

THE COINAGE OF BURGRED OF MERCIA 852–874

WILLIAM A. MACKAY

Introduction

IN 874, overwhelmed by the attacks of the Danish invaders' 'Great Army' (*micel here*), Burgred, king of Mercia since 852, abdicated and departed for Rome and a puppet ruler, Ceolwulf II, was installed in his place. The facts about rest of his twenty-two year reign are sparse but it would seem that in the sixteen year period up to 868 Burgred presided over a revival of Mercian power and maintained a military and dynastic alliance with Wessex. This began shortly after the start of his reign with a successful joint Mercian/Wessex campaign against the Welsh in 853, and was cemented by his marriage to Æthelswith, daughter of king Æthelwulf of Wessex. The situation changed with the arrival of the Danish 'Great Army' in East Anglia in 865 and its subsequent conquest of Northumbria in 866.¹ Thereafter the Danes appear to have moved around Mercia with little opposition. An early incursion to Nottingham in 868 was confronted without success by a joint Mercian/Wessex force and was bought off by Burgred.² Mercia could not prevent the Danish 'Great Army' reaching the Thames at Reading in 870–71 and a subsequent occupation of London, the principal city of the kingdom, in 871–72. Another payment of tribute was required by the Mercians to persuade the 'Great Army' to withdraw northwards and the army is recorded at Torksey in 872–73 and at Repton in 873–74. At this time, in the words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Burgred was 'driven out' and went into exile to Rome, where he died shortly afterwards, most probably in 875.³

Burgred's reign left few documents or artefacts. His coinage is his principal monument and survives in a greater volume than for any other ninth-century Anglo-Saxon ruler south of the Humber. It is also, despite the disruption of the latter part of the reign, the most consistent of any Mercian king, comprising one issue with the obverse always having a bust facing right and a reverse always with the moneyers name between two lines, with five design variations.⁴ The most common of these variations is an enclosed lunette, and this has led to the coinage being known as the Lunettes coinage.

Numismatists have generally dismissed the Lunettes coinage as being outside the mainstream development of the English coinage, being of limited artistic merit, base metal and of

Acknowledgments The author would like to thank Adrian Lyons for his contribution to early drafts of this article, notably his perceptive input to devising the obverse typology and latterly his ever helpful feedback on drafts of this paper; Hugh Pagan for detailed comments on the Corpus and generously sharing with me data in his extensive card index of the coins of Burgred; Dr Philip Shaw of Leicester University for his philological assessment and advice on moneyers' names; Dr Rory Naismith for sharing with me images prepared for his forthcoming *SCBI* volume of the British Museum ninth-century coins; the staff at the Fitzwilliam Museum, the British Museum, the National Museum of Wales, Worcestershire County Museum, the Royal Mint Museum and the National Museum of Denmark for advice, encouragement and access to their collections; private collectors who kindly allowed details of coins in their collections to be recorded and in some cases photographed; Wioletta Madaj of Numismatic Photo Ltd for her assistance in photographing coins included in the study and creating the plates; and finally my wife and daughter for putting up with Lunettes pennies for over nine years. Any omissions or misinterpretations in this paper lie entirely with the author.

¹ For a summary of the events of 865–75, see Stenton 1971.

² Swanton 2000, 70, 71 [868, A and E]: 'and the Mercians made peace with the raiding-army.'

³ Following his deposition Burgred, accompanied by Æthelswith, went to Rome, stopping on the way at the monastery of S. Salvatore in Brescia, in whose *Liber Vitae* they are recorded, along with five men and three women who wished to be remembered in the prayers of the monks (Keynes 1997). The party reached Rome and Burgred appears to have died shortly afterwards. Swanton 2000, 72, 73 [874, A and E]: 'he went to Rome and settled there, and his body lies in St Mary's church in the English Quarter.' Æthelswith may have returned to England and died in 888 in Italy whilst travelling to Rome again. Swanton 2000, 80, 81, 82, 83 [888, A and E]: 'Earldorman Beocca [and Queen Æthelswith, who was King Alfred's sister] took the alms of the West Saxons and King Alfred to Rome; and she passed away, and her body lies at Pavia.' Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A varies from E in that it does not link Æthelswith with Beocca and taking alms to Rome, but does note her death and burial in Pavia.

⁴ *BMC* types A–E, North 423–7 and Spink 938–42 respectively.

little importance.⁵ This overlooks two remarkable characteristics of the coinage: its longevity and its adoption as the sole coinage design in use in Southern England from c.866 to 876/77, enabling some form of monetary union between the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex. It might be common and unappealing, but numismatically uninteresting it certainly is not.

