x			293

The four or five surviving coins of this enigmatic mint stand, as the table shows, in isolation, with no link to connect the moneyer with Athelstan's predecessor or successor or with any more identifiable mint.

The four specimens that can be located (British Museum ex Chester (1950) TT; SCBI Copenhagen 703 ex Stengade find; Rome ex Forum hoard (no. 293); Nat. Mus. Wales ex Lockett 565) are from three pairs of dies, the only duplication being between the British Museum and the Copenhagen specimens where both dies are the same. What appears to be a fifth specimen was in the Allen sale in 1898 (lot 227), but its present whereabouts are not known.

Salisbury has been tentatively suggested, *faute de mieux*, as the mint of these coins but this has now been abandoned.² Bury St. Edmunds is another tentative suggestion³ but, as far as I know, the case for this has not been published. An attribution has also been made to an unidentified mint in the north-west of England, on the grounds of style and because a specimen was found in the Chester (1950) hoard.⁴ But this attribution fails to give sufficient weight to the fact that coins with the bust are not known from this area in Athelstan's reign.

¹ NC 1956, pp. 285 f.

² See BNJ xxvii (1952-4), p. 128.

³ e.g. by North, p. 94 and Dolley (1964), p. 22.

⁴ R. H. M. Dolley, *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, May 1954, p. 155 n.

A feature of the legend on all three reverse dies is the use of Γ for L in the moneyer's name. The mint-name on the two specimens from the same die reads SMRIE:. On the Rome coin it reads S.MRIE, the M in each case being formed of two uprights with a horizontal top (rather like a goal-post) with, in the case of the Rome coin, a triangular wedge depending from the top bar. On the Cardiff coin the reading is ZIRIER Γ which may be interpreted SMRIERL. This is the fullest reading on any of the coins now known, but in the Allen catalogue (the coin, which is described as cracked, is unfortunately not illustrated) the reading is said to be Z.PIRIERI. The PI could be a misreading of M, and the final I could be Γ , but should the pellet after Z be correct, the reverse die would be yet a fourth, confirming the longer reading on the Cardiff coin and suggesting, as does the Rome coin with its stop after s, that the s is the initial letter of a separate word, such as *Sanctus*.

The shorter readings would suggest *S(ancte) M(a)rie*, as a reasonable interpretation but against this must be set the evidence of the longer reading(s) *S. Mrierl*. Names of saints are found on coins of a slightly earlier period in Northumbria and at Lincoln and on an extensive scale in the St. Edmund Memorial coinage of East Anglia. The name of St. Andrew is found on a few coins of King Egbert which are plausibly attributed to the bishop of Rochester,¹ and on the Continent the practice was more widespread—*Sce Marie M* is, for example, found on a coin of Odo (887-98) which is attributed to Ste Marie of Laon²—but there is no English parallel at this very time where such an interpretation might seem justified.

Of the ecclesiastical authorities who under the Grateley code were entitled to moneyers none can be associated with a foundation dedicated to St. Mary. Canterbury Cathedral is described as a priory of the Holy Trinity or Christ Church; the abbey there was dedicated to St. Augustine (originally to SS. Peter and Paul) and Rochester to St. Andrew. Nor can an appropriate dedication to the BVM be found elsewhere in Wessex or Kent. Winchester springs to mind as an obvious candidate but that city is specifically granted six moneyers under the Grateley code with no mention of any being for the bishop. The evidence of other coins suggests that the code was comprehensive so far as Wessex proper and Kent were concerned. The Oxford/Wallingford area is not covered in the code but there is no obvious ecclesiastical mint there. Abingdon, it is true, had a dedication to the BVM and Athelstan granted certain estates to the church there but Sir Frank Stenton states categorically 'At Abingdon in Athelstan's reign there was a church, perhaps a school, but there was no monastery as the word was understood later in the tenth century'.³ It seems most unlikely that the church at Abingdon enjoyed the exceptional privilege of having a moneyer.

The remaining areas where coins of crowned bust type were struck are East Anglia and Hertfordshire/Essex. East Anglia seems the more possible. Bury St. Edmunds has been suggested, as mentioned above, but the dedication here was to the martyred king and *S(ce) M(a)rie* would not be an appropriate inscription on a coin struck there. Nor is there any obvious alternative candidate.

Reluctantly I have felt it best to leave the origin of this small group quite uncertain. It is included here rather than in the East Anglian group solely because there is no evidence otherwise of there having been more than one mint at this time in that former kingdom.

¹ *BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), p. 473.

² Morrison and Grunthal, p. 276, no. 1277.

³ F. M. Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon*, Oxford, 1913, p. 38.

EAST ANGLIAN GROUP

NORWICH

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Crowned bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
{ BARBE			x		x	279
{ BARDEL			x			280 (not ill.)
{ BVRDEL			x			281
EADGAR			x		x	282
GIONGBALD			x		x	283
HRODGAR			x		x	284
MAN(N)E(N)			x		x	285
MANTICEN			x		x	286
SECGGE			x			287

Norwich, as has been noted, is the only identifiable mint-name in East Anglia in Athelstan's reign. The table above brings out a number of significant facts. None of the moneyers is found on coins with the name of Edward; none is recorded in the two-line or cross types; none worked at other identifiable mints; and all save SECGGE are found working for Edmund and he worked for Edmund's successor. What must be added, as the table does not bring it out, is that all the moneyers marked as working for Edmund struck for him coins not only of the same (crowned bust) type, but (quite exceptionally for that reign) signed them as from the Norwich mint. Finally, these names are the only names found at Norwich in Edmund's reign. Everything therefore points to this being a closely knit group started relatively late in Athelstan's reign.

The question then arises as to what, if any, were the products of an East Anglian mint earlier in Athelstan's reign.

The Morley St. Peter hoard turned up a very large number of coins in the name of Edward with crude busts and reverse legends that appear often to be meaningless. These are generally accepted as having been produced in East Anglia, in which case it is apparent that there was considerable minting activity in that area in the latter part of Edward's reign. The meaningless reverse legends point to there having been less effective control over the coinage than in other parts of the country where, as a general rule, an identifiable name of a moneyer is to be found; the persistent use of the bust type also points to the preference in that area for coins with the king's head on them, a preference that continues into Athelstan's reign and that of his successors.

It is difficult to accept that, after so substantial an issue late in Edward's reign, there should be a complete gap until the crowned bust coins appeared in the name of Athelstan, say about 933, nor do we have any anonymous coins of his that would seem to fill the gap. The only coins with the king's head that were struck early in the reign were of the short-lived issue with the diademed bust. This might have been issued in East Anglia as well as at the few mints with which it is to be associated, but there is nothing to suggest that this was the case. Did the issue of coins in Edward's name with these blundered legends perhaps continue into Athelstan's reign until his own crowned bust type was issued, say about 933? It is attractive to believe that this was the case as otherwise there appears to be a complete cessation of coining in an area that up to the end of Edward's reign had been very active, and that proved again to be so when the crowned bust type was introduced. The presence of no more than a single coin of Athelstan (of the two-line type) in the Morley St. Peter hoard need not necessarily be

taken as evidence to the contrary. East Anglia clearly preferred coins with the king's head on them: there were no such issues from other mints early in Athelstan's reign (if one excludes the apparently short-lived diademed bust type) and a simple expedient would have been to carry on the existing coinage in the name of Edward, bearing his head. On the other hand, I understand that the large parcel of East Anglian coins in the hoard is fairly closely die-linked, and that would point to their issue having been restricted in time. The question must remain an open one, but I have suggested a date of deposit for the hoard *c.* 927 as against the *c.* 925 previously put forward.¹

With the advent of the crowned bust type, it is clear that a rigid control was exercised over the East Anglian mint. The coins now conform, both in workmanship and in the regular use of identifiable moneyers' names, to those of Kent and Wessex and, as has been noted, the weight of surviving coins is even better than those from other parts of the country.

Mint-signed coins of Norwich have survived in relatively large numbers. I have records of nearly fifty. The Forum hoard contained twelve and there were isolated examples in the Rome (1846) find; in two hoards from Ireland, Killyon Manor, and 'Ireland 1862' (two specimens in the latter); in the Iona and in the Chester (1950) hoards. Barbe (Bardel, Burdel) is the most prolific moneyer (nos. 279-81), with Manticen (no. 286) not far behind.

Among the individual names may be noted three variants: MANEN (Forum hoard 249), MANNE (*BMC* 75, no. 285), and MANNÆN (American Num. Soc.); also the curious name SECGGE which is found on a single coin of Athelstan's (no. 287), and also on a single coin of Eadred, also of Norwich.² BARBE is found on three specimens, BARDEL on three others, but the form most commonly found is BURDEL, on at least eight. This last is likely to be the correct form and BARDEL may be equated with it: inverted letters are not infrequent and the unbarred Λ could be an inverted \vee . To accept BARBE as a corruption of BURDEL involves the inversion of the \vee , the mistake of \mathbf{B} for \mathbf{D} and the omission of the final \mathbf{L} . The numismatist would, however, suggest this possibility unless cogent philological arguments oppose it. On this telling there would be records of seven moneyers at Norwich in this reign.

Coins by Lifing and Enelbert have been attributed to Norwich. The former follows the moneyer's name with MONEI which might suggest Norwich were it not for the fact that on all other coins of this mint the reading is usually NORÐPIC or NORPIC and, at its shortest, NORP. Lifing is not found on any coins of this type of Edmund and it seems better to place his coins of Athelstan (no. 320) among those without mint-signature. The (unique) coin in the name of Enelbert reading ENELBERTOMONIO (no. 431) has a bust in somewhat higher relief than usual and clearly belongs to the North-Eastern III group. It is no doubt the prototype for the 'mirror' coins of the group with the moneyer's name reduced to LBERTEE (no. 432).

NORTH-EASTERN I (TWO-LINE) (Plates XVI and XVII)

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Viking</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ARE		x*	Sihtric Caoch d. 927	370
ARNILF		x	Anlaf (943?)	371

¹ Mr. Dolley, in *SCBI* Hiberno-Norse, p. 50, dates it *c.* 925.

² *BMC* II, pl. xii. 1.

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Viking</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ASGER				372
ASULF		x		373
BELCI				374
BEROL				375
CLAC		x		376
CRISTIGN		x		377
'CUGELI'				378
{ DOMENCES		x*		379
{ DOMINIC				380
DURIANT				381
ERIC			Sihtric Caoch?	382
FRAM	FRAMWIS		FARMON, Anlaf	383
FUGEL		x*		384
GISLEMER				385-6
GODFRED	GODEFERTH			387
GOTA, ROTA, SOTA		x*		388, 401-2
HARGER				389
H(t)LDULF			Coin reading ANELFRE+ - (390a)	390 (not ill.)
INCGELBERT				391
INGA				392
LANDAC, LANDUC, SANDUC	LANDAC			393
LITILMAN		x*		394
MANNA	x	x*		395
NOTHER		x	Anlaf	396
ODA		x		397-8
ODO	x			399
PITIT	x	x*		400
'SPROHENE'				403
STEFANUS	STEFHAN	x*		404
UFLEBART?				405-6
WILLUF	WILLAF	WILAF		407
WINELE		x		408

Coins of Edmund identified as having the same large lettering are marked with *.

This very substantial group of coins all of the two-line type is distinguished, as will be seen from Plates XVI and XVII, by its larger, clumsy lettering. The moneyers' names have a distinctly continental-Germanic flavour. For the most part the group readily detaches itself from the remainder of the two-line type, but there are exceptions. Coins of Abonel, for example, (no. 8) might well in lack of other evidence be included in this group were it not for the fact that he is a recorded moneyer at Hertford and Maldon whereas this NE I group appears to come from further north. One or two other coins stand out on the plates. Belci, no. 374, looks out of place and may possibly be so. Another specimen, however, in the Forum hoard has the coarse lettering of NE I and on these grounds both coins are included here. Another case of two distinct styles of lettering being used by the same moneyer occurs in Are's products. The one illustrated here (no. 370) is of typical NE I style, but *BMC* 95 has quite different lettering and, moreover, uses the Mercian form of ð. Eric, no. 382, a unique coin from an Irish hoard, is placed here with considerable hesitation. It has the round c found on York coins and on the not entirely satisfactory coin that combines the names of Regnald and Eric (no. 455) and has round s, reversed. A moneyer of this name also produced a curious Norse coin about the time of Sihtric Caoch (*BMC* 1113). The coin of Gislemar,

no. 386, looks out of place too but is included here more confidently because another specimen, no. 385, is of typical NE I style. On the Edinburgh specimen by this moneyer (*SCBI* 131) the reversed round s and the round c are again found. No. 406 is included here, not without some reservation, on the grounds that no. 405 (the coin is still uncleaned but the readings can be established on the original) which reads *VFLE/RART* is of the distinctive NE I style and the name on no. 406 *VOCLEF/BVRT* is comparable. It could be read Biorhtulf, if one reverses the order of the lines. He was a moneyer at Bath and 'Darent' but neither is a mint with which this coin is likely to be associated.

A feature of this group, and one common to all three of the North-Eastern groups, is the virtual absence of mint-signed coins with the names of their moneyers. In the case of NE I Manna is found elsewhere, but the name is a common one and no reliance can be placed on it as evidence of a link.

As the table of moneyers brings out there are, on the other hand, distinct links with the coinage of the Norse Kings of York. Are was a moneyer for Sihtric Caoc (d. 927), and Eric of the curious Norse coin referred to above. Arnulf, a moneyer also in NE III (no. 428), is found on coins of Anlaf as is Nother. H(i)ldulf is recorded for what appears to be this type; I have not traced the actual coin, but there is a coin the reverse of which corresponds with the description and may possibly be from the same die and in this case the obverse is of Anlaf. For want of the coin in the name of Athelstan this latter is illustrated here (no. 390a). A further link with the coinage of the Norse kings is provided by the moneyer Baciager who struck coins for Edmund of the type and style of NE I and who is also recorded as a moneyer for Anlaf on coins which Mr. Dolley dates *c.* 943. Nother, in addition to being a moneyer for Anlaf, is found on a coin of Edmund of the crowned bust type, one essentially associated with the Danish shires in that reign and a further link with this latter series is found in the names of Clac and Fugel, both of whom struck the crowned bust type for Edmund.

It seems clear therefore that we have here to do with a coinage from the eastern part of England, and the number of moneyers involved suggests that it may have come from more than one mint. The question of the origin of the three NE types is discussed further at the end of the section on NE III.

The NE I type continued in issue for most of Athelstan's reign. That it lasted to the end is demonstrated by certain of the same moneyers striking coins in the same style for Edmund. That it was in issue fairly early in the reign is shown by there being a specimen by Winele in the Vatican hoard.

NORTH-EASTERN GROUP II (HELMET AND TWO-LINE)

(Plate XVIII)

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Normal helmet</i>	<i>Bust in circle</i>	<i>NE II/ NE III</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
BALDRIC		Balderic	x			Regnald (942-3?)	x*	409, 421
{ EINARD			x		Genard			
{ GINARD		x?	x					411
FULRAD	x	x					x	412, 422
{ GIS			x				x*	413
{ BUS			x					410

* Helmet type.

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Normal helmet</i>	<i>Bust in circle</i>	<i>NE III/NE III</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
HERRIC			x					414
{ SMALA		x	x	x	x			415, 417, 423
{ MALA			x					416
TE - - -	Tila	Tila	x				Telia*	418 (not ill.)
WIARD		x	x	x		Chester		419-20, 424

* Two-line and helmet types.

The coins with bust illustrated on Plate XVIII clearly form a homogeneous group though differing widely in detail. The king's head, always crude, degenerates at time to a mere caricature. There is a suggestion on some that the king is wearing a crown over a helmet and for convenience the group is designated NE II or helmet type. On what are the earliest, nos. 420 and 426, the head is small and relatively neat. Later it assumes strange forms as on nos. 412 or 417.

Eight moneyers struck the type. None of them is found striking the NE I (two-line) type and the name of only one, Wiard, is found on mint-signed coins, in this case of Chester (e.g. nos. 156 and 333). There are, on the other hand, distinct links with the NE III type, bust in relief. Nos. 425-6 combine an obverse of the helmet type with a reverse showing a small cross in the centre, characteristic of NE III, and no. 427 combines the bust in relief with a reverse showing the cross crosslet characteristic of NE II. These, however, should probably not be regarded as mules in the accepted sense of that term. Another link with the north is the name of Baldric, the moneyer of no. 409, who is also probably found on coins of the Norse king of Northumbria, Regnald, which Mr. Dolley dates *c.* 943.¹ It is felt that these latter links override the link with Chester provided by the moneyer Wiard. The name, it is true, is not a common one but the bust types are not found in Mercia and the ð in the helmet type coins is not of the Mercian type ð.

That the names of eight moneyers are found on this group suggests that the original issue must have been on some scale. Their survival rate, however, has been low and I have records of no more than twenty-one specimens in all. The names present some interesting problems. Ginard (no. 411) and Einard are clearly the same name as Genard; GIS (no. 413) appears clearly as BVS on a coin in the Forum hoard (no. 410); but most peculiar is the omission on two dies of Smala's of the initial s (no. 416). On a fragment in the British Museum appears a moneyer whose name begins TE---. It is possible that the name is TELIA, as a moneyer of this name undoubtedly struck this very type for Edmund,² but the traces of such other letters as one can see make this uncertain.

The unique coin of Fulrad (no. 412) presents a small variation of the type in having four groups of three small pellets outside the arms of the cross crosslet on the reverse.

One die-link between moneyers has been noted: two coins in the Hunterian Museum (SCBI Glasgow 638 and 639) by Ginard (no. 411) and (S)mala share an obverse die.

The type links in this group, all with NE III, are of special interest. The coin by Smala, with obverse the helmet type and reverse the small cross type of NE III (no. 426), is struck from a reverse die also found in a later state—with a different obverse—in which the small cross in the centre, traces of which can still be seen, has been extended to form a cross crosslet (no. 415). A coin of Wiard, peculiar in having the bust entirely

¹ BMC i, p. 232, no. 1081 and SCBI Copenhagen, 644, both of which are, however, fragments.

² e.g. SCBI Norweb. 160.

contained within the inner circle (no. 420), a feature shared only with the one by Smala (no. 417), also shows traces of the extension of the small cross to form a cross crosslet; but a coin from the die in its original state is not known.

What I regard as also a link with NE III, a coin by Genard (no. 425), was treated in the *British Museum Catalogue* as a coin of the bust in relief type (*BMC* 5). But I think it will be agreed that the bust, though a most unusual one for either group, more nearly corresponds to the considerable variety of busts found of the helmet type and the name of the moneyer goes to support this view. The single coin combining a bust in relief with a cross crosslet on the reverse is also a curious piece (no. 427). The obverse is of the true (as opposed to the mirror) bust in relief type but I have not noted a die-link. The reverse legend, ending EBRO, is discussed in the context of the coins of NE III.

That this group was issued relatively late in Athelstan's reign is shown by the type being continued by Edmund, who employed two (possibly three) of the same moneyers on it. In his case, though he employed in all six moneyers, no more than nine specimens are recorded (four of them in Rome, from the Forum hoard). Unlike NE I there is nothing to suggest that the type started early in Athelstan's reign, and in fact no form of crowned bust type is to be expected in the north-east until the standard version of this type was issued in the south. The helmet coins may be a local variant issued either about the same time, or perhaps a little later.

Isolated coins of the two-line type by four or perhaps five of the moneyers found on the helmet type are known. The fact that the two-line type seems to have been issued uninterruptedly in NE I precludes our assigning any of these of necessity to a period before 928 when the cross type in much of the country appears to have superseded the two-line type.

Fulrad (no. 422) and Smala (no. 423) are such uncommon names that we may safely equate them on their two-line coins with the moneyers of the helmet type. The style of the coin by Balderic (no. 421) is not characteristic of the south and it may well belong here too. The Wiard coin (no. 424) is probably to be associated with this group and it is instructive to compare it with the two-line coin of Wihard (no. 107) which must, from the form of the \mathfrak{D} , be associated with the Chester Wiard. Tila's coin is slightly irregular: the obverse reads $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{X}$ (no. 101). It could be associated with this group, but this must be regarded as uncertain. Ginard's claim to rank as a moneyer in the two-line type rests on a fragment on which the moneyer's name begins GIN[. (no. 422a); the likelihood that this is a coin of Ginard is supported by the fact that the ornament at the top on its reverse is a group of four pellets, a motif which recurs on the coin of Wiard.

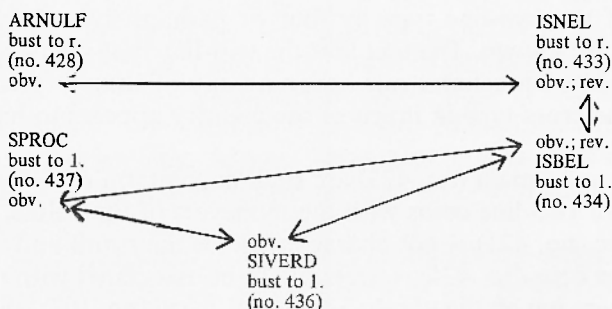
NORTH-EASTERN III (BUST IN RELIEF) (Plate XIX)

	<i>Ed Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Normal NE III</i>	<i>NE III/ NE II</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
			<i>Bust r.</i>	<i>Bust l.</i>			
ARNULF		x	x		Anlaf	x	428
ARNULF and ATHELMOD			x			Both singly	429
BERNARHD			x		Derby (Bcornard)	Birncard, Byrnard, etc.	430
{ ENELBERT			x			Englberd	431
{ LBERTEE				x			432

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Normal NE III</i>	<i>NE III/ NE II</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
			<i>Bust r.</i>	<i>Bust l.</i>			
HELDALT?							427
ISNEL			x	x			433-4
ROTBERT	x		x		Anlaf	Rodberiht	435
SIVERD				x			436
SPROC				x			437

The characteristic feature of this group is the large, coarsely drawn, bust of the king in somewhat higher relief than is usual. There are two subdivisions. On the earlier, the bust faces right and the legend is normal; on the later one the bust faces left and the legend is retrograde. It is apparent that the die-maker has copied type and legend from a coin straight on to the die, instead of making it, as he should have done, retrograde on the die. The reverse type in each case is a small cross. It is possible to identify the prototype of the obverse of the coins of the later subdivision in the case of those reading LBERTEE (nos. 431 and 432) and Isnel (nos. 433 and 434)—in the latter case prototype obverse and retrograde obverse are found with the same reverse die—but in the case of Siverd (no. 436) and Sproc (no. 437) no specimen of the prototype is known today.

There is considerable die-linking within the group which can be demonstrated in tabular form as follows:



Again, as in the helmet type, there is a substantial list of moneyers, but I have records of only seven surviving specimens with the bust to the right and nine with the bust to the left. Of Lbertee there are five specimens, four from the same dies; of the others never more than two. In addition there is the single coin with cross crosslet on the reverse (no. 427). The only hoards in which coins of this group have been recorded are Rome (1846), with one of Arnulf and Athelmod (combined); and Mackrie, with a fragment by Lbertee. The type is notably absent from the Forum hoard. The fact that at least seven of the surviving specimens can be traced back to the eighteenth century¹ suggests that many may have come from an early hoard of which we have no record.

The appearance of the names of two moneyers on the same side of the coin (no. 429) is without precedent in Athelstan's reign (it occurs very rarely in the reign of Edgar). But at Nottingham the names of two moneyers are found on different sides of the coin (no. 195), the result of its having been struck from two reverse dies.

¹ *BMC* 15 ex Tyssen; Lockett 560 (now BM) ex Devonshire; *SCBI* Glasgow ex Hunter; *BMC* 17 = ? Fountaine (1705) pl. ii. 11; *SCBI* Oxford, ill. Wise (1750); *BMC* 16 = Fountaine pl. ii. 9; Lockett

2736 (now BM) ex Middleton collection, sold 1926 but formed by Francis Willoughby, d. 1688, and by his son, 1st Lord Middleton, d. 1729. An eighth was in the Hollis sale of 1817 (*BMC* 18).

The name LBERTEE found on two different dies, in each case with an x before the initial letter in addition to the normal initial cross, has been the subject of various interpretations. The *British Museum Catalogue* suggested tentatively Ecberht or Rotberht and more recently Albert has been put forward. The discovery, however, of a coin with right-facing bust with moneyer's name Enelbert (no. 431) points to this having been the prototype and to Lbertee being a blundered version of that name.

The NE III group has generally been attributed to the York mint. The attribution rests primarily on the coin shown on the table of moneyers under 'HELDALT?' the reverse of which reads +HEΓDAΓLEBRO+ (no. 427), and is supported in *BMC* by the end of the reverse inscriptions of coins of Arnulf (no. 428) and Rotbert (no. 435) being read MO EO. The Siverd coin (no. 436) (*BMC* 18) which reads MON:ITAOO has clearly given the compiler pause and, though including it under York, he has added a footnote 'Possibly Oxford'. Peculiar though the position of the Oxford mint has been shown to be, this last suggestion cannot possibly be sustained.

The claims of York are more difficult to decide. EBRO, though a form otherwise unknown on Athelstan's coins, seems hardly susceptible of any other interpretation and the links with the Norse kings of Northumbria through the appearance of the names of Arnulf and Rotbert on coins of Anlaf tends to support it. Since the coins with right facing busts are the prototypes, it is the legends on these that must command primary attention. The letters after the moneyers' names on these are as follows:

No. 427 EBRO+ : 428 MOEO; 429 nothing; 430 EOI; 431 OMOIO; 433 OENOE; 435 MOEO.

Of these only EBRO is plausible for the Latin form of York. Were EO an abbreviation of York, it would have to be of the Old English form and it is to be noted that the two forms are not elsewhere found mixed on the same issue. Moreover, two coins which share an obverse die (nos. 428 and 433) end their reverse legends MOEO and OENOE respectively. It seems clear that on all, with the exception of no. 427, no attempt is being made to end the legend with a mint-name. A comparable situation is found on the coins of the crowned bust type of Edmund (*BMC* vi) for which a variety of mints have, at one time or another, been suggested. I have argued elsewhere¹ that in this case too there is no intention of seeking to add any mint-name.