Despite the relatively large quantity of surviving material it has proved remarkably difficult to create a coherent structure for such a well-surviving and long-lasting coinage. From the mid-nineteenth century the coinage was ordered by moneyers and reverse Lunettes types, A to D⁶ (the existence of Lunettes E only became known in the late 1950s⁷). This method of differentiation was adopted by Keary in his *British Museum Catalogue*,⁸ and used by Heywood in the early twentieth century in a *British Numismatic Journal* article,⁹ and it has continued in use until the present day. Some sixty years after Heywood, Pagan, in a landmark paper, sought to address both the classification and the dating of the coinage.¹⁰ Based on an analysis of a Corpus of 592 coins, he focussed on the reverse types, hoard evidence and obverse designs. He proposed the existence of two distinctive obverse varieties: Horizontal, H and Vertical, V. This was partially modified by Lyon in one of his series of BNS presidential addresses, in which he proposed three further obverse varieties, B (Berhtwulf), G (Grotesque) and F (Floreate).¹¹ Since then, Pagan has elucidated and commented on this coinage in a number of contexts, including the range of grave finds discovered at Repton in the 1980s,¹² and ninth-century coin finds in the Southampton area,¹³ as well as revisiting the broader issues of the coinage in the wider ninth-century context.¹⁴

More recently, the author of this article, in collaboration with Adrian Lyons, proposed a classification and chronology for the coinage of Æthelred I of Wessex (865–71) and the Lunettes Coinage of Alfred the Great (871–99).¹⁵ Through an analysis of obverse styles this showed that the Wessex Lunettes coinage could be divided into two groups. One group is a distinctive Wessex style struck from dies most probably cut at Canterbury and the second is a much less numerous Mercian-style group, which has more in common with the obverse designs found on the Mercian Lunettes coinage of Burgred, and was most probably struck from dies cut at London or by die-cutters used to working for the Mercian king. The variation in design of the bust noted for the Mercian-style group in the coinages of Æthelred I and Alfred is of considerable assistance in dating the development of Burgred's Lunettes coinage. Additionally, it was noted that the obverse of the Floreate Cross type of Æthelberht of Wessex (858–65) aligned with that of the Four-Line type of Æthelred I dated to c.865–c.866.¹⁶ This reaffirmed the link between these Wessex issues and Lyon's Burgred Floreate (F) group. This work has provided some firm chronological anchors that can be used in dating components of the Lunettes Coinage of Burgred of Mercia.

⁵ Ruding 1840, 120, sets a standard for criticism at an early stage in numismatic analysis that is largely sustained thereafter: 'The long reign of Burgred affords a great variety of coins, together with irrefragable proofs that the art of coinage had then sunk to the lowest state of barbarism, not only in point of execution, but also in the baseness of the standard, for some of them are of an extremely coarse alloy.' Brooke 1932, 24, dismissed the coinage of Burgred with a Wessex-centric flourish as 'all Lunettes type, which was introduced by Æthelberht. There is no coinage of Burgred prior to the year 866.'

⁶ Lindsay 1842, 40.

⁷ Blunt 1958–59.

⁸ Keary 1887 sensibly allocated the letters 'A' to 'D' to describe the Lunettes types of Burgred, but Grueber, when compiling the second volume of their catalogue (Grueber and Keary 1887) used a different system for Alfred identifying the Lunettes A type as type 1 for Alfred, Lunettes B and type 1 var. a, and so on. Keary also described a small number of coins as 'barbarous' (see Eanred: *BMC* 283–6 and Tatel: *BMC* 385) but these, whilst of coarse style, are regular coins of the early issues of Burgred's reign, assigned later in this paper to the Preliminary Lunettes series.

⁹ Heywood 1906.

¹⁰ Pagan 1965.

¹¹ Lyon 1968.

¹² Pagan 1986b; 1987.

¹³ Pagan 1988.

¹⁴ Pagan 1986a.

¹⁵ Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008.

¹⁶ The key for dating these to c.864–66 is the Dorking (1817) hoard which, significantly, contained many Inscribed Cross but no Floreate Cross coins of Æthelberht and no coins of Æthelred I. This suggests that the Floreate Cross issue and its stylistically related Lyon Burgred F and Æthelred I Four-Line types came after the Inscribed Cross type but before Æthelberht died in 865. They are therefore dated at the earliest to 864, and are attributable certainly to 864–66, with the Æthelred I Four-Line, a short duration issue, dated to 865–66 (Lyons and MacKay 2007, 94–5).