If these arguments are accepted, the problem of the Ebro coin and of the moneyer's links with the coinage of Anlaf remain to be considered. The moneyer's name on the Ebro coin is uncertain but a reasonable interpretation of it might be HELDVLF in which case it is to be compared with the H(i)ldulf coin of NE I (no. 390) and the comparable coin in the name of Anlaf (no. 390a). The links with NE II are also relevant. This latter cannot be a York issue: it continues in the name of Edmund who lost York to the Norsemen at the outset of his reign. But this does not necessarily preclude NE III being of York; the type was not continued by Edmund. But if of York, where can they fit in? As will be shown when the coins with the York mint-signature come to be discussed, the mint organization in that city was quite different to that prevailing in the rest of the country. It seems likely that both king and archbishop struck coins there initially and that, at the royal mint, there was a single moneyer, Regnald, for most of the time, who was responsible for an issue which at other mints would have required the services of a number of moneyers; in other words that Regnald was an overlord

¹ *BNJ* xl (1971), pp. 17-21.

moneyer with others who were nameless working under him. Towards the end of Æthelstan's reign he was succeeded by Æthelred who again is found in isolation. There appears nowhere in the royal series that NE III could be fitted in.

Regnald appears to have started the archbishop's mint but later the work is divided between five other moneyers, none of whom bears a name that has any relation to those on the NE III coins. The type and style, moreover, are completely different. They can hardly have been an early issue from the archiepiscopal mint because the crowned bust type in the south, which must have inspired them, was not introduced until several years after York was recovered by the English. So it seems highly unlikely that NE III can have been an archiepiscopal issue.

The possibility that there existed another mint in Northumbria should be considered, if only to be dismissed. Here it must be significant that, from the time of Edgar when mint-names became a regular feature on the coins down to after the Norman conquest, there is no evidence that there was ever a mint in Northumbria outside York.

An explanation which meets most of the difficulties, other than the presence of EBRO on the one coin, would be to attribute the NE III type to an area south of the Humber which was conquered by Anlaf Guthfrithson in 940. From the map on p. 42 it will be seen that there is a large area from which no mint-signed coins are known at this time. Any mint there would have fallen into the hands of the Norse king and it is to be noted that the two known coins of Anlaf by the moneyer Arnulf and the single coin by Rotb(e)rt have the large, somewhat coarse, lettering associated with NE I. The territory in question was recovered by Edmund in 942 which would account for coins in his name having in turn been struck by these two moneyers, and possibly by certain other of the moneyers of NE III (see Table of Moneyers).

Lincoln is a possible candidate for either NE II or NE III. There was an identifiable mint there in the time of Alfred and some very rare coins with no ruler's name were struck there bearing the name of St. Martin. These, it was long felt, must have been issued before Lincoln was recovered by the English in 918, but Mr. Stewart has lately produced convincing numismatic evidence for their having in fact been issued after its recovery.¹ Whichever argument is accepted it is clear that a mint at Lincoln had been operating at about this time.

NORTHUMBRIA

YORK

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>'Church'</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
(a) With mint-name								
REGNOLD	RÆGENOLD	RÆGENOLD	x	x	x	RÆGENOLD, Exeter	RÆGENOLD	438, 230-47, 309
ÆTHELRED					x			307-8
(b) Without mint-name								
ADELBERT	x		x					439
'ETRAM'			x					440
FROTIER			x			FROTGER, Shrewsbury		441
TURSTAN			x			THURSTAN, Leicester		442
WYLSIG			x					443
Doubtful			x					444

¹ *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), pp. 46-54.

When Athelstan took possession of York in 927 he is stated to have destroyed the fortifications which the Danish conquerors had built within its walls, and to have distributed the treasures which he found there.¹ The greatest activity at the York mint under Athelstan started with the cross type, but there is a smaller group, the 'church' type, which is struck by six moneyers, one of them being the Regnald who is responsible for the cross type. His coins alone among the 'church' type coins have a mint-signature and it is the Latin form of the name of York, EBORACUM, in contrast to the Old English form Eoferwic found on his cross type coins. Although the other coins of the 'church' type have no mint-signature, they are clearly all associated. I have not found a die-link, but common features such as the spelling of the king's name AE (not ligulated) and the use of a triangle of wedges at the end of the obverse legend show that they belong together.

It has been suggested that Anlaf recovered York for a short time in 937² but this has been disputed³ and Stenton does not mention York in the context of the *Brunanburh* campaign.⁴ Certainly there is no identifiable break in Athelstan's coinage there and no coins in the name of Anlaf that can be associated with such a capture.

First, one must look at the cross type issue. At York, the only identifiable mint in Northumbria, this took a form entirely different from the rest of the country where it was employed. The issue is a substantial one (the coins today are plentiful and present great variety) but what marks them out from their fellows is the fact that all are struck by the one moneyer Regnald.⁵ Mr. Dolley and Miss van der Meer have put forward the idea that he may have enjoyed a monopoly of coinage rights north of the Humber⁶ and it is apparent that so large a volume of coinage would at any other mint have appeared over the names of a number of moneyers. There are ample signs, moreover, of an elaborate system of 'privy-marking' on Regnald's coins, such as could have been employed to control the use of dies by individual workmen: a variety of objects (crescent with pellets, a small crescent on the inner circle, a trefoil of pellets, a bar, a variety of pellets round the central cross, etc., nos. 230-47) is found in the field, usually on the obverse, and there are peculiar stoppings, all of which point to deliberate markings for the purpose of identifying the use of the die from which the coin was struck. Regnald's cross type coins are worthy of a die study on their own. There is also a (apparently unique) coin of this moneyer with the royal bust (no. 309). It is a crude piece, particularly as to its obverse, which has the bust completely contained within the inner circle as on some Winchester coins, and like them it has the King of All Britain title. There is a small cross in front of the face.

Of the coins by the moneyer who consistently signs himself ÆDELERD relatively few are known, but such evidence as there is suggests that Regnald's monopoly was continued in favour of his successor at the York mint.⁷ The loss of the city to Anlaf Guthfrithsson shortly after Athelstan's death would have brought the coinage there in the name of the English king to an end. But initially thereafter the monopoly appears to have been continued in favour of a moneyer who consistently signs himself ÆDELFERD

¹ *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 340.

² e.g. by Brooke, p. 36.

³ e.g. by Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw*, London, 1965, p. 23.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 343.

⁵ A coin of this type with the name of Widgar (no.

248) is now thought to be altered from Regnald. This has been suggested to me independently by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Pagan.

⁶ NC 1958, pp. 124-5.

⁷ NC 1958, p. 125.

after which it was abandoned in favour of the normal procedure of multiple moneyers' names on the coins.

The moneyer Æthelerd who worked for Athelstan and the Athelferd who worked for Anlaf have been regarded sometimes as the same man.¹ The reverses of the coins by each are virtually indistinguishable, but the consistency with which each form of the name is found, and on several dies, suggests that the distinction is intentional. Philologically the two names are distinct; Æthelerd would be normalized to Æthelheard; Athelferd to Æthelferth or -frith. The point is not without its importance, for on it depends whether we have evidence that Anlaf continued to employ at York the moneyer who worked for the English king, something that he unquestionably did at Derby.²

A puzzling coin of the cross type struck by a moneyer signing Alwerd (no. 249) must be considered here. It bears no mint-signature but has several features that associate it with the York die-cutters; the cross in the obverse field has four large pellets around it, a form used by Regnald; the spelling of the king's name EDEL- is a York feature (though not exclusively so); but the widely spread M in the reverse legend is found nowhere else. The moneyer is otherwise unknown in Athelstan's coinage. The fact that the royal coinage at York appears to have been under the control of the one overlord moneyer Regnald coupled with the fact that Alwerd's coin bears no mint-signature makes it hard to attribute it to the royal mint at York but it seems clear that the dies emanated from that mint. Where it was issued remains a mystery; reasons for doubting the existence of another mint in Northumbria at this time have been given above.³

Before considering the remaining York coinage in the name of Athelstan it is necessary to look at the coinage there that preceded his capture of the city in 927. This has been the subject of varied views which are neatly summarized by Stewart in an important study of the York and Lincoln coins of the period.⁴ Of York there can be distinguished three main groups, a royal issue bearing the name of King Sihtric who is now generally accepted as being Sihtric Caech, King of York 921-6; a small anonymous Viking issue; and a far more substantial issue that bears the name of no ruler or moneyer but, on the one side, the name of St. Peter and, on the other, the name of York, in both cases frequently blundered.⁵ The dating of these St. Peter coins has been much discussed. Their absence from the great Cuerdale hoard, deposited c. 903, is clear evidence that they are later than that, and it has latterly been generally accepted that the issue was contained within the first quarter of the tenth century. Stewart, in the paper quoted above, has, however, put forward convincing arguments for some extension of the lower limit and even wonders if the issue might not have continued after the Viking expulsion from York.

If this is the case—and it may well be—it means that we find, for a short time at least, a coinage from territory under the English king's control with no indication of English royal authority. This of itself is significant, but the more one studies Athelstan's coinage the clearer it becomes that, in those parts of England that had been under Viking control, a considerable latitude was allowed to the operation of mints. The use of mint-names is frequently not enforced in those areas; some peculiarly unkempt

¹ e.g. by Dolley in his *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin*, p. 25.

² See p. 94.

³ See p. 88.

⁴ Ian Stewart, 'The St. Martin Coins of Lincoln', *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), pp. 46-54.

⁵ A representative selection of St. Peter coins is illustrated in *SCBI* Copenhagen, I, pls. xx-xxi.

coins (here described as NE II and NE III, nos. 409-37) are to be associated with them; and it has been suggested, though it is not known how much the suggestion will find favour, that in East Anglia coinage in Edward's name may have gone on into the first years of Athelstan's reign. If, moreover, Stewart's revised dating to the mid 920s of the St. Martin coins of Lincoln, which of course do not bear Athelstan's name, is accepted, they would have been issued there after Lincoln had been recovered by the English king. There is therefore no insuperable objection to the St. Peter issue having continued after Athelstan recovered York, but it seems hardly likely that coins from a royal mint would not have borne his name.

If not a regal issue, what would it have been? An issue by the archbishop has been widely canvassed in the past. Keary writes 'we may suppose it to have been issued more or less under the direction of the Archbishops of York, and thus to represent the archiepiscopal coinage of the styca period'.¹ Later writers such as Brooke² and Dolley³ avoid the question, but Stewart inclines to the view that it was a municipal issue and adduces in support of this the St. Martin coins of Lincoln which cannot have been an issue of the see of Lincoln as this was not created until after the Norman conquest. But is this an over-riding objection? It is known that Archbishop Wulf here had coining rights, which he may have exercised almost up to the capture of York by the Vikings in 867.⁴ Such rights were highly valued and are likely to have been sought from, and may in due course have been granted by, the invaders. There are, among the Siefred/Cnut series, coins without regal names and with legends of a religious character. These may be an earlier example of the exercise of the archiepiscopal coining rights. This is supposition, but some support for it is provided if Athelstan allowed the St. Peter coins to continue to be struck after he had recaptured York and by the existence of a curious York coinage bearing a depiction of a 'church' (or possibly shrine) (nos. 438-44). These bear Athelstan's name but the reverse type is unparalleled on his coinage, though something comparable is found on rare coins of his predecessor that are attributed to Chester.⁵ It has been suggested that these Athelstan coins represent an initial issue at the king's mint prior to the establishment of the monopoly in favour of Regnald.⁶ The alternative that they constituted an issue by the archbishop is of longer standing but has not found favour of late.⁷ None the less, I believe it deserves serious consideration. In the first place, if we are right in thinking that Regnald's cross-type was inaugurated at York shortly after the English recovery of the city, there would be no room at the royal mint for another early issue. Secondly, it may be assumed that Athelstan would want to ensure the support of the ecclesiastical authorities in his newly won territory and would wish to appear generous to them. Certainly, in 934, he granted the large area known as Amounderness to the see of York.⁸ If we are right in believing that the archbishops had been enjoying the right of coinage under Viking rule, there must be every reason to expect that the privilege would not be withdrawn by Athelstan. Had he followed the pattern of the south, this privilege would have taken the form of a participation in the profits of the royal mint but, having possibly allowed the St. Peter

¹ *BMC* i, p. iii.

² Brooke, p. 37.

³ Dolley (1965), pp. 21-2.

⁴ For the most recent discussion of the date at which the styca coinage started see *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 1-15.

⁵ e.g. *BMC* ii, pl. viii. 15.

⁶ This is the view put forward by Mr. Dolley and Miss van der Meer, *NC* 1958, pp. 124-5.

⁷ The theory originally put forward by Samuel Pegge in 1772 (Pegge, pp. 56 ff.).

⁸ *English Historical Documents* i, p. 505.

coinage to continue for a short time, Athelstan may have agreed to its replacement by an issue that bore his own name but retained an exclusive type. This does not appear to have gone on for long and it is possible that, as at Canterbury, he seized the opportunity of the appointment of a new archbishop to bring the procedure at both ecclesiastical mints into line. Archbishop Hrothweard died in 931 and, on this telling, Wulfstan's appointment would have included provision for him to cease to issue coins from his own mint but would, no doubt, have left him with the right to share in the profits of the royal mint.

What are probably the first of the 'church' type coins were struck by Regnald and bear the mint-name of York (no. 438). The eight specimens of which I have photographs are from four obverse and five reverse dies. The remaining coins bear no mint-signature and are by five moneyers:

ADELBERT with MO N beside the 'church' (no. 439).

'ETRAM' (no. 440). Surely an impossible name, but so it appears on three different dies with M-O below. In the upper half DIS or DOIS is found beside the 'church'.

FROTIER. This moneyer starts his name in the upper half of the coin and, on all the three reverse dies recorded (four specimens are in fact known but I have not established the dies of the fourth) follows it by M, then writing MON on the bottom line of all (no. 441).

TURSTAN, known from a single coin in the British Museum, places his name on the lower half of the coin with the letters W (M inverted?) N beside the 'church' (no. 442).

WYLSIG is the most prolific moneyer in this (none the less rare) type. I have records of five obverse and seven reverse dies used on eleven specimens (no. 443). The king's name, on coins by this moneyer, reads AEDL-. The separation of the A and the E and the use of D for ð are features of this type; the omission of the second E is a feature of this moneyer's coins, but is also found on a coin of Regnald (*SCBI* Glasgow 609) and on the only known coin of Turstan; but neither of these die-link into the Wyltsig series.

There is a curious coin of this type in the Liverpool Museum (ex Grantley 1048) on which the obverse legend reads +AEDLFTAIRE with three wedges between the cross and the initial letter (no. 444). The reverse legend is blundered, but Lord Grantley saw in it the possibility of *Mon Petri*. This, however, must be regarded as very doubtful.

Before leaving the York coinage, mention must be made of a coin of Regnald's of which four specimens are known, struck from two reverse dies (no. 247). Two are from the same dies and one other die is common to two. The dies seem to be normal ones (as is the case of the double reverses at Nottingham), though I have been unable to find a die-link with the regular series, and this suggests that obverse and reverse dies may at this time have been of the same shape and so could be used as either standard or trussel. The existence of these four coins, using five different reverse dies, prompts the thought that there may have been an occasion when, both at York and at Nottingham, the moneyers deemed it prudent to avoid showing allegiance to the English king, without committing themselves to the other side, and the Viking raid of 937 is an obvious occasion when this might have been the case. The possibility of error cannot be ruled out because a double *obverse* is known, no. 476, one die of which was used for a normal coin, no. 234. This double obverse does, however, go some way to confirm that the double reverses are, as their style suggests, also from the official York mint.

The two-line coins by Rægnald (no. 87) are not of York and are probably to be associated with Exeter. On the other hand, it is possible that a unique coin by the moneyer Eric (which I have provisionally included under the NE I group) (no. 382) is of the York mint. A moneyer of this name struck the curious (and equally unique) coin reading on the obverse LVDO SITRC¹ which must be of the time of Sihtric Caoc (d. 927). Other features also point to York: the use of the rounded c and s and separation of the two first letters of the king's name, as on the 'church' type. An even more curious coin bearing the name of Regnald on one side and that of Eric on the other (no. 455) is discussed under the irregular coins.

MERCIA—MIDLAND GROUP

The Midland group consists of a clearly defined series of coins issued from three of the Five Boroughs of the Vikings, Derby, Leicester, and Nottingham² and also from Tamworth. Neither the bust type nor the rosette type is found in this group, a feature of which is the intermittent use of the title *Rex Saxorum*.

DERBY

	Two-line/ cross	Cross	Marks in field		Titles			Moneyer of Anlaf	Pl. no.
			Obv.	Rev.	Rex	Rex Saxorum	Rex To Brit		
BEORNARD ^a		x	M or nothing			x			162
BEORNARD ^a		x					x		161
{ BOIGA ^b		x	M, crescent or nothing			x			163
{ BIGA		x		M		x			164
GARUARD(ES)		x	M				x		165
GIENCGA		x		R		x			166
{ MÆGENRETH ^c		x				x			167
{ MEGENFRETH ^d		x		M		x			251-2
{ MEGGA, MENC GA		x		M		x			168-9
MARTINVS ^e		x					x		170
{ SIGAR(ES)	x ^d			M	x			x	127
{ SIHAR(ES)		x				x			171
SIGWOLD(ES)		x		M			x	x ^f	172

^a Beorard is found at Chester.

^b Name also found at Chester.

^c Megred found at Chester; Megereth at uncertain mint of D.

^d Without mint-name.

^e Mærtén found at Chester.

^f Die-linked with Athelstan's coin.

Derby is the dominant member of the Midland group. At least eight moneyers can be identified there, but it is unlikely that all worked together. The mint seems to have been opened by moneyers lent from Chester, the principal mint of north-west Mercia. Boiga and Martin are found at both; Mægen(f)reth may perhaps be equated with the Megred of Chester; and Derby's Beornard may possibly be the same as Chester's Beorard. The coins issued in their name from the Derby mint are, however, of a style quite distinct from those that come from Chester and it is apparent that they are from the hand of a different engraver. Since, moreover, rosette-type coins are found at

¹ BMC i, pl. xxix. 13.

² The names of the other two are not found on coins.

Chester by Beorard, Boiga, and Megred, it would appear that these moneyers returned there after putting the Derby mint on its feet.

In addition to the frequent employment of the Saxon title, a feature of Derby coins is the no less frequent addition of a letter or symbol (most usually the letter *m*) in the obverse or reverse field (e.g. nos. 163 and 168). This has been taken as the initial of *Merciorum*, but the use in one instance of the letter *r* (no. 166) must make this uncertain.

The continued existence of the mint following Anlaf's recovery of his hold on English territory in 939 is shown by the fact that two moneyers of Æthelstan, Siga (no. 171) and Sigwold (no. 172), worked for the new regime. Indeed the reverse die of Sigwold's Æthelstan coin is found used with an obverse die in the name of Anlaf (no. 172a). It is also evidence that, at Derby, the cross type persisted until the end of Athelstan's reign.

The mint-name takes various forms on the coins but the fullest reading, and one found on a number, is DEORABVI. Other forms (some blundered) are DEORABV, DEORADI, DEORI, DERABI, DEORAIVI, DEORÆF, DEDRAEV. The lettering on a number of the coins is neat and tight and this enables some unusually full legends to be given (e.g. no. 167). Various prepositions precede the mint-name: ON, MO ON, MOT ON, MOT, MOT IN, MOTET.

A number of coins with more or less irregular legends can be seen to be attempting a Derby mint-signature (nos. 481-91). These I have treated together under the irregular group but the borderline between regular and irregular cannot be sharply defined and for a complete picture of the Midland coinage these must be taken into account.

Of Beornard's coins, two (possibly three) specimens are recorded with the Saxon title (no. 162) and one with TO BRIT from the same reverse die (no. 161). Boiga's all have the Saxon title (no. 163). Two coins (from the same dies and with the Saxon title) spell the name B|▷A (no. 164). The third letter, which somewhat resembles a Δ on its side, is probably intended for a G and I have treated it as a variant on the same name.

The reading of the name that I have interpreted as Garuad(es) must be regarded as doubtful. On the basis of the specimen in the British Museum the view was hazarded that it might be intended for Thurgar¹ but another (and better) specimen has turned up (no. 165 text block opposite) which makes a reading Garuades more likely. The initial letter is certainly a peculiar one and might, in other series, be more readily interpreted as a ð rather than a G. But no. 251, a Derby coin though without mint-signature, uses the same form of letter as the third in the moneyer's name, Megenfreth, and shows the final ð of a distinctly different form. If this is correct the normalization would be Gærweard, an uncommon name, but one recorded by Searle. An alternative, since the fourth letter is still doubtful is to interpret the name as Gareard, a well-attested moneyer in this reign at London, but not known in the midlands. This seems less likely.

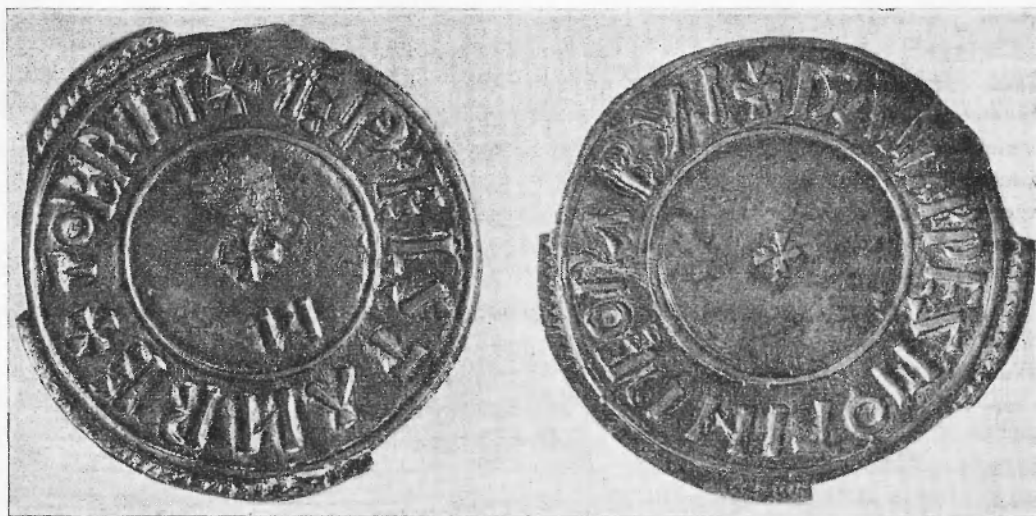
Giencga (no. 166), recorded from a unique coin at Nottingham Castle, is clearly legible and seems to be an otherwise unknown name. The remainder of the legend suggests that it is not a blundering. This is the coin that has *r* in the field of the reverse.

Maegenreth (no. 167) is known from three mint-signed coins, all with the Saxon title. Megenfreth and Mageneth are found on two cross-type coins without mint-signature (nos. 251-2) and these are of Derby style. Both use the Saxon title and the former has in addition the *m* in the reverse field typical of the mint.

Two coins with the Derby mint-signature and of Derby style are by moneyers who sign themselves MENGCA (with the more normal form of G but reading SAXSORUM)

¹ *BM Quarterly* xxi (1957-9), p. 76.

(no. 169) and MEGGA (with the form of G peculiar to Derby) (no. 168). The first reads MOTON, the second MOT IN and the latter has an M in the field of the reverse. In addition there was in the Forum hoard a coin with a blundered obverse legend and the moneyer's name MERRA. This has, quite exceptionally, a rosette in the centre of the reverse (no. 491) and is dealt with under the irregular issues. Martinus's coin (no. 170), which has the TO BRIT legend, appears to be unique.



Of Sihar(es) there was a mint-signed specimen in the Forum hoard of good style and with the Saxon title (no. 171). Another, clearly irregular, appears to have the same name in a retrograde legend but has no mint-signature (no. 486). The same moneyer, but this time spelling his name with a G, was responsible for a coin which has neither mint-signature nor any extension of the title, *Re* (no. 127). It has, however, the M in the reverse field. This is possibly a mule between the two-line and cross types.

The unique coin by Sigwold that is die-linked with one in the name of Anlaf has been discussed above. In addition there is one of coarser work with retrograde legends and with the moneyer's name reading OSIFOLD(ES) (no. 487). This is dealt with under the irregular issues.

In the two-line type several specimens by Beorard are recorded (no. 25) but these are likely to be of Chester. Megenfreth too is found (no. 80) and, though there is nothing stylistically to associate this coin with Derby, the moneyer's name is probably sufficient to justify the attribution.

NOTTINGHAM

	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ETHELNOTH		x	<i>Saxorum</i>	Derby irrig.		193
ETHELNOTH (2 rev. dies)		x				194
OSULF(ES)	x	x	<i>Saxorum</i>	Chester	x	196 (not ill.)
ETHELNOTH/OSULF(ES) (2 rev. dies)		x				195

The style of the Nottingham coins shows that the dies for them came from the same workshop as those of Derby. The title *Rex Saxorum* is consistent. A very curious feature of this mint is that, of the ten recorded specimens, no less than seven are composed of two reverse dies; two of these moreover have the name of different moneyers on each side (no. 195). The dies appear to be regular. The coin of Osulf with a normal obverse is recorded by Dymock as being in the Cuff collection; but I have not been able to trace it and it is not identifiable in his sale catalogue. The mint-name, thanks to the tight lettering, is generally the full one of SNOTENCEHAM.

Osulf was a Chester moneyer in the cross type and it is possible that, as appears to have been the case at Derby, he was sent over to establish the mint at Nottingham. A single coin of his is recorded of the two-line type (no. 82) but the style does not associate it with either mint.

TAMWORTH

	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
MANNA	x	x	<i>Saxsorum</i>	Canterbury	x	217
MANNA (2 rev. dies)		x		Canterbury		218

Only three coins of Tamworth are recorded, one of them (in Dublin) no more than a fragment. The association with the Derby group is apparent; the same neat lettering provides again a full mint-reading TOMIEARDGE, preceded by MOT ON (no. 217). The king's title is *Rex Saxsorum*. The same reading is found on a Derby coin (no. 169) but the dies differ.

The coin composed of two reverse dies is problematic (no. 218). It does not employ the same die as on the normal coin illustrated here, though one very similar to it. But the other side is blundered, seemingly copied from a Tamworth original. The weight, 19.8 gr., though light, would not of itself be enough to justify relegation of the piece to the irregular series and the combination of an irregular with a regular die presents us with the same problem we have already met at Oxford.¹

A two-line coin of Manna's (*SCBI* Edinburgh 135) has the Mercian form of \mathfrak{D} and is probably of this mint. Another with the same form of \mathfrak{D} has a name that appears to be MANNIA (no. 77).

LEICESTER

	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
THURSTAN		x	<i>To Brit</i>	York (Turstan)		180

Five coins are known by a moneyer Thurstan (or Thursitan), struck from three obverse and two reverse dies, on which the reverse legend ends MO+TOLIECVI (no. 180) and MOXTOLIEI respectively. Three are in Rome, one in the British Museum and one at Tamworth. These have been the subject of various attributions. Evans, reading the first coin LINCVI, attributed it to Lincoln;² Brooke, pointing out that the reading was in

¹ See pp. 67-8.

² *NC* 1885, p. 136.

fact LIECVI, gave it to Chester;¹ Dolley, associating the Thurstan coins with one, newly discovered, by the moneyer Torhtelm, reading MO TOLI-, originally attributed all to Leicester² but later realized that the Torhtelm coin was more likely to be of Lymne.³

The Lincoln attribution may safely be abandoned, based as it was on a misreading. Dolley gives good reasons for being unhappy about Brooke's attribution to Chester⁴ and there seems no reason not to accept his conclusion that the Torhtelm coin is of Lymne and that those of Thurstan are of Leicester.

MERCIA—NORTH-WESTERN GROUP

Chester is the mint that dominates this group, but with it may be associated Shrewsbury, Stafford, and mints signing VR or VERI (Warwick?) and Ð (Thelwall?). The feature linking all these places is the frequent use of a rosette of pellets, in place of the usual cross, in the centre of the field of one or both sides. The rosette from now until Edgar's reform becomes a recognized mark of the north-western mints. A single coin of Hereford is of the rosette type (no. 362) and shows that this mint had some association with this group; but its other products link it with the Mercian, Western Marches, group under which it is discussed.

CHESTER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross/ Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Cross/ Rosette</i>	<i>Rosette/ Cross</i>	<i>Rosette</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ABBA	x	x		x	x					136, 326
ÆLFVINE		x		x	x	x	x		x	137, 327, 337, 345
BEORARD		x		x			x			138, 346
BOIGA				Pirie			x	Derby	x	139 (not ill.), 347
BOIGALET				x			x			140, 348
{ C(E)NAPA				x	x		x		x	328
{ CNATH				x	x	Pirie	x			141, 328 (not ill.), 338 (not ill.), 349
DEORULF				x		?	x			142, 340, 350
EADMUND	x	x		x	Pirie	x	x	Shrewsbury	x	143, 329 (not ill.), 339, 351
EADULF	x		x	x						144
(E)FRARD				x			x		x	145, 352
MÆLDOMEN				x			x		x	146, 353
MÆRTEN				x				Derby	x	147
MEGREÐ							x	{ Derby (MÆGENFRETH) Thelwall? (MEGERETH)		354
OSLAC				x	x		x		x	148, 330, 355
OSULF, -LAF	x	x		x			x	Nottingham	?	149
PAUL		x		x	x		x		x	150, 331, 356
RÆNULF	RÆGENULF	RÆGENULF		x				Winchester (RÆGENULF)		151
SA(E)LC				x						152
SIG(E)FERTH	x			x					x	153
SNELE	x	x		x			x			154, 357
TIDGER, TIDGAR		x		x			x			155, 358
T(I)OT		x			x		x			332, 359
WIARD		x		x	x	x				156, 333, 341
WULFGAR	x	x		x			x		x	157, 360
WULFSTAN	x	x		x		x	x		x	158, 342, 361

The coins these moneyers struck for Edmund have rosettes except for: Eardulf and Paul, both of which have four pellets, and Sigferth which has the usual three pellets. Edmund's coin of Osulf is recorded on the strength of a description in the Reichel catalogue but was not seen at the Hermitage on a visit to Leningrad in 1966.

Pirie = *SCBI* Chester. I have no other record of these coins.

¹ *NC* 1925, p. 356.

² *NC* 1956, pp. 285-91.

³ *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 30-3.

⁴ *NC* 1956, p. 290.

At Chester there are no less than twenty-five moneyers, compared with fifteen at London, and its coins are the most plentiful of those with mint-signatures in Athelstan's reign. This is in part due to the incidence of hoards¹ but the very large number of moneyers suggests that, with York (where the mint organization was of course different), Chester must have been the most active provincial mint in the country at this time. This is hardly likely to have been due to trade across the Irish sea since so large a part of Ireland was in hostile hands, but may rather be a reflection of the availability of silver from the silver mines that existed in North Wales.

It is apparent that coins with the royal head on them found, for some reason, little favour in Mercia² and it would be reasonable to suppose that, when the bust type replaced the cross type at the southern mints, the same type was abandoned at Chester and the rosette type substituted for it. But the evidence of the Derby group shows that this need not necessarily have been the case, and that it was not so at Chester is clearly demonstrated by the existence of a coin of the cross type which is overstruck on one of the bust in relief type (no. 149), a type that can hardly have been issued before the crowned bust type in the south. The overstriking may of itself be further confirmation of the distaste for coins with the king's head, but that such coins did in fact circulate in Mercia is shown by the Chester (1950) hoard which contained five of this type (out of a total of forty-eight of the reign). Perhaps when the bust type coins reached exchanges they were turned over to the local mint for reissue in a form more acceptable. Other coins of Chester show traces of understrikes, e.g. *SCBI* Chester 66 which is overstruck on a coin of the two-line type of southern style by the moneyer Æthered.

There are numerous minor varieties among the Chester coins, such as the one designated in the *British Museum Catalogue* as type II (no. 85), which is a curious variant of the normal two-line type with in the centre of the obverse a star-like object with a pellet either side and, above and below, the letters D T. These remain unexplained. The coin, a unique one, does not actually bear the Chester mint-name, but from the moneyer, Paulus, may confidently be associated with that mint. On mint-signed coins various symbols, as at Derby, are found in the field of one or other side or occasionally of both. For example, on cross-type coins, an s in the reverse field (e.g. no. 137) to which sometimes two annulets in the obverse field are added (no. 141); this obverse die is used by the same moneyer to strike a coin of the cross/rosette type (*SCBI*, Glasgow 636); on cross/rosette coins, an annulet in the reverse field (no. 332) or a pellet in the obverse field (*SCBI*, Chester, 437); on rosette/cross coins an s (no. 337) or an annulet (no. 342) in the reverse field; on rosette coins an s in the obverse field (no. 346) or an annulet in the reverse field (no. 350). The M in the field, so common at Derby, is not found at Chester.

The Mercian D is used at Chester but is not found on mint-signed coins of Shrewsbury which shows that, although the two mints were in some measure linked, the dies for both were not made by the same hand. A curious feature of Chester coins is the occasional ending of the obverse legend REX TO BRLE which, it has been surmised, may be an indication of the mint-name.

Miss Pirie in her *Sylloge* volume on the Chester mint, besides illustrating an unrivalled series of mint-signed coins, has added a list of moneyers and their types and on this I

¹ See *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), p. 39.

² Mr. Dolley has even suggested that this prejudice may have been so strong that, on the introduction of

Edgar's reform type, Chester may for a time have issued a three-line type (without the king's head) for the purpose of Irish trade (*JRS* 1961, pp. 17-18).

have drawn liberally. But as she confined her work to the mint-signed coins it may be appropriate here to consider other coins likely to be of Chester though without that signature.

Coins of the two-line type which may be associated with Chester show the characteristic Mercian D with the bar on the curved element and are found by Abba (no. 7), Beorard (no. 25), Eadmund (no. 46a) (some only; those with the normal D (no. 46b) are probably of Shrewsbury), Paul (nos. 85-6), Snele (no. 97), Tirot (no. 102) and Wulfgar (no. 112). On the other hand, the two coins of Wulfstan that I have noted (no. 115) both have the normal D . The reference for Tidger rests on a coin recorded but not illustrated in the Carlyon-Britton sale (lot 397) where the reading is given as TIEDGERE but there is no indication as to the form of the D ; and on another (no. 100) the reverse reads TILAEOREO. In this case the D can be seen to be of the Mercian form and both coins may be provisionally accepted as of Chester. The two-line type coin in the name of Wiard (no. 424) is not to be associated with Chester; there is, however, one with the name spelt WIHARD (no. 107) which has the characteristic Mercian D and this is likely to be of that mint. A mule, cross/two-line, by Eadulf (no. 117) may be of Chester, but the style is somewhat unusual and one cannot see the form of the D . A mule the other way (no. 126) has the normal form, D .

The mint-name of Chester (LEGECEASTER) takes a variety of forms, the most usual being LEGECF, but LE and LEIE are also found and this, in the past, has given rise to much confusion with Leicester.

A word should be said on some of the moneyers' names. BOIGALET (a form not given by Searle) seems to be intended to be distinct from BOIGA. CENAPA is found sometimes as CNAPA or CNAÐ. Genitive forms frequently occur, e.g. PAULES, also found as PAUELS. MÆLDOMEN, as an Old Irish name, should also be mentioned. Miss Pirie has discussed these in greater detail in her *Sylloge* volume, p. 37.

SHREWSBURY

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Cross/ Rosette</i>	<i>Rosette/ Cross</i>	<i>Rosette</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
BERHTELM	x	x	x				'Weardburh', Langport (both Burhtelm)	x	205
CENBERHT	x	x	x			x		x	206, 363
EADMUND	x	x			x	x	Chester	x	343a (not ill.), 364
ECGHERD			x	Brooke		x			207, 334 (not ill.), 365
EOF(E)RMUND	x	x	x		Brooke	x		x	208, 343 (not ill.), 366
FROTGER			x			x	FROTIER on Church type		209, 367
HUBALD			x						210
WLAF	WILLAF	WILLUF (NEI)	x					WILAF	211

The number of moneyers on Shrewsbury mint-signed coins at eight is unexpectedly large and the coins themselves are less uncommon than most. Of the cross type I have records of upwards of twenty-five specimens and of the rosette type 12. Brooke records the combination of the two types both ways.¹ Of the cross/rosette combination he

¹ Brooke, p. 60.

records Ecgherd. This I have not been able to trace, but it may exist. There is a record of a coin showing this combination in the Derrykeighan hoard in the report on which the moneyer's name is read as VELNBERHT.¹ The coin is now in the Ulster Museum and is in fact a true rosette coin by Cenberht (no. 363). There is an irregular piece with the same combination of types but composed of two reverse dies, possibly purporting to have the name of Cenberht also (no. 496). Of the combination rosette/cross Brooke records the moneyer Eofermund and there is a record of Eadmund also.

The rosette forms a link with Chester and this is strengthened by the use, on some of the two-line coins attributable to Shrewsbury, of the Mercian form of \mathfrak{D} . This is found on two coins of Cenbreht of this type both from the same dies (no. 38) (who may be equated with CENBERHT) and on both those of E(O)FERMU(N) \mathfrak{D} (no. 54). Neither of these moneyers is recorded at any other mint and the likelihood is that the coins are of Shrewsbury. The same form of \mathfrak{D} is found on some (but not all) of those of Eadmund. A moneyer of this name also worked at Chester and it is possible that those with \mathfrak{D} come from that mint and those with \mathfrak{D} from Shrewsbury.

Of Berhtelm an early coin (it was in the Vatican hoard) of somewhat indeterminate style has the normal \mathfrak{D} (no. 29). It can reasonably be regarded as from Shrewsbury. The WILLUF on the two-line type belongs to the NE I group and is unlikely to be connected with the Shrewsbury WLAF.

Hubald, a name recorded by Searle, but otherwise unknown on coins of Athelstan, is known from a single specimen of cross type (no. 210).

A coin of rosette type in the British Museum by the otherwise unknown Shrewsbury moneyer Edred has mint reading SC \mathfrak{D} OB and is clearly irregular (no. 497).

STAFFORD

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Cross/ Rosette</i>	<i>Rosette</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
EARDULF	x	x	x	Brooke	x	Oxford	x	214, 335 (not ill.), 368
WIHTEMUND			x		x			215, 369
WIMUND		x	x					216

Coins of Stafford are rare; five are recorded of the cross type and six of the rosette type. Eardulf and Wihtemund struck both types and Brooke records one by Eardelf of the cross/rosette type,² but this I have not traced. The king's title is *Rex To Brit* save on one coin of Eardulf's (formerly in the Bagnall collection) which is said to read *Rex Brit*. If this is correct, it provides a link with the Western Marches group where this title was used. In other respects the coins of the mint link with the North-Western group. The \mathfrak{D} generally (though not quite always) has the cross-bar on the curved element and the use of the rosette clearly connects Stafford with this group.

Two coins of the cross type are recorded by Wihtemund which share a common reverse die with the mint-name ST. These have been attributed to Stamford.³ His single coin of the rosette type reads STF which could equally apply to either Stafford or Stamford, though it is to be noted that when the name of Stamford unquestionably appears

¹ NC 1844, p. 215.

² Brooke, p. 60.

³ e.g. by Carlyon-Britton in *BNJ* viii (1911), p. 66.

on the coins emphasis seems to have been placed on the N. As has been seen, however, mints in that part of the country seem, at this time, to have remained anonymous and it would be against all the evidence to seek to place rosette coins so far east. It is better to follow Brooke who gives these coins to Stafford.¹ A single coin is known of Stafford in the name of WIMUND (no. 216). On philological grounds this should be a different name, but the numismatist is always reluctant, on the basis of a single specimen, to postulate a fresh moneyer where one is known with a name so nearly comparable.

In the two-line type EARDULF is represented by a fragment in the Forum hoard (no. 49). On this the Ð is of the normal form which suggests that it may be of Oxford where a moneyer of this name also worked. In the same hoard was a coin of this type signed VVIMVND (no. 110) but in its uncleaned state it is not possible to determine the style. The moneyer, however, is not recorded at any other mint.

A more detailed study of the Stafford mint has recently appeared in *Otium et negotium, Studies in onomantology and library science presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, Stockholm, 1973 (pp. 13-22).

THELWALL ?

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Rosette/ Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
MEGERETH	MEGENFRETH	MEGENFRETH	x	Chester (MEGRED) Derby (MÆGENRETH)	MEGRED	344

A mysterious coin of the rosette/cross type reads MECEREÐELIOOINÐ the legend reading outwards and backwards. The Ðs are of the Mercian type (no. 344). In the Montagu sale catalogue (lot 626) Grueber attributed the coin to 'Thetford (?)'. This can surely be rejected. A more plausible attribution is to Derby where MÆGENRETH is known but the rosette is not a typical feature of the Derby mint, though it is found on the irregular coin (no. 491). The lettering, however, in no way supports a regular Derby issue and the initial of the mint-name is clearly Ð not D.

The rosette connects the coin with Chester where a moneyer signing MEGRED worked, but the initial Ð cannot indicate that mint. An interesting possibility is Thelwall, a borough on the Mersey some five miles west of Warrington that was built by Edward the Elder. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 922 (corrected date 919) says: 'In this year after the autumn King Edward went with the army to Thelwall and ordered the borough to be built, occupied and manned.'² Little enough seems to be known of Thelwall in Anglo-Saxon times, but it may be significant that coins are known in Athelstan's reign of Hertford, where Edward ordered the 'northern borough' to be built;³ of Tamworth and Stafford where Æthelflæd built the boroughs in 913⁴ and of 'Weardburh' where she built the borough in 915.⁵ On the other hand, it must be recognized that other boroughs referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at this time give no indication of having had mints.

The case for Thelwall rests on the fact that this coin belongs clearly to the North-West Midland group from the use of the rosette; that for this reason and on account of

¹ Brooke, p. 60.

³ ASC, s.a. 913 (corrected date 912).

² Professor D. Whitelock's translation, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961.

⁴ Ibid., s.a. 916 (A) (corrected date 913).

⁵ Ibid., s.a. 918 (corrected date 915).

its lettering it is to be dissociated from Derby; that the moneyer, if Megereth and Megred may be equated, is known at Chester; and that this recently built borough, if it required a mint, would turn to Chester to help in setting one up. Since only one specimen is known today, it is likely to have been the one in lot 6 of the Forster (1868) sale which, for the reasons given in Appendix II, is probably from the hoard found at Scotby near Carlisle.

It will have been noticed that the entire reverse legend is retrograde which points to a degree of irregularity. The possibility cannot be ruled out that no identifiable mint is intended to be shown and that the coin is copied from a Derby coin of Mægenreth, though, from the style of the lettering and the use of the rosette, the die can have hardly been made there.

While there can obviously be no certainty in the matter, an attribution to Thelwall seems possible on the evidence at present available.

WARWICK ?

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Cross/ Rosette</i>	<i>Floral</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. No.</i>
MONTHEGN			x	x	x		x	116, 221, 336

Hardly less problematical is a small group of coins by the moneyer Monthehn. Two of these, from the same dies (no. 116) have a pseudo-floral pattern reminiscent of the floral coins of Edward the Elder. Of the other two, one is of the cross type with mint-name VR (no. 221); the other, cross/rosette with reversed s in the reverse field, reads VERI (no. 336). Monthehn, who is not recorded for Edward, also struck a (unique?) coin for Edmund of the two-line type, with rosettes at top and bottom. These coins are to be associated with the Mercian north-western group: the use of the rosette is the most definite piece of evidence for this, but it is supported by the s in the field (found otherwise only at Chester), the pseudo-floral type and the use of the Mercian ♂.

Kenyon in the third edition of Hawkins's *Silver Coins* attributed the VERI coin to Worcester; the *British Museum Catalogue* gave it to Warwick; Brooke, to Wareham;¹ Keary in his report on the Forum hoard included the cross type coin reading VR in his list of 'uncertains'.² More recently the question was discussed in a paper on the mint of 'Weardburh' by Mr. Elmore-Jones and the present writer.³ There the Wareham attribution was firmly rejected, as was any association with 'Weardburh', but alternative attributions were left open as outside the scope of that paper.

Searle records the name Monthehn on the strength of these coins alone, so no help is to be derived from documentary sources. The choice seems in fact to lie between Worcester and Warwick. Geographically there is little to choose between the two, though one might perhaps expect Worcester to be associated with Gloucester, Hereford, and 'Weardburh'.

Ekwall derives the name of Worcester from the Roman fort of a tribe called Wigoran or Weorgoran and early forms of the name are consistent in bringing in a G before the R—UUEGORNA, UUIGORNA, UUEGERNIA, WIGORNA, and WIGRACEASTER.⁴ In the eleventh century, however, the form WIORNOCENSI is found (1016) and in Domesday Book it is

¹ Brooke, p. 60.

² NC 1884, no. 276; p. 247.

³ BNJ xxviii (1955-7), pp. 494 ff.

⁴ Ekwall, p. 534.

WIRECESTRE. Warwick, on the other hand, is WÆRINGWICUM and WÆRINCWIC in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 914/915),¹ and for these VERI would be an appropriate abbreviation.

Worcester does not appear as an undoubted mint until the reign of Æthelred II, whereas the mint of Warwick can be identified with certainty on a coin of Edgar's reform type reading PÆRINC.²

On balance it seems that the claim of Warwick is better established than that of Worcester and, if this is accepted, it is of interest to find a mint so far to the south and centre of the country looking to Chester rather than to Oxford or even London. Presumably Edmund's coin by Montheagn was struck at the same mint.

MERCIA—WESTERN MARCHES GROUP

This is a quite small group which is linked by the unusual form of the royal title—*Rex Britannia*, without the normal *totius*. This feature is found at Gloucester and 'Weardburh' and on some coins of Hereford and possibly (as already noted) on one of Stafford.

GLOUCESTER

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ATHELMOD			x	NE III	x	175

Two coins, both of the cross type, are recorded for Gloucester. On one, in the Gloucester Museum (no. 175), the moneyer's name is clear and the mint reads GLEAPA CI; the other (*BMC* 20) has a good obverse reading but the reverse is much blundered. In *BMC* the name is interpreted as 'Ædelwold?' but, in view of the first specimen, may be presumed to be Athelmod also. Gloucester, which had been an ephemeral mint under Alfred, is not identifiable again as a mint until Edgar's reform.

'WEARDBURH'

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
BURHTELM	BEORHT-		x	Shrewsbury (BERHT-) Langport	BERHT-	222-3

A coin from the Skye hoard by the moneyer Burhtelm reading MOTPEARDBV (no. 222) was immediately recognized as a product of the mint in the borough of that name which Æthelflæd is recorded as having built in 915 but the precise location of which had been in doubt. The earlier writers on the coin were unanimous in identifying *Weardburh* with Wardborough in Oxfordshire. Recently doubts have been expressed on this point and the connection of the 'Weardburh' coin with Gloucester and Hereford (through the use of the exceptional title) and with Shrewsbury (through a moneyer of the same

¹ See *The Place Names of Warwickshire*, English Place-Name Society, iv, 1927.

² Sigsarve hoard, *Antikvariska Studier*, v, p. 149. See also *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), pp. 56-7.

name) has been remarked on.¹ It is also to be noted that the name of *Weardburh* occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle between Chirbury, near the Welsh border in Shropshire, and Runcorn in Cheshire on the Mersey.² This last point may not be significant but it tends to lend weight to the identification of *Weardburh* with a site in the west midlands, perhaps in the country marching with Wales.

The Skye coin reads *Rex Brita*. A second specimen by the same moneyer but of coarser workmanship (no. 223) has been known for a long time; but its identification only became clear when it was compared with the Skye coin, the moneyer being found to be the same, the obverse to read *Rex Br* and the mint signature MOTFEAR. It must be clear that this is of the same mint, made from locally cut dies.

HEREFORD

	<i>Ed. Elder</i>	<i>Two-line</i>	<i>Cross</i>	<i>Rosette</i>	<i>Name elsewhere</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
ECGBERHT		ECGBERHT	X			ECGBRIHT	176
HUNLAF	X	X	X	X		X	177, 362

Two moneyers are recorded on mint-signed coins of Hereford. Of the cross type of Ecgberht two specimens are known (from different dies) (no. 176); of Hunlaf of the same type there are three, all from the same dies (no. 177). Only one coin is known of the rosette type (no. 362). On the cross type the mint reading is HEREF; on the rosette type HERFO.

The title *Rex Britannia* is found on both of Ecgberht's coins (*Rex Br* and *Rex Brita*) and on Hunlaf's rosette coin (*Rex Brt*); on Hunlaf's cross type coins, on the other hand, the reading is *Rex to Brit*. The ð on all is of the normal form (though reversed on the rosette coin). The *Rex Britannia* title links these coins with Gloucester and 'Weardburh', and the rosette with the Chester group. The same dual link has been noted at Stafford.

Of the two-line type one specimen by each moneyer is recorded (nos. 51 and 68). On that by Ecberht the 'g' is omitted, but both employ the Chester form of ʀ. The names of the two moneyers are unknown elsewhere and both may reasonably be associated with Hereford.

Curiously, no coin of this mint was found in the Forum hoard.

UNLOCATED COINS

In the preceding pages possible mints or areas have been proposed for a substantial number of the pieces which carry no mint-signature. There remain, however, a number of moneyers' names that are not found on mint-signed coins and these are dealt with briefly below.

Diademed bust type

Æthelgar (no. 1). From the Vatican hoard and therefore early. The type is unique in that the bust, facing right, is, as on Edward's coins, contained within the inner circle. The moneyer is not recorded for Edward the Elder or elsewhere for Athelstan. Such

¹ *BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), pp. 494 ff., where the matter is reviewed in some detail.

² s.a. 918 (corrected date 915).

evidence as there is points to Wessex or Kent as the probable source, but East Anglia cannot be entirely ruled out.

Two-line type

In the lists of this type that follow names marked with an asterisk are those of moneyers coins of whom were present in the Vatican hoard. This by itself is evidence that these moneyers were working early in the reign.

The five moneyers in the table below struck both the two-line and the crowned-bust type and may therefore be confidently regarded as having worked in the southern part of the country:

	<i>Edward the Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
*Alfeau	x		19, 312
(*Burhelm	x	x	35, 313
| Burhehem			
Deorwald	x	x	42, 316
*Dryhtwald	x		43, 317
Sigewulf			96, 324

The reverse die of a coin by Alfeau of Edward the Elder of the two-line type in the Vatican hoard is found later used by Athelstan;¹ and the crowned bust coin of Sigewulf is die-linked with one of Cynewald (no. 315).

On grounds of style the following may also be associated with mints in Wessex or Kent:

	<i>Edward the Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
*Biorhtwald	x		33
*Byrnwig			37
*Ealhstan	x		48
*Earnulf			50
Frithestan (?)			57
*Garulf	x		59
Guntere	x		61
Herebeau			62
Sigebrand	x		92
Swerhtlinc (?)			98
Tithfreth	x		103
*Wealdhelm	x		106
*Wilric			109 a moneyer for Plegmund

It will be noticed that a number of these moneyers struck also for Edward but that none did so for Edmund. They may be presumed therefore to be early moneyers of Athelstan, who perhaps had ceased striking by the time his cross type was introduced.

The following used the Mercian form of δ and so may be associated with that area:

	<i>Edward the Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
Beornhuc			27
Byrnhere			36
Heremod	x	x	63
H(i)ldebert			66
Rothward			90
Warengot		x	105

¹ *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), p. 27, no. 485.

Heremod was a moneyer of one of Edward's flower types (*BMC ix*) probably struck at Chester. Alhstan is, in this instance, to be distinguished from Ealhstan (no. 48); the style of the two coins is different.

In this group no clear chronological pattern emerges.

There still remain a substantial number of moneyers for which no attributions are offered:

	<i>Edward the Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
Baldwin		x	22 (not ill.)
Beorger			26
Berngar	x		30
*Bioca	x		31
*Cunerof			40
Cunulf			41
Diormod	x		42a (not ill.)
'Durani'		x	44
Magnard	x		73
Mathelberht	x		78
(?Hathelberht)			
Osland			81
Oswart			83
Rihard	x		89
Saraward	x	x	91 (not ill.)
Sigedruld			93
Thurlac	x		99
Warcred			104

I have not seen the coin by Baldwin; the obverse is recorded as having an annulet either side of the central cross on the reverse. The coin of Oswart has been attributed to Derby¹ on the grounds, presumably, that the obverse legend ends RED†. But the style does not resemble that found on mint-signed coins of Derby.

Some coins of Manna have been discussed under the NE I group; others have been discussed under Canterbury and Tamworth; and one, reading Man, under London. One other (*SCBI* Edinburgh 121) reading MANNA (retrograde) is indeterminate.

Cross

Of the six coins of the cross type which have no mint-signature, two cannot be located:

	<i>Edward the Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
Biornvic			250
Rihiard	x		253

Cross/crowned bust mints

Two of the three mules recorded cannot be associated with any specific mint, but since the two types are only found together in the south they must come from that area: Cynewald (no. 256), Sigealf (no. 257). The former is die-linked by its reverse with a true crowned-bust coin (no. 315) which in turn is die-linked by its obverse with a true crowned-bust coin of Sigeulf (no. 324 below). Neither moneyer is recorded for either Edward or Edmund.

¹ e.g. in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue, lot 1675.

Crowned bust

The following moneyers of the crowned bust type cannot be precisely located, but may be presumed to be from southern or possibly East Anglian mints:

	<i>Edward the Elder</i>	<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Pl. no.</i>
Alfeau	x		312
Burhelm	x	x	313
Cialelm			314
Cynewald			315
Diarwald	x	x	316
Dryhtwald	x		317
Fredard			318
Hunrice			319
Lifing (Lioving)		x	320
Manninc			321
Mathelberht			331a (not ill.)
Sigeulf			324

IRREGULAR ISSUES

Reference has been made on a number of occasions in the preceding pages to irregular coins, by which is meant coins which while bearing for the most part the name of Athelstan, often in a more or less blundered form, do not appear to fit into the pattern of the coinage that has emerged from the present study. They have been brought together in this section. It must be emphasized that in some cases their association with a specific tenth-century king is open to doubt. As an example, a coin which, in writing on the Chester (1950) hoard, Mr. Dolley and I treated as 'A Danish Imitation?' of Athelstan on which the legends on both sides were much blundered, is, I am now satisfied, more likely to be of the time of Edgar.¹ The end of the obverse legend appears to be a blundered form of *Rex Anglo*, a title not used by Athelstan on his coins, and the king's name may more probably be intended to be Edgar than Athelstan.

The volume of these irregular coins, illustrated in Plates XX-XXII, is not inconsiderable, and the fact that in most cases only a single specimen of any variety is known points to their having been issued on quite a substantial scale. Their origin, which may well have been from a variety of sources, is peculiarly difficult to assess. In some extreme cases there is little relation with the regular coinage (e.g. nos. 505-7); on one or two others it is, or appears to be, linked with it. The case of the Oxford coins of Ingelri (nos. 198 and 199) which show an obverse of irregular work employed with two regular reverse dies, one of which certainly die-links with a regular obverse, has been discussed above.² The evidence suggests that this may reflect some irregularity in the operation of that mint.

At Tamworth too a perfectly normal reverse die is combined with what appears to be another reverse die, but blundered and irregular (no. 218). A double obverse, one side of which appears to be of normal work, is discussed below.

Most of these irregular pieces are of the cross type but a few are of the rosette and of the two-line type. Irregular coins of bust types are never found. This may in part arise from the fact that these would have been more difficult to copy, but may also be significant in indicating that, in the area in which they were primarily designed to circulate, it was the cross type that was current. Certainly there is one group of these

¹ *BNJ* xxvi (1949-51), p. 142, no. 55.

² p. 67.

irregular coins that may be associated with Derby and the group with the mint-name London may possibly be associated with the same area because on one specimen the Saxon title is found. If so, this brings with it the 'Wareham' group.

Several distinct groups may be identified in the cross type:

'London' and 'Wareham'. This is by far the largest group. I have records of upwards of a dozen specimens of 'London'. All bear the name of a moneyer who signs as EFE, EGE, ERE, EIE, or LF, and have the mint-name of London, often mis-spelt: e.g. LVNDCOT, LVNER, etc. The obverse legend usually exhibits some form of irregularity in attempting the name of Athelstan and his title. The *Tot Brit* ending is general and reasonably unblundered, but on the one coin just mentioned the legend ends *Saxorum* (no. 461) and on another (no. 459) the obverse legend is retrograde. Five examples of this group were found in the Forum hoard and one each in the Skye and Glendalough hoards. The moneyer's name may be a crude attempt at copying the name of ELLAF who struck this type on regular coins of London.

On one coin by Ele the king's name has become almost unintelligibly blundered +EERNAZT+TEIRBOIT (no. 462). This same obverse die is found used with a much blundered reverse in the Hunter cabinet (no. 463),¹ the reverse of which die-links with a coin from the Forum hoard (no. 464) with a more or less rational obverse reading.

Slight variants of this much blundered obverse legend are found on one or two other coins, but most significantly on a coin the reverse of which is inspired by one from the relatively unimportant mint of Wareham (no. 465). The reverse legend reads +VVNI4EMOVVEREH; the O is surrounded by a number of dots. The V in the moneyer's name may be taken to be an ζ sideways which gives the reading *Wsige*. Wulsige is recorded as a moneyer of this type at Wareham and on a true coin of the same type the mint reads VVERHA. Why a coin of so small a mint should have been chosen for imitation is probably due to no more than the chance availability of a specimen at the time. It does appear, however, that a little group developed round it. Another 'Wareham' reading is found on no. 466 with the same moneyer's name, with this time the s correctly placed and again with the dots round the O. Yet another, with variant legends, was in the possession of Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd. in 1964 and the die-links cited above enable the group to be further extended.

The weights on five of the Efe coins of 'London' vary from 19.3 to 23 gr., with an average weight of 21.5 gr. On five coins of the 'Wareham' group the weights vary between 14.7 and 25.3 gr. with an average weight of 22 gr.

'Derby'. This again is a fairly substantial group, consisting entirely of single specimens save for those with the 'name' of Thusmet of which two were in the Forum hoard (no. 488). The reverse legend on these ends DEDRAEV, which, if intended for Derby, is a considerable blundering. A coin with the 'name' ANZVM ends the reverse similarly (no. 481). 'Ceel' is found on a very crude and blundered piece on which the mint-name reads DEB (no. 482); EDFINOT (*Æthelnoth*) on one reading REORA8VI with a letter, doubtfully 8, in the field (no. 483), obverse legend retrograde; 'Toia' with mint reading DERVBYI and retrograde obverse legend (no. 484). A crude coin with what at first appears to have meaningless legends (no. 486) is likely to belong to this group. The obverse legend shows traces of *Æthelstan Rex* (retrograde) and the reverse, equally retrograde, may

¹ This was omitted from *SCBI* Glasgow as the coin was then placed in the Irish series.

with some probability be interpreted as *Sigares mo to* (no. 486). Sigar was, it will be remembered, a Derby moneyer in this type. An obviously irregular coin, with blundered obverse legend, is by a moneyer who appears to sign himself in a retrograde legend OSIFOLDES and adds MOT IN DEO. There is the characteristic M in the reverse field (no. 487). It will be seen that the os at the beginning and end of the legend are smaller than the other letters and, if they can be regarded as ornaments either side of the initial cross, the name Siwold emerges. Sigwold was a Derby moneyer in this type and his regular coin has an M in the field of the reverse. These last two coins may be regarded as imitations of the regular pieces with the names of Derby moneyers. All these, with the exception of the 'Sigares' coin which does not go beyond *Rex*, have elements of the *Tot Brit* title and all are of the cross type.

An interesting coin in the French national collection may, despite the fact that it bears no mint-name, be confidently associated with the 'Derby' group because of the use of the Saxon title and of the presence of the letter M in the reverse field (no. 489). The moneyer's name is in doubt. It appears to read PÆDVARDES and the possibility that it is a copied version of the problematical name on no. 165 is worth consideration. That the coin is in Paris should not be taken necessarily to imply a French provenance. It was acquired in 1886 from the then well-known Paris and London dealers Feuarent with several other English coins varying from coins of Offa and Edgar to a Danish coin of Harthacnut, clearly therefore not a hoard.

In the Forum hoard is an irregular coin also of the cross type on which the mint-name reads DIRBEO (no. 485). This is preceded by +ERRANO. Derby seems indicated by the mint reading and the moneyer's name is to be compared with that on the coin next discussed.

Another coin which may, more tentatively, be associated with the Derby group combines a blundered obverse of the cross type with a reverse of the rosette type (a type not found on any regular coin of Derby) (no. 491). The moneyer's name, reading outwards and backwards, is MERRA followed by MOT IND(?)RI. The second letter of the mint-name is clear but indeterminate. The reasons for associating this coin with the 'Derby' group despite the rosette on the reverse are the elements of the Derby mint-name and the moneyer's name, which appears on a regular Derby coin to read MEGGA (no. 168) with the letters G of a curious form which an imitator might well take for inverted rs.

Clearly to be associated with Derby is a remarkable coin in the Forum hoard that has on the one side a reasonable (but retrograde and not completely accurate) version of Athelstan with the title *Saxoru* with on the other the unmistakable reading *Anlaf Cununc* and the characteristic Derby M in the field (no. 492). The Athelstan side is irregular, but the Anlaf side would pass muster as an official die, though it has not proved possible to establish a die-link. The coin is likely to have been issued from the Derby mint soon after Anlaf's recovery of it and its tentative nature is suggested by the use of the irregular Athelstan die. From the die-linked coins of Sigwold discussed earlier,¹ it is clear that Anlaf carried on the mint at Derby and the coin under discussion suggests that some at any rate of the irregular 'Derby' coins may also have been issued from the official mint there, possibly after its loss to Anlaf but before he had organized it for coinage in his own name.

¹ p. 95.

'*Winchester*'. Regular coins of Winchester are of a characteristically neat style which contrasts markedly with several, all in the name of Eadstan and with the Winchester mint-signature (nos. 498-501). Two have an extra cross in the field on both sides. No. 499 is of particular interest. Miss Robertson records it as being overstruck on a two-line type¹ which would suggest that, in the area in which these irregular coins were designed to circulate, the two-line type did not find favour. Eadstan is a moneyer at Winchester on regular coins of this type and it is clearly from these that the irregular coins are copied. Their weights vary widely; two in Edinburgh (*SCBI* 157-8) weigh 27.6 gr. and 16.6 gr. respectively and the average of four specimens is 22.1 gr.

'*Chester*'. Chester, though a highly active mint in the regular coinage, has left behind few irregular pieces. I have records of three of the cross type in the name of Deorerd or Deorard (no. 493), a moneyer not recorded for the mint in this reign, though Beorard is known. The mint-name on the specimen illustrated reads EIECIEI, or IECIEI if the first E is regarded as the final one of MONE, and the *British Museum Catalogue* listed it among the coins of the Chester mint. The one in the Grantley sale (lot 1052, unfortunately not illustrated) appears to be similar. The third specimen, in the Chester (1950) hoard, 36, has a more enigmatic ending MONEEENDI. The first two have an extra cross in each field and a pellet as well in the reverse field.

A crude coin with obverse rosette type, reverse cross, bears the name of Abba (no. 494). The mint-name is enigmatical but as Abba is a well-attested moneyer at Chester (and nowhere else) and as the rosette associates its prototype with that area, it is included here.

The remaining coin of this group is even cruder. It has the rosette each side and the moneyer's name appears to read CNΛIA (no. 495). The rosettes again associate the prototype with this area and a moneyer with the name of Cnapa struck this type at Chester.

'*Shrewsbury*'. Reference has been made earlier² to an irregular coin of Shrewsbury of the rosette type by the moneyer Edred and with the mint-name ꝛCDOB (no. 497), a nice example incidentally of the confusion that often arises in imitations between R and ƿ. Eadred is not recorded as a regular moneyer at Shrewsbury. The only other piece that comes in this group survives in no more than a fragment (no. 496). But it is enough to show that it is struck from two reverse dies, that the intended mint is Shrewsbury—one can read on one side MOS-ROB- and that the moneyer of the prototype was Cenberht. The type combines a cross on one side with a rosette on the other; Cenberht struck both types in the regular series, though he is not known for the combination.

Double Obverses. Reference has been made to these earlier. All are of the cross type. Most of the eight specimens I have noted are clearly irregular, some with a 'Derby' flavour reflected in the use of the Saxon title. Two others stand out, the one because one side is of good southern style (though the use of a cross for the x in *Rex* is unusual). The other side is blundered and retrograde. I have been unable to find a die-link with the regular series (no. 473). The weight, no more than 15.6 gr., shows, however, that regardless of the origin of the one good die the coin is clearly irregular. The second, no. 476, is stylistically to be associated with York and here it has proved possible to establish that one of the dies was used for a normal York coin of Regnald's (no. 234).

¹ *SCBI* Glasgow, no. 627.

² p. 100.

The weight is 25.6 gr. and, though the coin is illustrated with the other double obverses for comparative purposes, it appears to be like Regnald's double reverses, a product of the official mint at York.

Nos. 474-5 and 477-8 show traces of the *Rex tot Brit* title and 474 has an extra cross in both fields. 474 weighs 18.5 gr.; 475, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ gr. Nos. 479-80 are the two coins that show traces of the Saxon title. The former weighs 22.6 gr.

Miscellaneous. The remaining irregular coins of the cross type do not form themselves into groups and so must briefly be discussed individually.

No. 502. A reasonable obverse. The reverse reads retrograde BERNVIC MONETAO, wt. 18.5 gr. This must be imitating the regular coin by the moneyer Biornvic (no. 250), one of the few coins of the cross type that has no mint-name.

No. 503. Blundered obverse. The reverse has a 'name' that appears to read Dudustan. Wt. 15.9 gr.

No. 504. Reasonable obverse. The reverse reads ΕΛΟΤΛΛΕ ΟΝΣΛΑ. Wt. 16.9 gr. While this may be attempting a Stafford mint-signature, the fact that no moneyer there has a comparable name must make this doubtful.

There follow a few coins on which the legends are completely blundered and which may well be contemporary forgeries: no. 506, wt. 16.8 gr.; no. 507, wt. 16.9 gr.; another, ill. *SCBI* Edinburgh 197, wt. 12.3 gr. but a large piece missing; another *ibid.* 198 (not illustrated), wt. 7.2 gr. but a fragment.

Two-line Type. This type is less commonly found on irregular coins (see Plate XX, nos. 445-8, 450-3). No. 450 is discussed later; the others show blunderings in various degrees, but the point is worth noting that, whereas no. 448 is placed here because the obverse legend is retrograde and blundered, the reading on no. 449 is virtually normal and would, on its own, have allowed the coin to be placed in the NE I group.

In the Threadneedle Street hoard there was an irregular coin with a blundered obverse of the cross type with legend ending TO B and an uncertain moneyer's name in two lines on the reverse. At top and bottom four pellets replace the usual three (no. 454). Were this a regular piece it would of course rank as a mule between the cross and two-line type.

A piece that is peculiar even in this peculiar series has on the obverse what must be the name of the moneyer Regnald and an indication of the mint of York, with a cross in the centre. The reverse, of the normal two-line type, has the name ERIC on the upper line and, retrograde on the second, ONET A (no. 455). The weight is 17.9 gr. and the coin is slightly chipped. Though there are features in the obverse legend that associate it with Regnald's regular coinage at York, there is no doubt that the piece is irregular. The features, such as the stopping, stem from the die cutter having copied from a regular original. The coin was first noticed in the Marsham sale of 1888, lot 101¹ and, as is regrettably often the case, has no hoard provenance. There seems, however, insufficient grounds for questioning its authenticity and, if it is genuine, it is remarkable in bearing the names of two moneyers and in being the only irregular coin based on a York original.

The question arises where and when these irregular coins were struck. A few may be regarded as contemporary forgeries (e.g. no. 495, though its good weight will be noted,

¹ Where it was attributed to a King Regnald, an attribution that cannot be sustained, though it persisted on its next appearance in the sale room at the Montagu sale (1895), lot 427.

and 453). A few are related to official mints: Oxford, no. 199, Tamworth, no. 218, and an unidentified southern mint, no. 473. There seems good grounds for associating a substantial block with Mercia in general and Derby in particular and this block may well extend to include the 'London' and 'Wareham' group as well as the double obverses.

But there remain a few that stand out on the plates as being distinct from their fellows. No. 508 is peculiar, not so much for its style as for the fact that the reverse reads REINERE ME FECIT. The form *me fecit* is known on a few coins of Alfred but is otherwise unknown in Athelstan's reign; the name, whether in the form on the coin or in its normalized form Regenhere, is equally unknown at this time.

No. 450 stands stylistically apart from the others on that plate. It cannot be certain that it is of the time of Athelstan, though this seems likely. It has a retrograde obverse legend that does not make any attempt at the king's name but reads LIFWALDMOLOMDCI and the reverse has an unidentifiable moneyer's name. Lifwald is not recorded as a moneyer on Athelstan's regular coinage. This is one of the relatively few irregular coins of the two-line type and its distinctive style will be noted.

No. 509 has a passable obverse reading with, it is to be noted, a round form of s in the king's name. The reverse reading is more uncertain, not that the letters are not clear but there is no initial cross to indicate where it begins and some of the letters are upside down. The most likely reading, however, appears to be MONETA IAN CALE. The C is of the round form, the o has pellets around it reminiscent of the 'Wareham' group and the style, it will be seen, is quite unusual.

No. 510 has again a passable obverse reading with a round s, though this time formed of two crescents with wedges at the extremities. The reverse reads REMECIAAONIO with round c and small pellets at each end of that letter. Here the letters are well formed and the coin must be from a mint of some competence. It bears, however, no relation to any other coins in the name of Athelstan.

Evidence has been emerging in the last few years to suggest that in the tenth century coins of English type were on occasion struck on the Continent, primarily perhaps in Brittany where official coinage was at this time tenuous. The first evidence of this was the discovery in the Fécamp hoard of 1963 of two deniers superficially of the normal English two-line type but with a large cross on the obverse extending to the inner circle and lettering of a distinctly continental style in which traces of the legend *Gratia Dei Rex* could clearly be discerned. The reverse contained the name Eadmund in two lines, with a sideways s above and below and three crosses between. The coins are illustrated and discussed by Madame Dumas in her report on the hoard.¹ This was followed by the discovery by Dolley and Yvon of a denier from a small find at Mont St. Michel that was again superficially of English type, though varying from the norm in having a pellet in place of a cross in the centre of one side. The obverse, however, has a legend which can most coherently be read *Wileim Dux Bri* and the authors attribute the piece to William Longsword, Duke of Normandy and date it c. 933-43.² It is illustrated here as no. 511 in Plate XXII.

None of these last go so far as to bear the name of the English king described as such. And it may seem too big an assumption on the relatively slight evidence available to suggest that coins bearing the unmistakable name and title of Athelstan may have a

¹ *Le Trésor de Fécamp*, Paris, 1971, p. 294; and pp. 185-6.
a review by the present writer in *BNJ* xli (1972), ² *BNJ* xl (1971), pp. 7 f.

continental origin. The thought is, however, put forward that further investigation into the coinage of the tenth century may lead to the conclusion that coins purporting to be of English kings were at times struck on the Continent and these last four coins may prove relevant to the study.

There remains the dating of the main Mercian block of irregular pieces. A few, such as the Athelstan/Anlaf coin (no. 492), are likely to come shortly after Athelstan's death and Anlaf's recovery of Derby and it is tempting to see this period, when English control was relaxed, as responsible as well for the main block. The evidence of the Skye hoard must, however, be relevant here. Of its fifty-seven coins of Athelstan, the largest recorded parcel from the British Isles, four were irregular, one of 'London' (no. 458), one of 'Wareham' (no. 466), one indeterminate (no. 504), and one of the two-line type (no. 448), and there was no coin of Edmund in the hoard. While it could be argued that a hoard from so far outside English-controlled territory might well contain irregular coins struck in northern Mercia shortly after its loss to the Norsemen and still contain no coins of Edmund, it appears to do less violence to the evidence to accept Dolley's dating of the loss as c. 935 and to accept in consequence that these irregular Mercian issues began at some point during Athelstan's reign.

CONCLUSIONS

PERHAPS the most important point that emerges from this survey is that, in the second quarter of the tenth century, the coinage of England was still being organized on a regional basis and that the regions were related to the areas of the former kingdoms and reflect the division of the country following the Treaty of Wedmore. This is clearly shown by the distinctive coinages of Wessex and Kent (combined), Mercia, East Anglia (using this term in the sense of Norfolk and Suffolk), and Northumbria. The Danish shires south of the Humber (other than Norfolk and Suffolk) equally had an organization of their own, as did the north-midland area round Derby, Nottingham, Tamworth, and Leicester, and there is some evidence of a separate organization for an area on the Welsh border. The distinctive styles, as well often as types, of the coins show that the regions maintained their own die-cutting workshops from which neighbouring mints were supplied.

The coinage of the Danish shires is particularly interesting. It has been suggested above that in East Anglia it may have continued in the name of Edward for some time after Athelstan's accession;¹ in the area south of the Humber the absence of mint-names at a time when, elsewhere, their use was general is to be noted, as is the fact that the king is never styled *Rex totius Britanniae* on coins attributed to this area or to East Anglia. In Northumbria proper there is the feature that a single moneyer controlled a coinage which, elsewhere, would have borne a number of names. Equally to be noted is the concentration of minting both in Northumbria and in East Anglia at a single centre, compared with the wide spread of mints in the south.

At Canterbury the last of the coins to bear the name of the archbishop are those of Plegmund who died in 923. His successor may not have been appointed until after Athelstan's accession and in any case held the office for only a short time: he died in 926. It seems likely that as a matter of policy Athelstan curtailed the coining privilege of the archbishop by no longer allowing him to put his name on the coins but giving him instead a share in the profits of the royal mint.

At York the position appears to have been different. Here, initially, the archbishop was allowed to strike coins of an individual type, though without his name. But the privilege was not allowed to continue for long and may have come to an end with the death of Hrothweard in 931. There is no reason, however, to think that his successors did not participate, as at Canterbury, in the profits of the royal mint.

The peculiar position of Oxford, as a town formerly in Mercia and recently annexed to Wessex, is reflected in its coins, most markedly in one that is from dies emanating from the Derby die-cutting centre, but also in another that combines a reverse die of good workmanship (and one actually used on another, perfectly normal, coin) with an obverse die that is clearly irregular. There is also the small group of coins by Sigeland, with a crude bust of the king, which, though not mint-signed, may be presumed to be productions of the Oxford mint and as such quite out of keeping with the normal run of coins from the Wessex mints.

¹ p. 80.

The outstanding importance of Chester as a mint under Athelstan must also be significant. Discount as one will the influence of hoards from the north on the survival rate, the sheer number of moneyers whose names are found on the coins must point to this having been one of the most productive mints of the whole country, second probably only to London.

The use of the appellation *Civitas* and *Urbs* may prove to have some interest to workers in other fields. *Civitas* attaches, as one might expect, to most of the former Roman centres,¹ but the use of *Urbs* at four (and four only) of the other provincial mints—'Darent' (in Devon?), Lewes, Oxford, and Southampton—remains unexplained.

Among larger towns the name of Hereford, found on coins of Athelstan's, appears to be the earliest written record. In other cases it is possible that his coins may provide the earliest record of a name in an assured contemporary form. This last aspect is particularly relevant in the case of personal names. In common with the rest of the coinage of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Athelstan's is a rich source both for the names themselves and for their contemporary forms.

The use of the title *Rex Saxorum* on coins from the Midland (Derby) group is curious. On Alfred's coins, on the rare occasions this title is found, the correct form *Rex Saxonum* is used. But previously the no less curious form *Rex Saxoniorum* had been used by Ecgbearht (rarely) and by Æthelwulf (more frequently). The title *Rex Totius Britanniae* was widely used by Athelstan on his coinage (except in East Anglia and the areas here designated North-Eastern I, II, and III). In the Western Marches, on the other hand, the *totius* is normally omitted.

The only surviving denomination of Athelstan's coinage is the penny. No round halfpennies are known, nor is there evidence in the reign of any widespread cutting of the penny into halves or quarters, such as had occurred earlier and was to occur extensively later; indeed I do not remember seeing a single coin of Athelstan's that could with certainty be regarded as a cut fraction, as opposed to a fragment. It is, however, possible that there may have been a limited issue of round halfpennies, none of which have survived, since isolated examples in the name of both his predecessor and his successor are known. But, if they existed, their number must have been small and for all practical purposes the coinage consisted of the single, penny, denomination.² With the compensation for a cow set at no more than 20 pence,³ it is apparent that coins can have played little part in petty day-to-day transactions.

The group here treated as 'irregular' has thrown up some interesting problems. Hoard evidence suggests that a number of the irregular issues were made during Athelstan's lifetime and were not, as might reasonably be supposed, posthumous Viking issues made after their reconquest of the north. Northern Mercia, the Derby area, seems a probable source of many. But that irregularities could occur at regular mints is shown by the coins of Oxford and Tamworth which combine a regular die for one side with an irregular one for the other. Recently evidence has come to light indicating the occasional use of English coin types on the Continent, probably Brittany, and the possibility that a few of the irregular issues of Athelstan may come into this category has been discussed here.

¹ See *Anglo-Saxon England* i, p. 26.

³ Athelstan VI, *English Historical Documents* i,

² A modern concoction of an alleged gold penny of p. 388. Athelstan exists.

Although some irregularities may have occurred at the more outlying mints—Gloucester is another example—it is apparent that Athelstan for the most part maintained a strong over-all control of the coinage. Differences in type may have been permitted, to conform with local customs, but weight was carefully controlled and there is nothing to suggest that the standard of the silver was not equally maintained. Whether this over-all control was exercised from London, the principal mint of the south, or from Winchester, which must have been Athelstan's capital, there seems no means of knowing.

The determination of the king to have a firm grip on the coinage seems also to be reflected in the introduction, over the greater part of the country, of mint-names on the coins, a measure that would have made it easier to lay at the door of an offending moneyer any of his products that fell short of the prescribed standard. One may wonder why this form of control, which became uniform after Edgar's great reform less than fifty years later, should have been so quickly abandoned by Athelstan. Periodical changes of type seem also to have been revived in this reign, but there is nothing to suggest that the earlier types were then withdrawn: several are customarily found together in hoards. This is in contrast with the practice after Edgar's reform when there is some evidence that, on the introduction of a new type, the old one ceased to be acceptable for such purposes as the payment of taxes.¹

It will be seen from the lists that an unusually large number of varieties are known from single surviving specimens. This must suggest that we have a very incomplete picture of Athelstan's coinage. The conclusions drawn must be read with this in mind; it is to be expected that a major hoard of this period would materially add to our knowledge and might equally upset some of the views expressed here.

¹ Dolley (1964), p. 25.

LISTS OF THE COINS

EXPLANATORY NOTES

IN the lists which follow the coins have been arranged:

1. By types, with in each case the authority.
2. By mints.
3. By moneyers.

In Lists 2 and 3 the types cited are, for convenience, those in the *British Museum Catalogue*, save that Vc has been designated V/VI and VIa VI/V.

Coins without mint-names have not, in these lists, been attributed to specific mints. The third list shows where the same moneyers strike mint-signed coins, and the likelihood (or otherwise) of the anonymous coins being of these mints is discussed under the mint in question.

As many as possible of the varieties have been illustrated and these are indicated by a † before the moneyer's name in the first list. Plate numbers have not been given as the coins are consecutively numbered on the plates. Where the coin is not illustrated here, reference is given wherever possible to a source in which an illustration is available.

It is not possible in the lists to indicate the many minor variations of spelling, etc. which occur. Where these seem significant they are referred to in the main text. Equally it is not possible to indicate how many specimens may exist of any one variety, but, in cases where only one specimen is known to the writer, the coin is marked with an asterisk. The collection cited is the one in which the specimen illustrated lies.

It is hoped that these lists will be of value in enabling students to check readily whether any piece which comes to their notice is already recorded and that it may also prove useful when any major hoard containing coins of Athelstan next comes to light. The writer would be very grateful to hear of additions (and no doubt also corrections) so that in due course a supplementary note may be published.

COLLECTIONS ETC. REFERRED TO

Argyll	Collection of the 10th Duke of Argyll (d. 1949), bought by Spink & Son Ltd.
Ashmolean	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i> , Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, I.
Bagnall	The late A. E. Bagnall's collection.
Baldwin	The late A. H. F. Baldwin's collection.
Bascom	G. J. Bascom sale, 1914.
Berlin	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Birmingham	City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.
Blunt	Author's collection.
BM	British Museum (but not in BMA or BMC).
BMA	Anglo-Saxon Acquisitions of the British Museum, NC 1925, pp. 343-65.
BMC	<i>A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum</i> , Anglo-Saxon series, ii.

Brooke	G. C. Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> .
Budapest	National Museum, Budapest.
Carlyon-Britton	P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton sales, 1913-18.
Chester	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Grosvenor Museum, Chester</i> .
Copenhagen	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Royal Collection, Copenhagen</i> , i.
Cuff	J. D. Cuff sale, 1854.
Derby	Museum and Art Gallery, Derby.
Drabble	G. C. Drabble sales, 1939 and 1943.
Douglas	The Manx Museum and National Trust, Douglas, Isle of Man.
Dublin	The National Museum of Ireland.
Dymock	MS. volume on Anglo-Saxon coins by the Revd. T. F. Dymock in the possession of the author (formerly in the library of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson).
Edinburgh	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh</i> , i.
Elmore-Jones	F. E. Elmore-Jones sale, 1971.
Fitzwilliam	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge</i> , i.
Forster	W. Forster sale, 1868.
Forum	Forum hoard, 1883 (see Appendix I).
Gallwey	Col. H. D. Gallwey collection.
Glasgow	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Hunterian and Coats Collection</i> , i.
Gloucester	City of Gloucester Museum.
Grantley	Lord Grantley sale, 1944.
Harris	E. J. Harris collection.
King	H. H. King collection.
Leeds	Leeds University.
Leicester	City of Leicester Museums.
Leningrad	Hermitage Museum.
Liverpool	Liverpool Public Museum.
Lockett	R. C. Lockett sales, 1955-60.
Mack	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Commander R. P. Mack collection</i> .
Mann	Alexander Mann sale, 1917.
Mont St. Michel	The Museum, Mont St. Michel, France.
North	J. J. North, <i>English Hammered Coinage</i> , i, 1963.
Norweb	Emery May Norweb collection.
Nottingham	Nottingham Castle Museum and Art Gallery.
Oslo	Universitets Myntkabinett.
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Pitt-Rivers	Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset.
Rashleigh	E. W. Rashleigh sale, 1909.
Roth (i)	B. Roth sale, 1st part, 1917.
Ruding	The Revd. R. Ruding, <i>Annals of the Coinage</i> , 3rd edition.
Ryan	V. J. E. Ryan sale, 1952.
Scotby hoard	See Appendix II.
Seaby	B. A. Seaby Ltd.
Shand	F. J. Shand sale, 1949.
Shrewsbury	Public Library and Museum, Shrewsbury.
Smarmore hoard	Pub. <i>BNJ</i> xxvii (1954), pp. 161-6.
Spink	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular</i> .
Stainer	C. L. Stainer, <i>Oxford Silver Pennies</i> , 1904.
Stow-on-the-Wold	St. Edward's Hall Museum, Stow-on-the-Wold.
Taffs	H. W. Taffs sale, 1956.
Taunton	Somerset County Museum, Taunton Castle.
Truro	County Museum and Art Gallery, Truro.
Vatican hoard	Pub. <i>BNJ</i> xxxiii (1964), pp. 7-29.
Westminster	Westminster School collection.
Young	Joseph Young of Leicester collection (1914).

LIST I

ATHELSTAN COINS ARRANGED BY TYPES

*Diademed bust (BMC – ; North 670)**Obv.* Diademed bust to right, normally breaking inner circle.*Rev.* Small cross with legend around.

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| †1 | Æthelgar | (BM ex Vatican hoard 516*) Bust within inner circle |
| †2 | Folcred | (Forum 181*) Bust of unusual style |
| †3 | Gareard | (Blunt ex Vatican hoard 517*) |
| †4 | Grimwald | (Forum 183*) Bust as last |

*Diademed bust/two-line (Mule) (BMC vii; North 669)**Obv.* Diademed bust to right or left, within or breaking inner circle.*Rev.* Normal two-line type.

- | | | |
|----|-----------|---|
| †5 | Æthelwine | (Forum 89*) Bust left within inner circle |
| †6 | Wulfisige | (BMC 144*) Bust right breaking inner circle |

*Two-line type (BMC i = North 668) (excluding North-Eastern I)**Obv.* Small cross. Normal reading ÆDELSTAN REX.*Rev.* Moneyer's name in two lines, three crosses between; normally trefoil of pellets above and below.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| †7 | Abba | (Glasgow 604) |
| †8 | Abonel | (Berlin) |
| †9 | Ælfred | (Blunt) |
| †10 | --stan | (Blunt) |
| 11 | --wine | (Vatican hoard 483) |
| | Æthelberht | See Mathelberht |
| 12 | -----ferth | (Forum 87) |
| †13 | -----freth | (BM ex Cheddar excns.) Single pellet top and bottom of rev.; or cross top and annulet bottom (Edinburgh 129) |
| †14 | -----sige | Usually spelt Ethelsige (Copenhagen 711) or with crosses top and bottom (Forum 90) or cross top, trefoil bottom (Vatican hoard 484) |
| †15 | -----ulf | Spelled Athel- (Edinburgh 120) |
| †16 | -----w(a)ld | (Lockett 2731 pl. 16a); the 'a' omitted on one specimen (Argyll). A fragment in BM is of different style (pl. 16b) |
| 17 | -----wine | (Brooke. Possibly a mistake as he fails to include this moneyer among his bust-type coins without mint-signature, though the coin in the Forum hoard (no. 5 above) must have been known to him) |
| †18 | Æthered | (Blunt*) Trefoil top, cross bottom on rev. |
| †19 | Alfeau | (BMA 504) Cross top, annulet bottom; or trefoils top and bottom (Vatican 485, which incidentally is from the same rev. die as a coin of Edward the Elder, Vatican hoard 96) |
| †20 | Alhstan | (BMA 505) Cf. Ealhstan which is of different style. |
| 21 | 'Alit' | (Scotby hoard*) |
| 22 | Baldwin | (Cuff 516, later Chaffers 61) <i>Obv.</i> cross with annulet either side |
| †23 | Beahred | (Forum 97) |
| †24 | Beoraid | (Mont St. Michel) |
| †25 | Beorard | (Blunt) Both Ð and ʀ are found |
| †26 | -----ger | (Stow-on-the-Wold*) |
| †27 | -----nhuc | (Forum 100*) |
| †28 | Berhelm | (BM ex Chester 1950 hoard*) |
| †29 | Berhtelm | (Vatican hoard 489*) |
| | B(e)rhtmathel | (See Mathelberht) |

- †30 Berngar (Edinburgh 123)
 †31 Bioca (Blunt)
 †32 Biorhtric (Copenhagen 708)
 †33 -----wald (Edinburgh 124)
 †34 (Bi)orn- (Edinburgh 125*)
 †35 Burhelm (Edinburgh 122) No mark at bottom of reverse; another reads Burhehem (Blunt)
 †36 Burnhere (Blunt*)
 †37 ----wig (Blunt) Cross at top, four pellets at bottom of rev.
 †38 Cenbreht (Edinburgh 126)
 †39 'Ciohecm' (Birmingham) (= Liofhelm? q.v.)
 †40 Cunerof (Vatican 497*)
 †41 Cunulf (Forum 109*)
 †42 Deorwald (BM ex Morley St. Peter hoard)
 42a Diormod (Dublin*) Ex Dunsmore Cave find, 1973.
 †43 Dryhtvald (Blunt) One has cross at top and four pellets at bottom of reverse (Grantley)
 †44 'Durani' (Leningrad*)
 †45 Eadgild (Edinburgh 128) Cross top, trefoil bottom on rev.
 †46 ---mund (Fitzwilliam 570, pl. 46a) Another (Forum 116) is of different style, obv. ends RRI (pl. 46b)
 47 ---stan (Carlyon-Britton 397*)
 †48 Ealhstan (Mack 772) Cf. Alhstan which is of different style.
 †49 Eard(u)lf (Forum 117*)
 †50 Earnulf (Blunt)
 †51 Ecberht (*BMC* 106*)
 †52 Eclaf (*BMC* 107) Single pellet top and bottom on rev.
 53 Ellaf (Forum 122)
 †54 Eofermund (Birmingham) EFERMVD on Forum 120
 Ethel- See Æthel-
 †55 Folcred (Blunt*)
 †56 Frithebriht (Forum 124)
 †57 -----stan (BM ex Chester T.T. 17*)
 †58 Gareard (Blunt*)
 †59 Garulf (Mack 773)
 †60 Grimwald (Forum 129*)
 Gunneri See Irregular issues
 †61 Guntere (Edinburgh 134*)
 †62 Herebeau (Forum 130) One (also Forum 130) has cross at top and single pellet at bottom on rev.
 †63 ----mod (BMA 508)
 64 Herhrcs? (Ashmolean 322*)
 †65 Herrwe (Col. Gallwey*)
 †66 H(i)ldebert (Forum 135*)
 67 Hungar (Mont St. Michel) Three pellets at top, single pellet at bottom of rev.
 †68 Hunlaf (Blunt*)
 †69 Igere (BM ex Ryan 755) Cross at top on rev.
 †70 Ingeri (Leningrad*) Cross at top on rev.
 †70a Ingeri (Liverpool*) Cross at top on rev. Irregular obv.
 †71 Iohann (Blunt*) Cross at top, rosette of pellets at bottom on rev; others have trefoil top and bottom (*BMC* 114); trefoil top, single pellet bottom (Vatican hoard 506); or single pellet top and bottom (Vatican hoard 505)
 †72 Liofhelm (Forum 121*) Cross at top on rev. (Cf. also 'Ciohecm' and Forum 106)
 †73 Magnard (Blunt) Four pellets top and bottom
 †74 Man (Forum 143)
 75 Manna (Edinburgh 135) Also, *ibid.* 121, where the reverse legend is retrograde; also Blunt, where the ms on the reverse are in the form of i

- †76 Mannfa (Edinburgh 136*) Obverse of southern style. Moneyer's name apparently altered
 †77 Mannia (BM ex Chester T.T.*)
 †78 Mathelb(e)rht? (BM ex Chester T.T. 21) Name reads Brhtmaðel. One (Smarmore hoard 4) has an irregular obv. reading. Forum 132 reads -BHHT
 †79 -----wold (BMC 113*)
 †80 Megenfreth (BMC 117*)
 †81 Osland (Liverpool*)
 †82 Osulf (Forum 146*)
 †83 Oswart (Derby*) Title RED
 84 Otic (North)
 †85 Paulus (BMC 136) Variety, BMC type ii
 †86 Pauls (BMC 122); PAVLVs (Forum 147); PAVLMSON (Copenhagen 714)
 †87 Rægnald (BM ex Tywardreath hoard); RÆGENALD (Vatican hoard 509)
 †88 ----enulf (BMC 124) Cross top, three pellets bottom; Truro ex Tywardreath hoard three pellets top and bottom (NC 1955, pl. ii, 17); Forum 150 four pellets top and bottom
 †89 Rihard (Forum 151)
 †90 Rothward (Forum 152*)
 91 Saraward (Drabble 846*)
 †92 Sigebbrand (BMC 125) Cross at top, five pellets at bottom on rev.; on another (Copenhagen 715) single pellet top and bottom
 †93 ----druld (Forum 154*)
 †94 ----helm (Carlyon-Britton 376*) Cross top and bottom of rev.
 †95 ----land (Forum 155) Same obv. die as the mule two-line/cross (no. 125)
 †96 ----vvlf (Glasgow 607*)
 †97 Snel (BMC 126)
 †98 S(w)erhtlinc? (Edinburgh 139*) Single pellet at top; ? at bottom of rev.
 †99 Thurlac (Forum 113) Rosette of pellets top and bottom of rev.
 †100 'Tigaereo' (Harris) Cf. Carlyon-Britton 397 (not ill.), Tiedgere
 †101 Tila (Blunt*) Reads Æðestlearex. Possibly North-Eastern II
 †102 Tiot(es) (Copenhagen 716) Two extra pellets in central line of rev.
 †103 Tithfreth (BM ex Sicily hoard*)
 †104 Warcred (Blunt*) Single pellet top and bottom of rev.
 †105 Warengot (Blunt*) No mark top and bottom of rev.
 †106 Wealdhelm (Edinburgh 140) Trefoil top, single pellet bottom on rev.; others have cross top, trefoil bottom (BMC 128) or the usual trefoil top and bottom (Vatican hoard 510). One of the last variety is of different, though still southern, style (Forum 160, one only of the four specimens under this number)
 †107 Wihard (Blunt*)
 †108 Wilebald (Forum 161)
 †109 Wilric (Forum 162) Single pellet top, ? bottom on rev.; another (Vatican hoard 513) has trefoil top, single pellet bottom
 †110 Wimund (Forum 163*)
 †111 'Wiureerai'? (Forum 166*) Cross top and (?) bottom on rev.
 †112 Wulfgar (Edinburgh 143) Cf. BM ex 'Sicily' hoard, NC 1961, pl. xxi, 6
 †113 ---heard (BMC 130)
 †114 ---sige (Forum 167*)
 †115 ---stan (BMC 131) Another (Forum 168) of different style
 (See also Irregular issues, nos. 445-53)

Flower type (BMC iii; North 679)

Obv. Small cross; circular legend ÆDELSTAN REX.

Rev. Moneyer's name in two lines; three single pellets between; above and below floral spray.

- †116 Montheegn (Mack 775)

Cross/two-line (Mule) (BMC - ; North -)

The obverse is similar to the two-line type save that the king is styled REX TO(T) BRIT (instead of simply REX)

- †117 Eadulf (BMC 105*)
 †118 Rihard (Forum 151*) Two pellets in obv. field. Same obv. die as no. 253
 (See also Irregular issues, nos. 454-5)

Two-line/cross (Mule) (BMC - ; North -)

The obverse is similar to the cross type save that the king is styled simply REX.¹

- †119 Dover Folcred (BM ex Lockett 570*)
 †120 Hertford Abonel (Forum 211*)
 †121 London Æthered (Forum 230*)
 †122 Ellaf (Forum 236)
 †123 Igere (Forum 240*) Four pellets on inner circle of obv. and near inner circle of rev.
 †124 Wulfhelm (Forum 244*) Central cross with annulet centre both sides
 †125 Oxford Sigeland (Forum 256) Same obv. die as one of Sigeland's true two-line coins (no. 95)
 †126 No mint Teadulf (Norweb*)
 †127 Sigares (Blunt*) M in rev. field. Possibly not a mule, but abnormal for a true cross type in reading simply REX

Cross type (BMC v; North 671/2)

Obv. Small cross; circular legend. Title (except where shown otherwise) some abbreviation of REX TOTIUS BRITANNIÆ.

Rev. Similar.

- †128 Bath Biorhtulf (BMC 1) Pellet in obv. field (two varieties, see p. 74)
 †129 Herewis (Forum 192*)
 †130 Bridport/ Wihtulf (Forum 282*)
 Bredy
 †131 Canterbury Ethelfreth (Blunt) A variant has the first I of *Civit* in the field
 †132 Æthelsige (Forum 200) DORCI and DORCIVIT
 †133 Elfric (BMC 4)
 †134 Manna (Forum 203*)
 †135 Torhtelm (Edinburgh 147)
 †136 Chester Abba (Edinburgh 148)
 †137 Ælfvine (Blunt) s in rev. field. Another (Chester 7) has an extra cross in both fields
 †138 Beorard (Nottingham*)
 139 Boiga (Chester *Sylloge*, p. 34)
 †140 Boigalet (BMC 23)
 †141 Cenapa (Forum 220*); Cnath (BMC 24, ill. here). Latter has two annulets in obv. field and an s in rev.; same obv. die as 328 (Glasgow 636). Chester 10, also Cnath. Omits the s
 †142 Deorulf (Chester 11)
 †143 Eadmund (Blunt) One (Chester 39) has a cross made up of five pellets on the rev. Another (shown BM 1967) reads MÖ IN
 †144 Eadulf (BM ex Chester T.T. 37) Another (BMC 27) reads EADLFE and has an s in the rev. field
 †145 Efrard (BMC 30*) Frard also found (Chester 17*)
 †146 Mældomen (Chester 18) Another (Chester 14*) reads MDOMEN and has various pellets in the rev. field

¹ SCBI Oxford 333 may also be a mule of these types. Mint and moneyer are, however, uncertain.

†147	Mært(e)n	(Blunt) Some have two annulets in obv. field (Chester 21). Moneyer's name with or without the final e
†148	Oslac	(BM ex Chester T.T. 38*)
†149	Os(u)lfe	(BM ex Chester T.T. 39) The specimen illustrated, which reads Oslfe, is overstruck on a coin with the bust in relief
†150	Paul(es)	(Chester 24) Also found as Pauls (Chester 25), Pauels (Copenhagen 695)
†151	Rænulf	(BMC 35*)
†152	Salc(es)	(Forum 226); Sælces (Chester 26)
†153	Sig(e)ferth	(Edinburgh 149) Both forms of the moneyer's name are found
†154	Snele	(Chester 29)
†155	Tidger	(Taffs 74) MOIN
†156	Wiard	(Chester 31)
†157	Wulfgar	(BMC 39*)
†158	----stan	(Copenhagen 697) Some have annulet in obv. field (Chester 32) or large pellet (Chester 34); or, in rev. field, crescent (Drabble 409, ill.*). One reads MOIN (Fitzwilliam 573)

(See also Irregular group, no. 493)

†159	Chichester	Iohan	(King)
†160	'Darent'	Beorhtulf	(Forum 196)
†161	Derby	Beornard	<i>Rex To Brit</i> (Blunt)
†162		Beornard	<i>Rex Saxorum</i> (BM ex Lockett 569. Same obv. die as last) One has m in obv. field (<i>Reliquary</i> , xv, pp. 129-32, ill.)
†163		Boiga	(Blunt, m in obv. field) All <i>Saxorum</i> title. Some omit m in field (Glasgow 623)
†164		Biga	(Drabble 410) m in rev. field. <i>Saxorum</i> title
†165		Garuard(es)	(Derby) m in obv. field. <i>To Brit</i>
†166		Giencea	(Nottingham*) <i>Saxorum</i> . r in rev. field
†167		Mægenreth(es)	(Glasgow 624) <i>Saxorum</i>
†168		Megga?	(Blunt*) <i>Saxoru</i> ; m in rev. field
†169		Mencga	(Oslo*) <i>Saxorum</i>
†170		Martinus	(Lockett 3689*) <i>To Brit</i>
†171		Sihar(es)	(Forum 198*) <i>Saxorum</i>
†172		Sigwold(es)	(Liverpool) <i>To Bri</i> , m in rev. field. Same rev. die as coin in name of Anlaf (Douglas) no. 172a*. See also Irregular group, no. 487

(See also Irregular group, nos. 481-90 and 492)

†173	Exeter	Abun	(Forum 205*) Another (Forster 6*) said to read Abbon
†174		Rægenold	(BMA 516) Pellet in rev. field
†175	Gloucester	Æthelmod	(Gloucester) <i>Rex Britæ</i> . The only other known (BMC 20) has a blundered version of mint and moneyer's name and reads <i>Rex Bræ</i>
†176	Hereford	Ecgerht	(BMA 517) <i>Rex Brita</i> (or <i>Br</i> (Bagnall))
†177		Hunlaf	(BMC 21) <i>To Brit</i>
†178	Langport	Burhtelm	(Taunton)
†179		Wynsige	(BMC 68)
†180	Leicester	Thurstan	(Forum 267) For varieties see p. 96.
†181	Lewes	Wilebald	(Blunt) Pellet in obv. field. One has pellet (in circle ?) in rev. field
†182	London	Beahred	(BM ex Carlyon-Britton 1676)
†183		Biorhtre	(Forum 235*)
†184		Ealhstan	(Leningrad*)
		Efe, Ele, etc.	See Irregular group, nos. 456-62
†185		Ellaf	(Ryan 759)
†186		Fawle	(Forum 238*)

†187		Gareard	(<i>BMC</i> 60*)
†188		Grimwald	(Blunt*)
†189		Igere	(Forum 240) Four pellets in obv. field near edge
†190		Liofhelm	(<i>BMA</i> 518)
†191		Wulfhelm	(<i>BMC</i> 61*) Cross on rev. has annulet centre
†192	Lymne	Torhtelm	(<i>BM</i> , bt. 1956*)
†193	Nottingham	Ethelnoth	(<i>BMC</i> 84) <i>Rex Saxorum</i>
†194		„	(<i>BMA</i> 519) Composed of two reverse dies
†195		„	Composed of one reverse die of each moneyer (Copenhagen 704)
196		and Osulf	
		Osulf(es)	(Dymock MS. quoting Cuff, but not in the latter's sale) <i>Rex Saxonum</i>
197	Oxford	Athelmund	(Stainer, p. 85*) Possibly a misread Mathelwold? (See p. 67)
†198		Ingelri	(<i>BMC</i> 77)
†199		„	(Ashmolean 327) From the same rev. die as 198, but with an irregular obverse with blundered legend and omitting TO BRIT (see p. 67)
†200		Mathelwald	(Ashmolean 328)
†201		Rægenward	(Edinburgh 153*)
†202		Sigeland	(<i>BM</i> ex Carlyon-Britton 389*) <i>Saxorum</i> (Irregular? Derby style)
†203	Shaftesbury	Æthelwine	(<i>BM</i> ex Chester T.T. 42)
†204		Athelwold	(Glasgow 625*) MOTO
†205	Shrewsbury	Berhtelm	(<i>BMC</i> 80)
†206		Cenberht	(Forum 258)
†207		Ecgherd	(Shrewsbury) MONE
†208		Eofermund	(Blunt) reading EOFRMVND. The full reading is also found (Glasgow 626)
†209		Frotger	(Forum 261)
†210		Hubald	(Blunt*)
†211		W(u)laf	(Forum 262*)
†212	Southampton	Eadgild	(Forum 194)
†213		Frithebriht	(Blunt*)
†214	Stafford	Eardulf	(Forum 265) Another (Bagnall) said to read <i>Rex Brit</i>
†215		Wihtemund	(Carlyon-Britton 971) Annulet in rev. field
†216		Wimund	(<i>BMA</i> , 520*)
		(See also Irregular group, no. 504)	
†217	Tamworth	Manna	(<i>BMA</i> 521) <i>Saxsorum</i> , MOT
†218		„	(<i>BMA</i> 522*) Made of two rev. dies, one similar to (but not identical with) the preceding coin; the other blundered
†219	Wareham	Ælfred	(Pitt Rivers*)
†220		Wulfsige	(<i>BM</i> ex Lockett 572*)
		(See also Irregular group, nos. 465-7)	
†221	Warwick?	Monthegn?	(Forum 276*) Moneyer's name MONFAGN
†222	'Weardburh'	Byrhtelm	(Edinburgh 157*)
†223		„	(Norweb ex Elmore Jones 899*) Of cruder work than the last
†224	Winchester	Æthelm	Found at Knowth, Co. Meath. Four pellets near circle on rev. Same rev. die as no. 260
†225		Amelric	(Forum 270) Small trefoil of pellets in rev. field
†226		Athelulf	(Blunt*)
†227		Athulf	(Edinburgh 156) Small cross in rev. field
†228		Eadstan	(Lockett 3691) See also Irregular group, nos. 498-501
†229		Rægenulf	(<i>BM</i> ex Chester T.T. 47*) Probably a mule Cross/Crowned bust. See p. 49
†230	York	Regnald	(Edinburgh 168) Cross and four pellets obv.; plain cross rev.

231	Regnald	(BMA 526*) As last but extra pellet in obv. field
232	"	(BM) Cross and four pellets both sides
†233	"	(Edinburgh 167) Plain cross obv.; cross and four pellets rev.
†234	"	(Edinburgh 171) Plain cross both sides. Same obv. die as no. 476

All the following have plain cross both sides with the addition of an object in one or both fields.

†235	"	(Copenhagen 691*) \sqsubset and pellet in obv. field
†236	"	(BMC 12*) v in obv. field
†237	"	(Forum 210*) Crescent on inner circle obv.
†238	"	(Lockett 2739*) Crescent on inner circle rev.
†239	"	(Carlyon-Britton 975*) Pellet in obv. field
†240	"	(Ryan 761) Crescent and pellets in obv. field
241	"	(Ashmolean 330*) Annulet and pellet in obv. field
†242	"	(Ashmolean 331) Trefoil of pellets in obv. field
243	"	(Liverpool*) Trefoil of pellets in both fields
†244	"	(Edinburgh 160) Trefoil of pellets in rev. field
245	"	(BMA 524*) Bar in obv. field
†246	"	(Edinburgh 161*) Bar in both fields

There is considerable variety in the stopping throughout the York coins.

†247	Regnald	(Leningrad) Composed of two rev. dies.
†248	Widgar	(Copenhagen 693*) This is now thought to be a coin of Regnald's fraudulently altered in modern times
†249	No mint	Alwerd (Blunt ex Lockett 2740*) Four pellets round cross on obv.
†250	Biornvic	(Glasgow 630*)
†251	Megenfreth	(BMA 527*) <i>Saxoru</i> . m in rev. field
†252	Mageneth	(Blunt ex Grantley 1056*) <i>Saxoru</i>
†253	Rihiard	(Blunt*) Same obv. die as no. 118
254	Theodulf	(Seaby <i>Bulletin</i> *) Original not traced. Can it be no. 126 mis-read?

(See also Irregular group, nos. 502-3 and 508-10)

Cross/Crowned bust (Mule) (BMC - ; North -)

Obv. Small cross; circular legend; REX TO BRIT.

Rev. Small cross; circular legend; no mint.

†255	Athelmund	(Forum 172*)
†256	Cynewald	(Forum 179*) Same rev. die as Cynewald crowned bust type (no. 315)
†257	Sigealf	(BM ex Barnett*)

(See also 229)

Crowned bust/Cross (Mule) (BMC - ; North -)

Obv. Crowned bust to right breaking circular legend ÆDELSTAN REX

Rev. Small cross; mint (LVND CIVIT or WIN CIVIT) and moneyer in circular legend.

†258	London	Igere (Forum 240)
†259		Man (Edinburgh 188)
†260	Winchester	Æthelm (Forum 269) Same rev. die as no. 224

Crowned bust/two-line (Mule) (BMC - ; North -)

Obv. Crowned bust to right breaking legend ÆDELSTAN REX.

Rev. Moneyer's name in two lines, crosses between and at top, trefoil at bottom

†261	No mint	Eadgild (Forum 115)
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Crowned bust type (BMC viii; North 673)

Obv. Crowned bust to right breaking (save where otherwise shown) inner circle; circular legend ÆDELSTAN REX or, where inner circle not broken, REX TO BRIT.

Rev. Small cross; circular legend.

†262	Canterbury	Ælfric	(Edinburgh 184) MO DORCIVI; also MODORCIV; MODORCIVIT and MONETA DO
†263		Æthelsige	(Forum 200)
†264		Torhtelm	(BM ex Chester T.T. 30) Same obv. die as no. 325
†265	Hertford	Abonel	(Berlin) Trefoil of pellets in rev. field
†266	Langport	Wynsige	(BMA 530*) Overstruck on two-line type
†267	Lewes	Eadric	(Forum 212*)
†268	London	Ælfstan	(BMC 62) LOND CI; also LOND CIVI
†269		----wald	(Glasgow 611) LOND CIVI; also LOND CI
†270		Beahred	(BMC 64)
†271		Biorneard	(BM ex Sicily hoard) Some show king wearing necklace
†272		Ellaf	(BMC 66) All read LONDONI CI
†273		Grimwald	(Blunt) Generally GRIMFALD but on one (Forum 239) GRIMVVALD
†274		Igere	(Forum 240*)
†275		„	(Berlin*) Curious lettering on rev. Probably same obv. die as last
†276		Liofhelm	(Edinburgh 186)
†277		Wulfhelm	(Forum 244)
†278	Maldon	Abonel	(Forum 245*)
†279	Norwich	Barbe	(Lockett 564)
280		Bardel	(Edinburgh 189)
†281		Burdel	(Fitzwillam 578) NORÐFIE; also NORÐF; NORFI. One (Ashmolean 339) ends obv. REXT
†282		Eadgar	(BMA 533) NORÐF. Also NORÐT
†283		Giongbold	(Glasgow 615) NORÐFI; also NORÐFÐC and NORF
†284		Hrodgar	(BM, 'not catalogued') NORFIC; also NORVC
†285		Manne	(BMC 75) NORÐFETI; also NORÐFE. Some read Manen (Forum 249)
†286		Manticen	(Ryan 765) NORFIC; also NORFC. Coin illustrated reads REXT
†287		Secgge	(BM ex Chester T.T. 32*)
†288	Oxford	Eardulf	(Forum 254)
†289		Uthelric	(Forum 257)
†290		Wynelm	(Edinburgh 190) four pellets in rev. field
†291		„	(BM ex Sicily hoard 31*). Different style, four pellets in rev. field
†292	Rochester	Hungar	(BM ex Lockett 567*) Four pellets in rev. field
†293	'Smrie[rl]'	Eadbald	(Forum 278) For variant readings see p. 79.
†294	Wallingford	Athelm(u)nd	(Forum 274) Athelmnd. Others read name in full. FELINGA; also FE (BMC 146) where moneyer's name is blundered
†295		Beornwald	(BMC 86*)
†296		Burnwald	(BMC 87) FE; also FELINGA (BMC 88)
†297	Wareham	Ælfred	(BMC 89*) MO IN
†298	Winchester	Æthelm	(BMA 535) Extra cross in rev. field
†299		„	(BMC 92) Bust within inner circle. Extra cross in rev. field
†300		Amelric	(BMC 90)
†301		Leofric	(Forum 271) Bust within inner circle
†302		Otic	(Drabble 850*) Extra cross in rev. field
†303		„	(BM ex Lockett 566) Bust within inner circle. Two extra crosses in rev. field; or one extra cross (Forum 272)

†304		Rægenulf	(Forum 273) Pellet in rev. field
†305		„	(Forum 273) Bust within inner circle; pellet in rev. field
†306		Wulfheard	(Fitzwilliam 579) Two pellets in rev. field; or one (<i>BMC</i> 91)
†307	York	Æthelerd	(Edinburgh 191) REX TO B; or TB. EFEC or EFECRC or EFECRC
†308		„	(<i>BMC</i> 536) Bust within inner circle. REX TO BRΓ; or RE + TO BR
†309		Regnald	(Blunt*) Bust within inner circle; small cross in front of face. Crude bust. REX TO BR
†310	No mint	Æthelfreth	(<i>BMC</i> 145)
†311		-----sige	(Westminster*)
†312		Alfeau	(<i>BMC</i> 147) MONET; or MON
†313		Burhelm	(Blunt ex Lockett 3684*)
†314		Cialelm?	(Forum 177*)
†315		Cynewald	(BM ex Sicily hoard 32*) Same obv. die as Sigeulf (no. 324 below). Same rev. die as mule cross/crowned bust, no. 256
†316		Diarwald	(Forum 180*)
†317		Dryhtvald	(<i>BMC</i> 148*)
†318		Fredard	(Roth, (i), 66)
†319		Hunrice	(Forum 185*)
†320		Lifing	(<i>BMC</i> 149); Lioving (Forum 186)
†321		Manninc	(BM ex Lockett 559)
321a		Matheberht	(Shown BM 1974). Fragment. No mint?
†322		Sigeland	(Harris); Sieland (Forum 190) Crude bust
†323		Sielan	(Forum 190*) Crude bust, within inner circle, TO BR
†324		Sigeulf	(BM ex Sicily hoard 33) Same obv. die as Cynewald (no. 315 above)
†325		Torhtelm	(Blunt) Same obv. die as no. 264 (Canterbury)

Cross/Rosette (BMC v c; North 681)

Obv. Small cross; circular legend. Title some abbreviation of *Rex Totius Britanniae*.

Rev. Rosette; circular legend.

†326	Chester	Abba	(Chester 46) Obv. central cross sometimes composed of five pellets. LEGECF; also LEGEEF
†327		Ælfvine	(Leicester Mus.*)
†328		Cenapa	(Edinburgh 174); Cnath (Glasgow 636*). Two annulets in obv. field, LEGEEE. Same obv. die as <i>BMC</i> 24, see no. 141
329		Eadmund	(<i>Chester Sylloge</i> , p. 34)
†330		Oslac	(<i>BMC</i> 43) LEIEC +; also LEIECF
†331		Paul(es)	(Ryan 763) LEGECF. Also pellet in rev. field (Chester 43) LEIECFI
†332		Tot(es)	(Chester 44) Annulet enclosing pellet in rev. field. LEGCFI; also LEIECFI
†333		Wiard	(Forum 229*)
There are a number of variations in the ending of the obv. legend.			
334	Shrewsbury	Ecgherd	(Brooke*)
(See also Irregular group, no. 496.)			
335	Stafford	Eardelf	(Brooke*)
†336	Warwick?	Monthign	(<i>BMC</i> 85*)
(See also Irregular issues (no. 491) 'Derby')			

Rosette/Cross (BMC vi a; North 682)

Obv. Rosette; circular legend. Title some abbreviation of *Rex Totius Britanniae*

Rev. Cross; circular legend.

†337	Chester	Ælfviene	(Chester 48) s in rev. field
338		Cnath	(<i>Chester Sylloge</i> , p. 34)

†339	Eadmund	(<i>BMC</i> 58) LEGEC; also LEGC
†340	'Porlfe' = ?	
	Deorulf	(Chester 49*)
†341	Wiard	(BM ex Chester T.T. 54*)
†342	Wulfstan	(Chester 50) Annulet in rev. field LEGECF. Others (e.g. Chester 52) omit this, LEIE, LEIEC. On another (Berlin) moneyer said to read FL STAN LEGC. One (Chester 38) has a curious form of rosette which may be an altered cross but the die has not been traced in an unaltered state LEIE
(See also Irregular issues (no. 494))		
343	Shrewsbury Eofermund	(Brooke*)
343a	Eadmund	*MS catalogue of James West colln. (R. Mint)
†344	Thelwall? Megereth	(Blunt*)

Rosette (*BMC* vi; North 680)

Obv. and rev. Rosette; circular legend. Title some abbreviation of *Rex Totius Britanniae*.

†345	Chester	Ælfvine	(Ryan 764)
†346		Beorard	(<i>BMC</i> 44) s in obv. field
†347		Boiga	(Chester 54)
†348		Boigale	(Blunt) LEGCF; also LGEC
†349		Cnapa	(Edinburgh 176) LEGCF; also LEIGCF; Cnath (Edinburgh 177) LEIGCF
†350		Deorulf	(<i>BMC</i> 45*) Annulet in rev. field
†351		Eadmund	(Chester 59) LEIGC; also LEGCF, LEIGCF, LEIE, and LEG
†352		Efrard	(Chester 63) LEGEC; also LEGECF; Frard (Chester 64)
†353		Mældomen	(Forum 222)
†354		Megred	(<i>BMC</i> 50) LEGICF; also LEIACIE
†355		Oslac	(Edinburgh 179); Oslaf (Dublin)
†356		Paul(es)	(Chester 66) Overstruck on a two-line type, moneyer Æthered?; Pauls LEGECF; also LEIGC. (Copenhagen 699) LEGCFI+
†357		Snele	(Chester 68)
†358		Tidger	(Chester 69) LEIECF; Tidgar (Copenhagen 700) LEGCF
†359		Tot(es)	(Leicester*) Annulet in rev. field
†360		Wulfgar	(<i>BMC</i> 55)
†361		----stan	(Edinburgh 181) LEIGC; also LEIE and LIGE. Also with annulet in rev. field (Chester 71) LEGC; also LEGEC
†362	Hereford	Hunlaf	(Blunt*) REX BRT
†363	Shrewsbury	Cenberht	(Belfast). Also Enberht (Shrewsbury)
†364		Eadmund	(BMA 529)
†365		Ecgherd	(Glasgow 633)
		Edred	See Irregular group, no. 497
†366		Eofermund	(Lockett 575)
†367		Frotger	(<i>BMC</i> 83*)
†368	Stafford	Eardulf	(Forum 265); also Æardelf (Fitzwilliam 577*)
†369		Wihtemund	(Glasgow 635*) Annulet in rev. field. Overstruck on a two-line type

NORTH-EASTERN I

Two-line, large lettering. ÆDELSTAN REX (*BMC* i; North 668)

†370	Are	(Carlyon-Britton 979) Cf. <i>BMC</i> 95 which has quite different lettering including ƿ
†371	Arnulf	(<i>BMC</i> 98*) Another (Forum 93*) reads AENLF

†372	Asger	(BM ex Sicily hoard 16*)
†373	Asulf	(<i>BMC</i> 99)
†374	Belci	(Blunt) Another (Forum 98) has typical NE I lettering
†375	Berol	(Blunt*)
†376	Clac	(<i>BMC</i> 100)
†377	Cristign	(<i>BMC</i> 101*)
†378	'Cugeli'	(Copenhagen 710)
†379	Domences	(Harris)
†380	Dominic	(<i>BMC</i> 103)
†381	Duriant	(Forum 110*)
†382	Eric	(BMA 507*) Note round s and c
†383	Fram	(Forum 123*)
†384	Fugel	(<i>BMC</i> 108)
†385	Gislemer	(<i>BMC</i> 109*)
†386	„	(<i>BMC</i> 110) Different lettering; three pellets at top, one at bottom, of rev. Annulet in rev. field. Another (Edinburgh 131) has an annulet at the start of the obv. legend. Cf. also Copenhagen 709. The two last read CISIEMER
†387	Godfred	(BM ex Chester T.T. 18*)
†388	Gota	(Edinburgh 132) Sota and ? Rota also found (q.v.). One (Blunt) reads GOTAƆ.
†389	Harger	(<i>BMC</i> 112*)
390	H(i)ldulf	(<i>NC</i> 1863, p. 49, 11*. The original has not been traced.) Cf. a coin with similar rev. but obv. reading ANELFRE+ RI (last two letters doubtful) (no. 390a, Blunt). Cf. also Nother below
†391	Incgelbert	(Forum 136*)
†392	Inga	(Copenhagen 712)
†393	Landac	
	(or Landuc)	(<i>BMC</i> 115) Some appear to read San- (Forum 153)
†394	Litilman	(<i>BMC</i> 116)
†395	Manna	(Glasgow 606) Also МАИТІА (Carlyon-Britton 98 (ill.))
†396	Nother	(<i>BMC</i> 118) Also Nothe (<i>BMC</i> 119). Cf. also Forum 385 with obv. reading ANLEF REX N and Hildulf no. 390 above
†397	Oda	(Leningrad)
398	„	(G. S. Hopkins*) Variant with crescent to the left of the central cross in the rev.
†399	Odo	(Fitzwilliam 572)
†400	Pitit	(<i>BMC</i> 123)
401	Rota?	(Dublin*) Cf. Gota
	Sanduc	See Landac
402	Sota	(<i>BMC</i> 127*) Cf. Gota
†403	'Sprohene'	(Forum 156*)
†404	Stefanus	(BMA 509) The rev. is also found with the lines correctly arranged (Glasgow 608)
†405	Uflebart?	(Forum 159*) Very dirty and uncertain
†406	'Voclfurt'	(BM ex Chester T.T. 26*)
†407	Willuf	(<i>BMC</i> 129) Also FVLLLLVF (BM)
†408	Winele	(Edinburgh 142) Also FNEFE (Forum 148)

NORTH-EASTERN II

Helmet type (*BMC* xii and xiii; North 686 and 686/1)

Obv. Bust to right with crown over helmet (?), breaking circular legend (except where noted otherwise). ÆDELSTAN REX.

Rev. Cross crosslet; circular legend. No mint.

†409 Baldric (*BMC* 151*)

- †410 Bus (Forum 176*) Cf. Gis
 †411 Ginard (Glasgow 638). Same obv. die as Glasgow 639 (Mala); Einard (*BMC* 152)
 †412 Fulrad (Forum 182*) Trefoil of pellets in each quarter of cross on rev.
 †413 Gis (BM ex Lockett 577*) Cf. Bus
 †414 Heric (Forum 184) For a better illustration see Lindsay, *Remarkable Coins*, 1860, pl. 2, 8
 †415 Smala (Fitzwilliam 581) Small cross on rev. extended to form a cross crosslet. Same die, but in original state, used for no. 426 below
 †416 (S)mala (Blunt) Initial letter of moneyer's name omitted
 †417 Smala (*BMC* 156*) Bust within inner circle
 418 Te--- = (BM ex Lawrence, fragment*)
 Telia?
 †419 Wiard (Carlyon-Britton 396)
 †420 „ (Blunt*) Bust within inner circle. Small cross in centre extended to cross crosslet. Cf. no. 415 above

Two-line type (BMC i; North 668)

- †421 Balderic (Blunt*)
 †422 Fulrad (Edinburgh 130) Trefoil top, four pellets bottom
 422a Gin(ard?) (BM, acq. 1973*) Fragment
 †423 Smala (Blunt*)
 †424 Wiard (Blunt)

Helmet/Bust in relief (NE II/NE III) (BMC - ; North -)

Obv. Bust to right with crown over helmet (?), breaking circular legend ÆDELSTAN REX.

Rev. Small cross; circular legend. No mint.

- †425 Genard (*BMC* 5*)
 †426 Smala (Leeds*) Same rev. die, altered, used in normal helmet type (no. 415 above)

Bust in relief/helmet (NE III/NE II) (BMC xi; North 685)

Obv. Bust to right in relief, breaking circular legend. ÆDELSTAN REX.

Rev. Cross crosslet; circular legend.

- †427 'Ebro'
 'Heldalt' (*BMC* 19*)

NORTH-EASTERN III

Bust in relief (BMC x, x a; North 676/7)

Obv. Crowned bust of crude work in relief, to right or left, breaking circular legend. ÆDELSTAN REX

Rev. Small cross; circular legend. No mint.

- †428 Arnulf (Glasgow 617) Bust to right. Same obv. die as no. 433 below
 †429 „ and Adelmod (*BMC* 150*) Bust to right
 †430 Bernarhd (BM ex Lockett 560*) Bust to right
 †431 Enelbert (BM ex Barnett*) Bust to right
 †432 (Ene)lberte (Glasgow 618) Bust to left
 †433 Isnel (Berlin*) Bust to right. Same obv. die as no. 428
 †434 „ (Ashmolean 341*) Bust to left. Same obv. die as nos. 436 and 437
 †435 Rotbert (*BMC* 16*) Bust to right
 †436 Siverd (Blunt) Bust to left. Same obv. die as nos. 434 and 437
 †437 Sproc (BM ex Lockett 3736*) Bust to left. Same obv. die as nos. 434 and 436

'Church' type (BMC iv; North 683/4)

Obv. Small cross; circular legend. AEDELSTAN REX (A and E not ligulated).

Rev. Steep-roofed building standing on line dividing the field in half. Moneyer's, and on no. 438 mint, name horizontally.

†438	York	Regnald	(BMC 6)
†439	No mint	Adelbert	(Lockett 3683*)
†440		'Etram'	(BMA 510)
†441		Frotier	(BMC 138) Crescent and annulet in obv. field. One (Ashmolean 324) omits these
†442		Turstan	(BMC 140*)
†443		Wyltsig	(Blunt) Several minor variants; one with title <i>Re M</i> and moneyer's name retrograde (Lockett 556). All read AEDL-
†444		Doubtful	(Liverpool ex Grantley 1048*)

IRREGULAR GROUP

This group comprises coins of normal types but showing various irregularities in workmanship. They are discussed on pp. 107-13.

Two-line type (BMC i; North 668)

†445		'Anderi'	(Copenhagen 707*) 18.3 gr.
†446		'Asael'	(BMC 134*) 21.0 gr.
†447		'Dior'	(BMC 135*) 23.5 gr.
†448		Gunneri	(Edinburgh 133*) 25.6 gr.
449		Gunneri	(Blunt*) Virtually normal obv. reading. 22.5 gr.
†450		Lifwald?	(Blunt*) 18.3 gr.
		('London')	
†451		'Legrten'?	(Forum 169*)
†452		Wlfeld	(Forum 134*)
†453		(Meaningless)	(Mont St. Michel*) 14.7 gr.

Cross/Two-line mules

†454		Cenbert?	(London Museum*)
†455	'York'	Regnald and Eric	(Copenhagen 645*) 17.9 gr.

Cross type (BMC v; North 671-2)

†456	'London'	'Ele' (Lund Civit)	(Ashmolean 325) 23.0 gr.
456a		'Ele' Lun Dit	Budapest
457		'Efe' (Lund Cot)	(Forum 237(a)*)
†458		'Eie' (Luner)	(Edinburgh 193) 22.7 gr.
459		'Ere' (Lund Civiet)	(BMC 59*) 19.3 gr.
†460		'Lf' (Lund Civitt)	(Forum 241*)
†461		'Ele' (Lund Civitt)	(Blunt*) Saxon title, 21½ gr.
†462		'Ele' (Lundt)	(Liverpool*) Obv. reads +EERNAZT + TEIRBOIT
†463	No Mint	Moneyer doubtful	(Glasgow (but not in <i>Sylloge</i> *) Same obv. die as 462. 19.7 gr.
†464		Moneyer doubtful	(Forum 279*) Same rev. die as 463
†465	'Wareham'	W(ulf)sige (Wereh)	(Copenhagen 705*) Obv. similar to 462-3 but different die. 25.3 gr.
†466		W(ulf)sige (Werel)	(Edinburgh 194*) ? double reverse. 22.3 gr.
467		W(ulf)sige (Wereut)	(Baldwin 1964*) ? double reverse 23 gr.

The following blundered coins may be associated with the above:

†468			(Glasgow 631*) 20.0 gr.
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†469	(Forum 394*)
†470	(Forum 281*)
471	(Forum 395*)
472	(Forum 277*)

Double obverse

†473		(<i>BMC</i> 141, ? ex Glendalough hoard*) Obv. of good southern style; rev. blundered and retrograde. 15.6 gr.
†474		(BM ex Chester (1950) hoard, 34*) Extra cross in both fields. 18.5 gr.
†475		(Blunt ex Ryan 762*) 17½ gr.
†476		(<i>BMC</i> 143*) 25.6 gr. One die used for the obv. of no. 234
†477		(Forum 283*)
478		(London Museum, found in Aldgate*)
†479		(<i>BMC</i> 142*) Saxon title both sides. 22.6 gr.
†480		(Forum 284*) Traces of Saxon title both sides
†481	'Derby'	(Harris*)
†482	'Ansum'	(BM ex Carlyon-Britton 1673*) Pellet in obv. field. 22.0 gr.
	'Ceel'	
†483	Ethelnoth?	(<i>BMC</i> 3*) N(?) in obv. field. 19.6 gr.
†484	'Ioia'	(Blunt*) 19 gr.
†485	'Erra'	(Forum 280*)
†486	Sigar(es)	(Blunt ex Tipperary (1843) hoard*) 23.6 gr.
†487	Siwold(es)	(BM ex Grantley 1049*) M in rev. field. 21.2 gr.
†488	'Thusmet'	(Forum 197) (2 specimens, same dies)
†489	'Wethurard(es)'	(Paris*) M in rev. field
†490	Moneyer doubtful	(Liverpool*) Extra cross in both fields

Cross/Rosette type

†491	'Derby'	Merra	(Forum 398*) (photograph reduced in size)
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Cross type

†492			No mint but Derby style and M in one field. Name of Athelstan and Saxon title one side; name of <i>Anlaf Cununc</i> on the other (Forum 387*) 23.5 gr.
†493	'Chester'	Deorerd	(<i>BMC</i> 25) Extra cross in obv. field; extra cross and a pellet in rev. field. 16.4 gr. Another, Grantley sale 1052 (not ill.). Another, varying, (Chester (1950) hoard, no. 36), 19.8 gr. (DEORARD)

Rosette/Cross type

†494	'Chester'	Abba	(Glasgow 637*) 23.6 gr.
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Rosette type

†495	'Chester'	'Cnapa'	(Carlyon-Britton sale 984*) Found in Ireland. 21.5 gr.
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Cross/Rosette type

†496	'Shrewsbury'	'Cenberht'	Double reverse (Blunt*) 13.2 gr. (fragment)
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Rosette type

†497	'Shrewsbury'	Edred	(<i>BMC</i> 81*) 20.4 gr.
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Cross type

†498	'Winchester'	Eadstan	(Edinburgh 158, 498a) Extra cross in both fields. 16.6 gr. Another Leeds University (498b)
†499		Eadstan	(Glasgow 627*) Overstruck on two-line type 23.9 gr.
†500		Eacstan	(Blunt*) 17½ gr.
†501		Eadstan	(BM ex Chester (1950) 46,501a) Both legends retrograde. 20.3 gr. Another Edinburgh 157 (501b) 27.6 gr.
†502	No mint	Bernvic	(BM*) Rev. legend retrograde 18.5 gr.
†503		'Dudustan'	(BMA 528*) 15.9 gr.
†504	'Stafford'?	Moneyer doubtful	(Edinburgh 195*) 16.9 gr.
†505		Mint and moneyer doubtful	(Liverpool*) Extra cross in both fields (fragment). Found in Ireland
†506		Mint and moneyer doubtful	(Ashmolean 334) Extra cross in both fields. 16.8 gr.
†507		Mint and moneyer doubtful	(Edinburgh 196) 16.9 gr. Others comparable Edinburgh 197, 12.3 gr. badly chipped; and 198, 7.2 gr. (fragment) and ? one recorded by Evans from the Killyon Manor hoard, no. 26
†508	No mint	Reinere (me fecit)	(Forum 208*)
†509		Mint and moneyer doubtful	(Blunt*) Passable obv. legend 23 gr.
†510	No mint?	Remeci Monio	(Blunt*)
Variant of cross type with pellet in centre of reverse and seemingly with name of William Duke of Brittany.			
†511	No mint	Rivallon	(Mont St. Michel) (see <i>BNJ</i> xl (1971)) pp. 7 ff. 20.3 gr.

LIST II

ATHELSTAN COINS ARRANGED BY MINTS

Bath	Biorhtulf V; Herewis V
Bridport/Bredy	Wihtulf V
Canterbury	Ælfric VIII; Ethelfreth V; Æthelsige V, VIII; Elfric V; Manna V; Torhtelm V, VIII
Chester	Abba V, V/VI, VI/V (irregular); Ælfvine V, V/VI, VI/V, VI; Beorard V, VI; Boiga V, VI; Boigalet V, VI; Cenapa, Cnath V, V/VI, VI/V, VI and irregular; Deorard, Deorerd V (irregular); Deorulf V, VI/V (?), VI; Eadmund V, V/VI, VI/V, VI; Eadulf, Eadlfe V; Efrard, Frard V, VI; Mældomen V, VI; Mært(e)n V; Megred VI; Oslac V, V/VI, VI; Osulfe, Oslfe, Oslaf V, Paul(es) Pauels V, V/VI, VI; Raenulf V; Salc(es), Sælc(es) V; Sigferth, Sigferth V; Snele V, VI; Tidgar, Tidger V, VI; Tot(es) V/VI, VI; Wiard V, V/VI, VI/V; Wulfgar V, VI; Wulfstan, Wlfstan V, VI/V, VI
Chichester	Iohan V
'Darent'	Beorhtulf V
Derby	Ansum V (irregular); Beornard V; Boiga, Biga V; Ceel V (irregular); Erra V (irregular); Ethelnoth (?) V (irregular); Garuard(es) V; Giencea V; Ioia V (irregular); Mægenreth(es), Megga, Mencga V; Martinus V; Merrra V/VI (irregular); Sihar(es) V (and irregular); Sigwold(es), Siwold(es) V (and irregular); Thusmet V (irregular); Wethuard(es) V (irregular)
Dover	Folcred I/V
'Ebro'	Heldalt (?) XI
Exeter	Abun V; Rægenold V
Gloucester	Æthelmod V
Hereford	Ecgeberht V; Hunlaf V, VI

Hertford	Abonel I/V, VIII
Langport	Burhtelm V; Wunsige V, VIII
Leicester	Thurstan V
Lewes	Eadric VIII; Wilebald V
London	Ælfstan VIII; Ælfwald VIII; Æthered I/V; Beahred V, VIII; Biorhtric V; Biorneard VIII; Ealhstan V; Ele, Eie, etc. V (irregular); Ellaf I/V, V, VIII; Fawle V; Gareard V; Grimwald V, VIII; Igere I/V, V, VIII/V, VIII; Lifwald (?) (irregular) I; Liof-helm V, VIII; Man VIII/V; Wulfhelm I/V, V, VIII
Lymne	Torhtelm V
Maldon	Abonel VIII
Norwich	Barbe VIII; Burdel, Bardel VIII; Eadgar VIII; Giongald VIII; Hrodgar VIII; Manne VIII; Manticen VIII; Secgge VIII
Nottingham	Ethelnoth V; Osulf(es) V
Oxford	Athelmund V; Eardulf VIII; Ingelri V; Mathelwald V; Rægenward V; Sigeland I/V, V; Uthelric VIII; Wynelm VIII
Rochester	Hungar VIII
Shaftesbury	Æthelwine V; Athelwold V
Shrewsbury	Berhtelm V; (C)enberht V, V/VI (irregular), VI; Eadmund VI, VI/V; Ecgherd V, V/VI, VI; Edred VI (irregular); Eof(e)rmund V, VI/V, VI; Frotger V, VI; Hubald V; Wulaf V
'Smrierl'	Eadbald VIII
Southampton	Eadgild V; Frithebriht V
Stafford	Eardulf, Æardelf V, V/VI, VI; Wihtemund V, VI; Wimund V
Tamworth	Manna V
Thelwall (?)	Megereth VI/V
Wallingford	Athelmund VIII; Burnwald, Beornwald VIII
Wareham	Ælfred V, VIII; Wulfsige V (also irregular)
Warwick (?)	Monthehn V, V/VI
'Weardburh'	Byrhtelm V
Winchester	Æthelm V, VIII/V, VIII, IX; Amelric V, VIII; Athelulf, Athulf V; Eadstan V (and irregular); Leofric IX; Otic VIII, IX; Rægenulf V, VIII, IX; Wulfheard VIII
York	Æthelard VIII, IX; Regnald IV, V, IX; Regnald and Eric V/I (irregular); Widgar V (probably altered in modern times from Regnald)

LIST III

ATHELSTAN COINS ARRANGED BY MONEYERS

BMC type I is here divided into three subdivisions: NE I, NE II and the remainder, the last being termed *BMC* I.

ABBA	I; V Chester; V/VI Chester; VI/V 'Chester' (irregular)
ABONEL	I; I/V Hertford; VIII Hertford, Maldon
ABUN, ABBON	V Exeter
ADELBERT	IV
ÆLFRED	I; V Wareham; VIII Wareham
--RIC	V Canterbury; VIII Canterbury
--STAN	I; VIII London
--VINE	I; V Chester; V/VI Chester; VI/V Chester; VI Chester
--WALD	VIII London
ÆTHELELM	V Winchester; VIII/V Winchester; VIII Winchester; IX Winchester
-----ERD	VIII York; IX York
-----FERTH	I
-----FRETH	I; V Canterbury; VIII no mint
-----GAR	<i>BMC</i> —(Diad. bust/ +)
-----MOD	V Gloucester; X (with ARNULF)

A(E)THELMUND	V Oxford; V/VIII no mint; VIII Wallingford (also ATHELFRMD)
ÆTHELNOTH	V 'Derby' (irregular); V Nottingham (ÆTHEL-); and OSULF V Nottingham
ÆTHELSIGE, ÆTHELSIGE	I (both forms); V Canterbury (ÆTHEL-); VIII Canterbury (ÆTHEL-); VIII no mint (ÆTHEL-)
-----WALD	I; V Shaftesbury (ÆTHELWOLD)
-----WINE	<i>BMC</i> VII (Var.); V Shaftesbury
A(E)THELULF, ATHULF	I; V Winchester (both forms)
ÆTHERED	I; I/V London
ALFEAU	I; VIII no mint
ALHSTAN (see also EALHSTAN)	I
'ALIT'	I
ALWERD	V no mint.
AMELRIC	V Winchester; VIII Winchester
'ANCAFE'	V (irregular)
'ANDERI'	I (irregular)
'ANSUM'	V 'Derby' (irregular)
ARE	NE I
ARNULF	NE I (also AENLF); X; X (with ATHELMOD)
'ASAE'	I (irregular)
ASGER	NE I
ASULF	NE I
ATHEL-	See ÆTHEL-
BALDERIC	NE II; XII (BALDRIC)
BALDWIN	I
BARBE	VIII Norwich
BARDEL	See Burdel
BEAHRED	I; V London; VIII London
BELCI	NE I
BEORARD	I; V Chester; VI Chester
BEORGER	I
BEORHTULF	See BIORHTULF
BEORNARD	V Derby
-----HUC	I
-----WALD, BURNWALD	VIII Wallingford (both forms)
BERHELM	I
BERHTELM	(See also BURHTELM) I; V Shrewsbury
BERNARHD	X
BERNGAR	I
BERNVIC	See BIORNVIC
BEROL	NEI
BIOCA	I
BIORHTRIC	I, V London
-----ULF, BEORHTULF	V Bath (BIORHT-); V 'Darent' (BEORHT-)
-----WALD	I
(B)ORN	I
BIORNEARD	VIII London
-----VIC	V no mint; V (irregular) (BERNVIC)
BOIGA, BIGA	V Chester; V Derby (BOIGA, BIGA); VI Chester (BOIGA)
-----LET	V Chester; VI Chester
BURDEL; BARDEL	VIII Norwich

BURHELM	I; VIII no mint
BURHEHEM	I
BURHTELM	(See also BERHTELM) V Langport; V 'Weardburh'
BURNHERE	I
----WALD	See BEORNWALD
BURNWIG	I, (see also BIORNVIC)
BUS	See GIS
'CEEL'	V 'Derby' (irregular)
CENAPA, CNATH,	V Chester (CENAPA, CNATH); V/VI Chester (CENAPA, CNATH); VI/V Chester (CNATH);
CNAPA	VI (CNAPA, CNATH) (see also VI (irregular))
CENARD	See Genard
CENBERHT,	I (-BERHT); V Shrewsbury (-BERHT); VI Shrewsbury (CENBERHT, ENBERHT) (see also
CENBREHT	V/I (irregular); and V/VI 'Shrewsbury' (irregular)
'CIALELM'	VIII no mint
'CIOEHECM'	I (cf. LIOFHELM)
CLAC	NE I
CNATH	See Cenapa
CRISTIGN	NE I
'CUGELI'	NE I
CUNEROF	I
----WALD	V/VIII no mint; VIII no mint
CUNULF	I
DEORARD,	V 'Chester' (irregular) (both forms)
DEORERD	
DEORULF	(See also PORFLE) V Chester; VI Chester
----WALD,	I (DEOR-); VIII no mint (DIAR-)
DIARWALD	
DIORMOD	I; I irregular ('DIOR')
DOMENC(ES),	NE I (both forms)
DOMINIC	
DRYHTVALD	I; VIII no mint
'DUDUSTAN'	V irregular
'DURIANI'	I
DURIANT	NE I
EADBALD	VIII 'Smrie'
---GAR	VIII Norwich
---GILD	I; V Southampton; VIII/I
---MUND	I; V Chester; V/VI Chester; VI/V Chester; VI/V Shrewsbury; VI Chester;
	VI Shrewsbury
---RIC	VIII Lewes
---STAN	I; V Winchester; (also irregular)
---ULF	I/V (TEAD-); V/I (TEAD); V Chester (EADVLF and EADFLE)
EALHSTAN	(See also ALHSTAN) I; V London
EARDULF	I; V Stafford; V/VI Stafford (-ELF); VI Stafford (EADVLF, AEARDELf); VIII Oxford
EARNULF	I
EC(G)BERHT	I; V Hereford
---HERD	V Shrewsbury; V/VI Shrewsbury; VI Shrewsbury
EDRED	VI 'Shrewsbury' (irregular)
EFRAD, FRARD	V Chester (both forms); VI Chester (both forms)
EINARD	See GENARD
ELE, EIE, etc.	V 'London' (irregular)
ELFRIC	See AELFRIC

ELLAF, ECLAF	I (both forms); I/V London (ELL-); V London (ELL-); VIII London (ELL-)
ENBERHT	See CENBERHT
ENELBERT, LBERT	X (ENEL-); Xa (LB-)
E(o)F(e)RMV(N)D	I (EOFERMUND, EFERMUD); V Shrewsbury (EOFERMUND, EOFRMUND, EOFRBMUND); VI/V Shrewsbury; VI Shrewsbury (EOFERMUND)
ERIC	NE I; with REGNALD V/I (irregular)
ERRA	V 'Derby' (irregular) cf. Merra
ETHEL- 'ETRAM'	See ÆTHEL- IV
FAWLE	V London
FOLCRED	<i>BMC</i> -(diad. bust/cross); I; I/V Dover
FRAM	NE I
FRARD	See EFRARD
FREDARD	VIII no mint
FRITHEBRIHT	I; V Southampton
-----STAN	I
FROTGER	V Shrewsbury; VI Shrewsbury
FROTIER	IV
FUGEL	NE I
FULRAD	NE II; XII
GAREARD	<i>BMC</i> -(Diad. bust/cross); I; V London
GARUARD(ES)	V Derby
GARULF	I
GINARD	NE II?; XII/X (GEN-); XII (GINARD, EINARD)
GIENCEA	V Derby
GIONGBALD	VIII Norwich
GIS, BVS	XII (both forms)
GISLEMER	NE I
GODFRED	NE I
GOTA	(See also SOTA and ROTA) NE I (also GOTAS)
GRIMWALD	<i>BMC</i> -(Diad. bust/cross); I; V London; VIII London
GUNNERI	I (irregular)
GUNTERE	I
HARGER	NE I
'HELDALT'	XI 'Ebro'
HEREBEAU	I
----MOD	I
----WIS	V Bath
HERRIC	I?; XII
HERRWE	I
H(i)LDEBERT	I
HLDULF	NE I
HRODGAR	VIII Norwich
HUBALD	V Shrewsbury
HUNGAR	I, VIII Rochester
---LAF	I; V Hereford; VI Hereford
---RICE	VIII no mint
IGERE	I; I/V London; V London; VIII/V London; VIII London
INGA	NE I
'INGERI'	I
INCGELBERT	NE I
INGELRI	V Oxford
IOHANN	I; V Chichester (-AN)

'IOIA'	V 'Derby' (irregular)
ISNEL	X, Xa
LANDAC, -DUC	(See also SANDUC) NE I
LBERT	See ENELBERT
LEOFRIC	IX Winchester
LIOFHELM	I; V London; VIII London
LIFING	VIII, no mint
LIOVING	VIII, no mint
LITILMAN	NE I
LIFWALD ?	I (irregular) 'London'
MÆGENRETH(ES)	(See also MEGENFRETH, etc.); V Derby
MÆLDOMEN	V Chester (also MDOMEN); VI Chester
MÆRTEN(E)	V Chester
MAGENETH	V no mint
MAGNARD	I
MALA	See SMALA
MAN	I; VIII/V London
MANNA	I; V Canterbury; V Tamworth; NE I
MAN(N)E(N)	VIII Norwich
MANNFA	I
MANNIA	I
MANNINC	VIII no mint
---TICEN	VIII Norwich
---TNA	NE I
MARTINUS	V Derby
MATHELBERHT	I (?); VIII
MATHELWOLD	I; V Oxford (-WALD)
MEGENFRETH	I, V no mint (see also MÆGENRETH and MAGENETH)
MEGERETH(ES)	VI/V Thelwall?
MEGGA	V Derby
MEGRED	VI Chester
MENCGA	V Derby
MERRA	V/VI 'Derby' (irregular) (cf. ERRA)
MONTHEGN	III; V Warwick (?) (MONFAGN); V/VI Warwick
NOTHER, NOTHE	NE I
ODA, ODO	NE I
OSLAC	V Chester; V/VI Chester; VI Chester
--LAF	VI Chester
--LAND	I
--ULF(E)	I; V Chester (also OSLFE); V Nottingham; with ETHELNOTH, V Nottingham
--WART	I
OTIC	I; VIII Winchester; IX Winchester
PAUL etc.	I (PAUL, PAULS, PAULUS); II (PAUIUS); V Chester (PAUELS, PAULES, PAULS); V/VI Chester (PAULES); VI Chester (PAULES, PAULS)
PITIT	NE I
PORFLE	(= ? DEORULF) VI/V Chester
RÆGENALD, -NOLD	I (RÆGENALD, RÆGNALD); V Exeter (-NOLD)
RÆGENULF	I; V Winchester; VIII Winchester; IX Winchester
RÆGENWARD	V Oxford
RÆNULF	V Chester

REGNALD	IV York; V York; IX York; with ERIC V/I (irregular)
REINERE	V (irregular)
REMECI	V (irregular)
RIHARD	I; V/I; V no mint (RIHIARD)
ROTA	(See also GOTA and SOTA) NE I
ROTBERT	X
ROTHWARD	I
SÆLC(ES), SALC(ES)	V Chester
SANDUC	(See also LANDAC) NE I
SARAWARD	I
SECGGE	VIII Norwich
SIGAR(ES?), SIHAR(ES)	I/V (SIG-); V Derby (SIH-); V 'Derby' (irregular)
SIGEALF	V/VIII no mint
----BRAND	I
----DRULD	I
----FERTH, SIGFERTH	V Chester
----HELM	I
----LAND	I; I/V Oxford; V Oxford; VIII no mint (SIEL-, SIGEL-); IX (SIELAN)
----(E)WOLD(ES)	V Derby; V 'Derby' (irregular)
----WULF	I; VIII no mint
SIVERD	Xa
SMALA, MALA	NE II (SMA-); XII both forms; XII/X (SMA-) XIII (SMA-)
SNEL	I; V Chester (SNELE); VI Chester (SNELE)
SOTA	(See also GOTA and ROTA) NE I
SPROC	Xa
'SPROHENE'	NE I
STEFANUS	NE I
S(W)ERHTLINC?	I
TEADULF	See EADULF
TE---	XII
THEODULF ?	V no mint
THURLAC	I
----STAN	V Leicester
'THUSMET'	V 'Derby' (irregular)
TIDGAR, TIDGER, TIEDGERE, TIGARE	I (TIEDGERE, TIGARE); V Chester (TIDGERI); VI Chester (TIDGAR, -GER)
TILA	I
T(I)OT(ES)	I; V/VI Chester; VI Chester
TITHFRETH	I
TORHTELM	V Canterbury; V Lymne; VIII Canterbury; VIII no mint
TURSTAN	IV
UFLEBART	(See also WOELFBURT) NE I
UTHELRIC	VIII Oxford
WARCRED	I
WARENGOT	I
WEALDHLM	I
'WETHURARD(ES)'	V (irregular)
WIARD	NE II; V Chester; V/VI Chester; VI/V Chester; XII; XIII

WIDGAR	V York (falsely altered name?)
WIHARD	I
WIHEMUND	V Stafford; VI Stafford
-----VLF	V Bridport/Bredy
WILEBALD	I; V Lewes
---LUF	NE I
---RIC	I
WIMUND	I; V Stafford
WINELE	NE I
‘WIUREERAI’?	I
WOELFBURT (?)	(See also UFLEBART) NE I (VOGLFBURT)
WULAF	V Shrewsbury
WULFELD (?)	I (irregular)
----GAR	I; V Chester; VI Chester
----HEARD	I; VIII Winchester
----HELM	I/V London; V London; VIII London
----SIGE	VII; I; V Wareham; See also V irregular
----STAN	I; V Chester; VI/V Chester (also WLSTAN); VI Chester
WYLTSIG	IV
WYNELM	VIII Oxford
WYNSIGE	V Langport; VIII Langport

APPENDIX I

THE FORUM HOARD, FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS NEAR THE HOUSE OF THE VESTAL VIRGINS 1883

THANKS to the courtesy and co-operation of Professor Panvini Rosati of the Museo Nazionale in Rome, it has been possible to secure a photographic record¹ of this splendid find of over 820 Anglo-Saxon coins together with four continental coins, a Byzantine solidus of Theophilus, the only gold coin in the find, and, most helpful of all in dating, two fibulae bearing the inscription, divided between their two parts, +DOMNO MA +RINO PAPA. Marinus II was Pope from 942 to 946, a date that accords with the latest



+DOMNO MA



+RINO PAPA

Fibulae from Rome hoard 1883. Bronze (Marinus II 942-946). *Enlarged.*

of the coins in the hoard and there can be little doubt that it represents a payment of Peter's pence to the Holy See lost in the troubled wars between Alberic, Prince of the Romans, and Ugo, King of Italy, in which the Pope took the side of the former.²

The admirable account by De Rossi has already been referred to.³ The notes that follow represent a preliminary relisting of the hoard. For details of the actual readings, reference should be made to De Rossi's report. A set of the photographs has been

¹ I am much indebted to my son, Simon Blunt, who took the actual photographs.

² See NC 1884, pp. 226-7.

³ p. 51 *supra*

deposited in the British Museum Coin Room. The slight discrepancies in numbers mentioned in the footnotes may well arise from the fact that one or two of the coins have disintegrated and so were not photographed. But the fragments may have been enough for De Rossi to make a record. None of the discrepancies, however, is significant.

The hoard may be summarized as follows:

Alfred	<i>BMC</i> vi	1	6
	xiv	1	
	xv	3	
	xvii	<u>1</u>	
Edward the Elder	<i>BMC</i> ii	189	210
	iii	16	
	iv	2	
	ix	2	
	xii	<u>1</u>	
Athelstan	Diademed bust (to right)	2	398
	Diademed bust (to left)	1	
	Two-line	81	
	Cross/two-line	1	
	Two-line/cross	7	
	Cross	78	
	Cross/crowned bust	2	
	Crowned bust/cross	4	
	Crowned bust/two-line	1	
	Crowned bust	119	
	Cross/rosette	3	
	Rosette	13	
	Two-line-NE I	60	
	'Helmet' NE II	4	
	Two-line-NE II	1	
	'Church'	1	
	Irregular	<u>20</u>	
Edmund	<i>BMC</i> i	177	195
	variant	1	
	— (cross type)	2	
	vi	9	
	iv	1	
	iii	1	
	iv	<u>4</u>	
Archbishop Plegmund		4	823
Anlaf Guthfrithsson		1	
Anlaf Sihtricsson		4	
Sihtric (Sihtricsson?)		1	
Unidentified A/S		<u>4</u>	
Total Anglo-Saxon		823	<u>5</u> 828
Continental		4	
Byzantine		<u>1</u>	

*Reconciliation of the above totals with those given by Keary**Alfred*

To Keary's total of 3 there have been added	
An additional specimen of his no. 2	1
Nos. 14 and 34 transferred from Edward the Elder	
	<u>2</u>
	<u>3</u>

Edward the Elder

Keary's list totals 217 as against 210 listed here	
Nos. 14 and 34 have been transferred to Alfred	2
Nos. 39. One has disintegrated	1
No. 60. Keary records 3	1
No. 66. Keary records 12	2
Nos. 70-1. One has now fragmented	<u>1</u>
	<u>7</u>

Athelstan

Keary's list totals 393 against 398 listed here		
	+	—
No. 92. Ælfwine is missing		1
Nos. 106, 121. Keary records 3		1
No. 138. Keary records 4		1
After 255 Keary omits	1	
No. 387. Transferred from incerta	1	
Nos. 394-5. Transferred from incerta	2	
Nos. 398-9. Transferred from incerta	2	
Nos. 400-1. Transferred from incerta	<u>2</u>	
	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>

Eadmund

The figures agree

Plegmund

The figures agree

Anlaf

Keary lists 6, all attributed to the same king. In the present list 1 is attributed to Anlaf Guthfrithsson and 4 to Anlaf Sihtricsson. The sixth coin, which bears the name of Athelstan and Anlaf (Guthfrithsson) has been listed under Athelstan.

Sihtric (Sihtricsson?)

The figure agrees.

Unidentifiable Anglo-Saxon

Keary's list totals 10; this is here reduced to 4. Nos. 394-5, 398-9 and 400-1 have been transferred to Athelstan.

Keary's total of the Anglo-Saxon coins is 829; those listed here total 823. One is added here to no. 2 and to the number after 255; 1 is deducted from nos. 39 and 60; 2 from no. 66; 1 each from nos. 70, 92, 106/121 and 138. This accounts for the difference of 6.

ALFRED

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
1	VI	London	—	1
34	XIV	—	Ecwulf	1
14	XV	—	Æthered ¹	1
2		—	Beornmær	2
3	XVII	Canterbury	?	<u>1</u> 6

EDWARD THE ELDER

4	II	—	Adalbert	1
5, 6		—	Athelwulf	12
7		—	Æthelfreth	6
8		—	Æthelstan	6
9		—	Æthered	18
10		—	Agnes	1
11		—	Badda	1
12		—	Beanred	1
13		—	Beahstan	7
14		—	Beornere	4
15		—	Beornulf	2
16		—	Beornwold	1
17		—	Bionnede	2
18		—	Biornard	1
20		—	Bonus Homo	1
21		—	Byrnard	1
22		—	Cenbreht	1
23		—	Clip	1
24		—	Deor(a)mod	3
25		—	Deorwald	6
26		—	Diora	2
27		—	Dryhtvald	1
29		—	Eadmund	1
29		—	Eadulf ²	1
30		—	Ealhstan	4
31		—	Eardulf	1
32		—	Earnulf	1
34		—	Eclaf ³	1
35		—	Eicmund	1
36		—	Ellaf	3
37		—	Eofermund	1
38		—	Etila	1
39		—	Fritheberht ⁴	10
40		—	Gareard	3
41		—	Garulf	1
42		—	Grimwald	4
43		—	Gundbert	1

¹ De Rossi appears to have read this fragment Beornere and to have attributed it to Edward.

² Misread by De Rossi as Eadmund.

³ De Rossi attributed a fragment of Alfred, moneyer Ecwulf, to this.

⁴ Plus one quite disintegrated.

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>	
44	II	—	Hathelbald	1	
45		—	'Herendfretia'?	1	
46		—	Heremod	1	
47		—	Herebald ¹	1	
49		—	Landuc	2	
50		—	Londbriht	1	
52		—	Magnard	1	
53		—	Man	1	
54		—	Marbert (Har-?)	1	
55		—	Odo	1	
56		—	Oslac	1	
58		—	Pastor	1	
60		—	Pitit ²	2	
61		—	Raegenulf	14	
62		—	Rihard	1	
63		—	Samsun	2	
64		—	Sprov	3	
28		—	Thurlac	2	
66		—	Tila ³	10	
67		—	Tuda	1	
68		—	Wealdelm	6	
69		—	Willuf	1	
59		—	Winegar	2	
70, 71		—	Wulfheard ⁴	6	
72		—	Wulfred	1	
73		—	Wulfsige	1	
74-9, 81-3		—	Blundered	10	
322		—	Doubtful	1	189
12	III	—	Beanred	2	
13		—	Beahstan	1	
25		—	Deorwald	1	
33		—	Eanulf	1	
36		—	Ellaf	2	
40		—	Gareard	1	
42		—	Grimwald	1	
44		—	'Heaer---	1	
46?, 48		—	Igere	2	
51		—	Liofhelm	1	
65		—	Sigar ⁵	1	
66		—	Tila	1	
72		—	Wulfred	1	16
50	IV	—	Londbriht	1	
80		—	Blundered	1	2
19	IX	—	Boiga ⁶	1	
57		—	Osulf ⁷	1	2
29	XII	—	Eadmund	1	1
Total Edward the Elder				210	

¹ This could be a coin of Athelstan.² De Rossi records 3 specimens.³ De Rossi records 12 specimens.⁴ Plus a doubtful fragment.⁵ De Rossi reads this Stear.⁶ Type as *BMC* no. 99.⁷ Type as *BMC* no. 105.

ATHELSTAN

The numbers in brackets show when the actual coin is illustrated in this work.

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
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Diademed bust type (bust to right)

181	—	Folcred ¹ (2)	1
183	—	Grimwald (4)	<u>1</u> 2

Diademed bust type (bust to left)

89	—	Æthelwine (5)	<u>1</u> 1
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Two-line type (excepting coins with large lettering, NE I)

84	—	Abba	2
85	—	Abonel	1
86	—	Athelulf	1
87	—	Æthelferth	1
88	—	Æthelfreth	1
90	—	Æthelsige	1
91	—	Ælfred	1
94	—	Alfeau ²	4
97	—	Beahred (23)	2
99	—	Beorard	2
100	—	Beorhunc (27)	1
101	—	Berngar	1
102	—	Biorhtric	1
103	—	Biorhtwald	1
104	—	Burhelm ³	1
105	—	Cenbreht	1
106, 121	—	‘Cioehec’ ⁴	2
109	—	Cunulf (41)	1
114	—	Dryhtvald	2
116	—	Eadmund (46b)	3
117	—	Eardulf (49)	1
118	—	Earnulf	3
119	—	Ethelsige	1
120	—	E(o)fermu(n)d	1
122	—	Ellaf	2
124	—	Frithebriht (56)	2
127	—	Garulf	2
129	—	Grimwald (60)	1
130	—	Herebeau (62)	4
131	—	Heremod	1
135	—	Hildebert (66)	1
133	—	Igere	1
138	—	Iohann ⁵	3
140	—	Liofhelm (72)	1
143	—	Man (74)	1
132	—	‘Mathelbhht’	1
146	—	Osulf (82)	1
147	—	Paulus	1

¹ Unusual bust.² 92, Ælfwine, missing.³ De Rossi reads Burneld.⁴ De Rossi records 3 specimens.⁵ De Rossi records 4 specimens.

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
150	—	Raegenulf	2
151	—	Rihard (89)	2
152	—	Rothward? ¹ (90)	1
154	—	Sigedruld (93)	1
155	—	Sigeland (95)	2
113	—	Thurlac ² (99)	1
158	—	Tiot(es)	1
160	—	Wealdhelm	4
161	—	Wilebald (108)	1
162	—	Wilric (109)	1
163	—	Wimund (110)	1
164	—	Wulfheard	2
165 ³	—	[Wulfgar]	1
166	—	'Wiureerai'? (111)	1
167	—	Wulfsige (114)	1
168	—	Wulfstan	<u>1</u>

81

Mule cross/two-line type

151	—	Rihard (118)	<u>1</u>	1
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Mule two-line/cross type

211	Hertford	Abonel (120)	1	
230	London	Æthered (121)	1	
236	„	Ellaf (122)	1	
240	„	Igere ⁴ (123)	1	
244	„	Wulfhelm (124)	1	
256	Oxford	Sigeland (125)	<u>2</u>	7

Cross type

193	Bath	Biorhtulf	1
192	„	Herewis (129)	1
282	Bridport/Bredy	Wihtulf (130)	1
200	Canterbury	Æthelsige (132)	2
202	„	Ethelfreth	1
203	„	Manna (134)	1
204	„	Torhtelm	1
215	Chester	Abba	2
220	„	Cenapa	1
223	„	Maerten(e)	1
225	„	Paul(es)	2
226	„	Salc(es) (152)	1
227	„	Sigeferth	2
229	„	Wiard	1
195	Chichester	Iohan	1
196	'Darent'	Beorhtulf (160)	1
199	Derby	Biga	1
198	„	Sihear(es) (171)	1

¹ De Rossi reads 'Roghard' but the third letter is clearly **ð** and the fourth doubtfully **p**.

² Rosette bottom and (?) top of reverse.

³ 165 is now an indecipherable fragment. Rossi

read it (no doubt when complete) as Wulfgar.

⁴ Four pellets on inner circle on obv.; 4 pellets in field near inner circle on rev.

ATHELSTAN (*cont.*):

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
205	Exeter	Abun (173)	1
206	"	Raegenold	4
213	Langport	Burhtelm	1
214	"	Wynsige	1
267	Leicester	Thurstan (180)	3
233	London	Beahred	2
235	"	Biorhtr(i)c ¹ (183)	1
236	"	Ellaf	1
238	"	Fawle (186)	1
240	"	Igere ² (189)	3
242	"	Liofhelm	1
399	Nottingham	Ethelnoth ³	1
255	Oxford	Mathelwald	2
7 ⁴	"	Ingelri	1
264	Shaftesbury	Æthelwine	1
258	Shrewsbury	Cenberht (206)	1
259	"	Ecgherd	1
260	"	Eofermund	1
261	"	Frotger (209)	2
262	"	W(u)laf (211)	1
263	"	?	1
194	Southampton	Eadgild ⁵ (212)	1
265	Stafford	Eardulf (214)	1
266	"	Wihtmund	1
276	Warwick?	Monthehn (221)	1
270	Winchester	Amelric (225)	1
268	"	Athulf	2
210	York	Regnald (237)	13
210	"	" ³	1
171 (2),	Illegible		4
400/1			78

Mule cross/crowned bust type

172	—	Athelmund (255)	1
179	—	Cynewald (256)	1

2

Mule crowned bust/cross type

240	London	Igere (258)	2
243	"	Man	1
269	Winchester	Æthelm (260)	1

4

Mule crowned bust/two-line

115	—	Eadgild (261)	1
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1

Crowned bust type

201	Canterbury	Ælfric	8
200	"	Æthelsige (263)	4

¹ De Rossi reads *-trd*, but the coin has now been cleaned.

² Four pellets in obv. field *near* inner circle.

³ Double reverse.

⁴ I am unable to trace this coin either in Keary's

or De Rossi's list. It lies in the cabinet between their nos. 386 and 388 but is not 387 which is slightly further on. Its number in the cabinet listing is 815.

⁵ Misread by De Rossi *Cantun Urb.*

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
204	Canterbury	Torhtelm	3
211	Hertford	Abonel	1
212	Lewes	Eadric (267)	1
231	London	Ælfstan	2
232	"	Ælfwald	9
233	"	Beahred	6
234	"	Biornearð	9
236	"	Ellaf	4
239	"	Grimwald	6
240	"	Igere (274)	1
242	"	Liofhelm	6
244	"	Wulfhelm (277)	2
245	Maldon	Abonel (278)	1
246	Norwich	Burdell	1
247	"	Eadgar	1
248	"	Giongald	2
251	"	Hrodgar	2
249	"	Manen	3
250, 253	"	Mantien	3
254	Oxford	Eardulf (288)	2
257	"	Uthelric (289)	3
278	'Smrie'	Eadbald (293)	1
274	Wallingford	Æthelmund (294)	1
275, 175	"	Burnwald	4
269	Winchester	Æthelm	1
269	"	" ¹	1
270	"	Amelric	1
271	"	Leofric ¹ (301)	3
272	"	Otic ¹	1
273	"	Raegenulf (304)	1
273	"	" ¹ (305)	2
209	York	Æthelard	1
173	No mint	Æthelfreth	3
174	"	Alfeau	2
177	"	Cialelm? (314)	1
180	"	Diarwald (316)	1
178	"	Fredard	1
185	"	Hunrice (319)	1
252	"	Lifing	2
186	"	Lioving	4
187	"	Manninc	1
190, 207	"	Si(g)elan(d)	2
190	"	" ² (323)	1
188	"	Sigeulf	1
191	"	Torhtelm	1
285	"	Illegible	1

119

Cross/rosette type

215	Chester	Abba	1
224	"	Oslac	1
229	"	Wiard (333)	1

3

¹ Bust contained within inner circle.² Unusual bust, contained within inner circle.

ATHELSTAN (*cont.*):

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>	
<i>Rosette type</i>				
217	Chester	Beorard ¹	1	
220	„	Cnapa	1	
218	„	Eadmund	4	
219, 221	„	Efrard	2	
222	„	Maeldomen (353)	1	
216	„	Megred ²	1	
224	„	Oslac	1	
228	„	Wulfstan	1	
265	Stafford	Eardulf(368)	1	13
<hr/>				
<i>Two-line type</i> Large lettering. NE I				
93	—	Aenlf (Arnulf?)	1	
95	—	Are	2	
96	—	Asulf	1	
98	—	Belci	1	
107	—	Clac	2	
108	—	‘Cugeli’	2	
111	—	Domenc(es)	1	
112	—	Dominic	1	
110	—	Duriant (381)	1	
123	—	Fram (383)	1	
125	—	Fugel	1	
128	—	Gota	3	
136	—	Incgelbert (391)	1	
137	—	Inga	2	
139	—	Landuc ³	2	
141	—	Litilman	1	
142	—	Manna	1	
144	—	Nothe(r)	4	
145	—	Oda	12	
149	—	Pitit	2	
153	—	Sanduc ⁴	2	
156	—	‘Sprohene’ (403)	1	
157	—	Stefanus	2	
159	—	Uflebart? (405)	1	
148	—	Winele	12	60
<hr/>				
<i>Helmet type. NE II</i>				
176	—	‘Bus’ (410)	1	
182	—	Fulrad ⁵ (412)	1	
184	—	Herric (414)	1	
189	—	Smala	1	4
<hr/>				
<i>NE II—two line</i>				
126	—	Fulrad	1	
<hr/>				
<i>Church type</i>				
170	—	Wulfsig	1	1

¹ S in obv. field.² De Rossi read this Æthered, but the coin has now been cleaned and Megred is quite clear.³ Cf. Sanduc.⁴ Cf. Landuc.⁵ Trefoil of pellets in each quarter of cross crosslet on rev.

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>	
<i>Irregular group</i>				
<i>Two-line type</i>				
169		'Legrten' (451)	1	
134		Wulfeld (452)	<u>1</u>	2
<i>Cross type</i>				
237	'London'	'Ele'	2	
237	"	'Efe'	1	
237	"	'Eie'	1	
241	"	'Lf' (460)	1	
279	No mint	Moneyer doubtful (464)	1	
394	'Wareham' group	Moneyer doubtful (469)	1	
281	'Wareham' group	Moneyer doubtful (470)	1	
395	'Wareham' group	Moneyer doubtful	1	
277	'Wareham' group	Moneyer doubtful	1	
283	Double obverse	(477)	1	
284	" "	(480)	1	
280	'Derby'	'Erra' (485)	1	
197	"	'Thusmet' (488)	2	
208	No mint	Reinere <i>me fecit</i> (508)	<u>1</u>	16
<i>Cross/rosette type</i>				
398	'Derby'	'Merra' (491)	<u>1</u>	1
<i>Cross type with the names of Athelstan and Anlaf</i>				
387	No moneyer (492)		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u> 20
Total Athelstan				<u>398</u>

EADMUND (No mint except where indicated)

Two-line type (BMC I)

286	Abenel ¹	1
287	'Adeau'	1
288	Athelmund	3
289	Æthelm? (rosettes)	1
290	Æthelm (trefoils)	1
291	Æthelwine	1
292	Ælfric (o in centre of obv.; o + o middle line of rev.)	1
293	Ælfstan	11
294	Ælfwine (rosettes)	1
295	Ælfwald	2
296	Ælfwold	1
297	Ærnulf	3

¹ De Rossi describes the rev. legend as circular, but this is not the case.

EADMUND (*cont.*):

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
298	Amund(es) (rosettes)		3
298	„ (trefoils)		1
299	Are (large lettering)		2
300	Baldwin		2
301	Beanred		3
303	Berhtred		3
304	Berhtwig		2
305	Bianulf (?)		1
306	Biorneard		2
307, 309	Birn—Byrneard, Byrnard		12
310	Burnwald		7
311, 313-14	Deorwald, Diarwald—weld (two with pellet in obv. field)		4
312	Diarhelm (one with + top and ? bottom on rev.)		5
316	Dudig		2
317	Eadgild		1
318	Eadmund (rosettes)		3
319	Eadred (cross top and ? bottom on rev.)		1
319	Eadred (trefoils; pellet in obv. field)		1
319	Eadred (o in centre of obv.; o+o middle line of rev.)		1
320	Eardulf		1
321	Ecgbriht (all crosses on rev.)		1
323	'Ednoeol'		1
324	Eferulf ¹		1
327	Elferth (rosettes)		1
328	Elfwald		1
330	Faraman (large lettering)		2
331	Folcred		1
333	Fugel (or Fugen) (large lettering)		3
325	Ginard		1
336	Gota (large lettering)		1
337	Grimwald		7
338	Gundferth		1
339	Hathebald		1
340	Hereman		2
341	Heremod		2
343	Hunsige		4
342	'Ildeomert'		1
345	Ingelgar		1
364	Landulf ²		1
347	Leofric		4
346	Liafinc ³ (all crosses on rev.)		1
346	„ (trefoils)		2
346	„ (o in centre of obv.; o+o middle line of rev.)		1

¹ De Rossi reads Efgulf, but coin now cleaned and reading clear.

² De Rossi reads Randulf, but the coin has now been cleaned.

³ De Rossi lists 5 of this moneyer.

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>
348	Liofhelm		1
349	Litilman (large lettering)		1
350, 354	Manna	„ „	5
351	Mannel		5
352	Martin		1
353	Maertn(e) (rosettes)		2
356	'Ondres'		1
357	Osferth		1
358	Osmund		1
359	Osulf		1
360	Oswald		2
355	Othelric(es) (rosettes)		2
361	Otic		2
362	Prim		1
363	Raegenold (3 have a bar on the obv. inner circle and a pellet in front of it)		6
365	Regther(es) (rosettes)		1
366	Regegrim (large lettering)		1
367	Rodberiht		2
369	Siedeman		2
370	Sigwold(es) (rosettes)		1
371	Stefhan (large lettering)		1
315	Thorulf		1
373	Warengod		1
377	Wigeard		1
378	Wigearin		2
374	Wihtelm		1
375	Wilaf (rosettes)		1
379	Wulfric		1
376	Wulfstan (rosettes)		1
380/1	Blundered (rosettes)		2
?	Doubtful		<u>1</u> 177

Two-line type, variant, with moneyer's name on obverse, king's name on reverse. (BMC-)

291		Æthelwine	<u>1</u>	1
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Cross type (BMC-)

302	Wallingford	Beornwald	1	
382	Chester	'Baro' ¹	<u>1</u>	2

Crowned bust type (BMC VI)

334	Norwich	Giongbald	1	
368	„	Hrodgar	2	
308	No mint?	'Boe'	1	
326	„ „	Clac? (rev. ends Reyon)	1	
329	No mint	Ergimbalt	1	
332	„ „	Frethard ²	<u>3</u>	9

¹ Cf. Chester (1950) T.T. no. 118 (BNJ xxvii (1952-4), p. 144). De Rossi says that his no. 382 has a bust, but this is not so.

² De Rossi says two without bust, but this is not so.

EADMUND (*cont.*):

<i>De Rossi number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of specimens</i>	
<i>Cross/rosette type (BMC IV)</i>				
398	Derby?	Merra (imitative) ¹	<u>1</u>	1
<i>Rosette type (BMC III)</i>				
298	No mint	Amund(es)	<u>1</u>	1
<i>Helmet type (BMC VII)</i>				
335	No mint	Gis	1	
344	” ”	‘Iedulf’	1	
372	” ”	Telia	<u>2</u>	4
Total Eadmund			<u>—</u>	<u>195</u>

PLEGMUND

389	(Canterbury)	Æthelfreth	2	
390-1	„	Sigehelm ²	<u>2</u>	4

ANLAF GUTHFRITHSSON (939-941)³

383	Raven type. Athelferd	1		
(See also the irregular group of Athelstan no. 387 for a coin with the names of Anlaf and Athelstan)				

ANLAF SIHTRICSSON (927, 941-4, 948/9-952)

385	Two-line (ANLEF). Nothe (941) ⁴	1		
384	Cross moline obv.; plain cross rev. Rathulf (941-2)	1		
384	Plain cross both sides. Rathulf (941-2)	1		
386	Two-line (ONLAF). Arnulf (943?)	<u>1</u>	4	

SIHTRIC (SIHTRICSSON?) (941-2?)

388	Plain cross both sides. Rathulf (941-2)	<u>1</u>	1	
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UNIDENTIFIABLE A/S

392	Two-line	1		
393	Two-line (rosettes)	1		
396-7	Cross types	<u>2</u>	4	
Total Anglo-Saxon			<u>—</u>	<u>823</u>

¹ An intriguing coin, king's name blundered apparently from Eadmund. Cf. a coin of Athelstan by the same moneyer, no. 491.

² De Rossi reads one of these Eicmund.

³ The datings are those proposed by Mr. Dolley in 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking coinage of York', 1958, as amended in *BNJ* xl (1971), pp. 3-6.

⁴ Cf. a comparable coin by H(i)ldulf reading Anelf, no. 390a, and a third reading ANLAF REST. See *BNJ* xl (1971), pp. 3-6, where reasons are given for attributing these three coins to the months immediately following Anlaf Sihtricsson's restoration to York in 941.

No. of coins

CONTINENTAL

Italy

Berengar I as emperor (915-24). Denier of Pavia.

O. BERENGARIV IM, followed by star-like object.

R. XPIITIAN RELIG PA-PIA-CI

CNI 11 var.

1

Hugo and Lothair? (931-47). Denier.

Very little is legible, but this coin appears to be similar to CNI pl. xl. 3-5.¹

1

Germany

Duke Bertold (938-47). Denier of Regensburg.

Dannenberg 1056.²

1

France

Denier of Limoges, in the name of Odo.

Type immobilise. 10th century.

Poey d'Avant 2275.³

1

BYZANTINE

Theophilus, with Michael II and Constantine

(c. 832?-c. 839?). Solidus.

BMC ii, pl. xlviii. 16.

1	5	
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		828

Total of the hoard as recorded here

¹ *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, vol. iv. I owe the identification of these two coins to the great courtesy of Dr. Panvini Rosati.

² H. Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1876. I am

indebted to Dr. Wolfgang Hahn for identifying this piece as one of the very rare coins of Duke Bertold.

³ F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, Paris, 1858.

APPENDIX II

THE SCOTBY HOARD

SINCE Mr. Thompson wrote his *Inventory* it has been possible to give more details of the Scotby hoard which he lists as his no. 324. The Bateinan sale catalogue of 1893 gives Scotby as the source of lots 299–302, three coins of Edward the Elder and seven of Athelstan, and makes their identification more precise; but more important is the discovery that a parcel of coins in the sale of the collection of William Forster (Sotheby, 28 May 1868) almost certainly came also from this find. At an exhibition in Carlisle, organised for a meeting of the Archaeological Institute 26 July–2 August 1859, there is the following entry in the catalogue:¹

Anglo-Saxon coins and silver ingots, found by a party of drainers, in June 1855 at Scotby, 3 miles east of Carlisle, imbedded in peat moss, at a depth of about 6 feet. The coins are of Eadweard the Elder, 901–925 and Athelstan, 925–941, minted at Shrewsbury, Chester and London. Near the coins was found, as stated, a small iron horseshoe, pierced with six square holes for nails; also a small bill-hook of iron, which had not been obtained by the finders. About 100 coins were discovered, and 10 or 12 ingots. The weight of those exhibited is 6 oz 16 dwts. 9 grs. These ingots precisely resemble those occurring with the Cuerdale hoard, described and figured in the *Archaeological Journal* vol. iv, pp. 111, 189, and in other finds, usually accompanied by Cufic coins.

Mr. William Forster, Carlisle.

Mr. Forster's collection was a curious one. It contained a number of pieces of the highest rarity, including the gold florin of Edward III, the quarter-noble of his 1344 coinage, and a heavy and a light noble of Henry IV, but was noticeably thin in the pre-conquest series. Excluding the coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan there were only five stycas, a penny of the St. Peter coinage (which might have been from the Scotby hoard but there is insufficient evidence of this), one of Æthelred II, five of Cnut, one of Edward the Confessor, and a little parcel described as twelve pennies of Edward the Elder, Athelstan, St. Edmund, etc. By contrast, there are specifically identified eight coins of Edward the Elder and fourteen of Athelstan, and in addition fifteen fragments. In a collection which clearly set store by quality, it may reasonably be assumed that these fragments were associated with the Scotby find. While one cannot say with complete confidence that every one of the whole coins of Edward and Athelstan in this collection is from Scotby, it seems very likely that they were and the reconstruction that follows is based on this assumption.

For the rest, the account of Mr. Forster's exhibit is tantalizingly vague. The references for the ingots are to the opening pages of Hawkins's two reports on the objects associated with the coins at Cuerdale and on neither page is there an illustration. Pages 112–13, however, illustrate ten ingots of varying sizes and types and there is nothing to show to which the Scotby ingots corresponded. We are given, in the catalogue of the exhibi-

¹ *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum formed at Carlisle during the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, July 26–August 2*

1859, p. 16. I am much indebted to Mr. Pagan for bringing this somewhat obscure reference to my notice.

tion, the aggregate weight of the ingots exhibited, but no indication of how many were shown. Despite these defects, we must be grateful for having the evidence that Mr. Forster did in fact own a parcel from Scotby, something which before the discovery of this reference Mr. Pagan had suggested to the writer as very probable on the grounds that Mr. Forster lived near the find-spot and that this compact little parcel of tenth-century coins appeared otherwise so out of context in his distinctly unusual collection.

Though the coins of Edward the Elder are not of immediate concern to the present study, they have been included in the following reconstruction for the sake of completeness.

EDWARD THE ELDER

<i>BMC</i> ii	14	Æthered (2); Abba = Bateman 300; Brece = Forster 2; Diora = Forster 2; Dryhtwald; Eofmund = Forster 7; Friodulf = Forster 7; Garulf; 'Iodnard'; Samsun = Forster 7; Torhtelm = Forster 5; Wulfgar; Wynberht = Bateman 300
<i>BMC</i> iii	2	Sigod = Forster 4; blundered, rude bust = Forster 3 = Rashleigh 234 = Lockett 2714 (ill.)

ATHELSTAN

Two-line	5	'Alit'; Athelulf = Forster 7; Dryhtwald; Eadmund; Sigehelm
Two-line (NE I)	1	Belgi = Forster 2.
Cross	7	Chester, Abba = Forster 6; Chester, Beorard = Bateman 302 = Murdoch 109; Exeter, Abbon = Forster 6; London, Ellaf = Forster 5; Nottingham, double reverse, Osulf one side, Ethelnoth the other = Forster 5 = probably Montagu 616; Shrewsbury, Berhtelm = Forster 5; York, Regnald = Bateman 302 = Murdoch 112 = Grantley 1054
Cross/crowned bust	1	No mint, Sigelf = Bateman 301 = ? Carlyon-Britton 1681 = ? BM ex Barnett
Cross/rosette	3	Chester, Ælfwine = Forster 5; Chester, Paul(es) = Bateman 301 = Carlyon-Britton 1672 = Chester <i>Sylloge</i> 43; Chester, Tot(es) = Forster 6
Rosette/cross	1	'Thelwall', Megereth = Forster 6 = ? Blunt ex Wells ex Nunn (1896) 100 ex Montagu 626 ex Durlacher
Rosette	2	Chester, both Ælfwine = Forster 6
Cross, Rosette or combination of the two (details not available)	6	All Chester. Abba = Forster 2; Ælfwine (2) = Bateman 300; Edmund = Forster 2; Tiot(es) = Bateman 301; Wulfstan = Bateman 302
Helmet (NE II)	1	No mint, Smala = Bateman 299 = Fitzwilliam <i>Sylloge</i> 581 ex Henderson

MISCELLANEOUS

'Edward the Elder, Athelstan, St. Edmund, etc.' (no details; the St. Edmund could be from the hoard, but this must be quite uncertain):

	12	Forster 1
Various fragments:	15	Forster 1

This makes a total of 70 pieces (including the fragments) out of the approximately 100 quoted in the catalogue of the exhibition at Carlisle.

The latest identifiable coin in the hoard is the penny of 'helmet' type of Smala. The type is a late one in Athelstan's reign but this particular coin is early in the type; the reverse die in its unaltered state was used for the mule with the bust in relief type, see p. 84 above. The absence of coins of Edmund suggests a deposit not later than 940; the bracket 935-40 would seem reasonable.

On the basis of this reconstruction the hoard may be summarized as follows:

EDWARD THE ELDER

<i>BMC</i> II	14	
III	<u>2</u>	16

ATHELSTAN

Two-line	5	
Two-line (NE I)	1	
Cross	7	
Cross/crowned bust	1	
Cross/rosette	3	
Rosette/cross	1	
Cross, rosette or a combination of the two	6	
Helmet (NE II)	<u>1</u>	27

MISCELLANEOUS

'Edward the Elder, Athelstan, St. Edmund, etc.'	12	
(the St. Edmund doubtfully from the hoard)	<u>15</u>	
Various fragments	<u>70</u>	