Scope of the article

This article will revisit the coinage of Burgred, building on the work of Pagan and Lyon and the Lyons and MacKay studies of the Wessex Lunettes coinage. With a detailed Corpus of 847 coins, considerably greater than that collected by Pagan, this paper will propose a revised classification for Burgred's coinage based on obverse varieties. Stylistic linkages with the coinage of Wessex, hoard contents, the occurrence of moneyers, and the relationship between the obverse varieties will be considered to propose a chronology and sequencing for the coinage of Burgred. This will be followed by an assessment of the importance and role of the coinage of Burgred in the development of the Southumbrian coinage in the third quarter of the ninth century. The first part of this assessment will look at coinage standards, comparing the coin weights and fineness of Burgred's Mercian coinage with those of the contemporary coinages of Wessex and East Anglia. The second part will consider the development of minting in Mercia during the reign of Burgred, with an examination of the complements of moneyers and their affiliations, evidence for minting practices, and the scale of the coinage, based on die frequency. The final part of the article will provide an analysis of reverse types in relation to obverse varieties, with consideration given to possible explanations for reverse type variations. Similarly, patterns of variation in design details, such as the regnal titles on the obverse and symbols within the lunette design on the reverse, are examined in relation to obverse varieties and the chronology of the coinage.

Numismatic evidence

Hoard evidence

With twenty-eight recorded hoards containing coins of Burgred (see Appendices 1a and 1b),¹⁷ and 790 coins of Burgred noted from them,¹⁸ the body of numismatic evidence is substantial compared to other coinages of the ninth-century. The earliest recorded find is the Trewhiddle hoard of 1774. It seems likely, based upon a number of unusual and early-style Burgred pennies in the Hunterian Cabinet, the former Winchester Cathedral Collection and a single coin in the Ashmolean Museum, that a hoard containing coins from the earliest years of his reign was discovered around or before the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁹ Additionally, the number of coins in the British Museum collection for which Tyssen 1802 and Southgate 1795 provenances are noted suggests the existence of hoards before the first well-recorded find from Gravesend in 1838.²⁰ This and subsequent nineteenth- and twentieth-century finds (see Table 1), have been largely consistent in confirming the broad structure of the coinage in terms of varieties and moneyers. The last fifty years, for instance, have only added two new moneyers,²¹ and the type E reverse. Since Pagan assessed the coinage of Burgred in 1965 eleven new hoards have been added to the record.²²

¹⁷ The Repton 1 and 2 finds, 1982/1985, have been counted as one find, being from the same location.

¹⁸ In the Corpus hoard provenances have been noted where this is proven. With the hoard origin of many coins now lost an accurate concordance between all recorded coins and the hoard record cannot be achieved. This figure is supplemented by single finds and coins from hoards that entered the trade and for which the provenance is now lost.

¹⁹ Hunterian, *SCBI* 2, 375 (Dudecil, Corpus P2.9), and 379 (Tata, Corpus P4.15) both ex Dr Hunter (d. 1783); Yorkshire Collections, *SCBI* 21, 960 (Tatel, Corpus P1.9) and 963 (Duda, Corpus P4.3), both from the former Winchester Cathedral Collection (formed by William Eyre (1698–1764), and now held at Leeds City Museum); and Ashmolean Museum, *SCBI* 9, 29 (Eanred, Corpus P4.12), acquired by the Bodleian Library before 1750.

²⁰ The exact composition of the early-nineteenth century Reading Berkshire hoard noted by Sherlock 1955–57 is uncertain but it certainly included coins of Burgred; see also n.19 above on suggested pre-1800 find(s). Fountaine 1705 noted examples, including one by the moneyer Bernred, whose existence was lost until a new coin by him was found in 2004; see MacKay 2009.

²¹ Cuthwulf and Wulferth are not listed by North 1994 or Keary 1887. In addition, Bernred, noted as 'described but not in the *BMC*' has been rediscovered; see MacKay 2009. The same applies for Ethelred/Edered listed in North but not in the *BMC*.

²² Notably: St Albans Abbey Orchard 1968, Repton 1 and 2 1982/1985, Lincoln Walmsgate 1985, Severn Stoke 1992–93, Duddington 1994–95, Torksey c.1995, North Yorkshire 2003, and Suffolk 2008, as well as in the less well recorded Barkby Thorpe 1987 and the uncertain Banbury Castle and 'Uncertain Location' finds of 1997 and 2010. There is a suggestion that there were other late nineteenth-century finds, one possibly c.1885, with four coins of similar patina and provenance noted in *SCBI* 1 (Cenred, *SCBI* 1, 425; Dudecil, *SCBI* 1, 423; Eanred, *SCBI* 1, 415 and Wine, *SCBI* 1, 424) that may well link to the possible 1860/70 hoard(s) of Wessex Lunettes coins noted in Lyons and MacKay 2007 and 2008.

Hoards with coins of Burgred are confined to the British Isles, with a regional concentration in the English Midlands (14) and Southern Counties (7), and are never found in hoards deposited after 875. This is a similar pattern to that noted in the recent studies of the Lunettes coinage issued by Æthelred I and Alfred.²³

TABLE 1. Hoards containing coins of Burgred: Regional distribution of find locations

<i>Region</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Total no. of coins</i>	<i>No. of coins of Burgred</i>
Midlands ²⁴	Hook Norton, 1848 ²⁵	Oxfordshire	c.13	1
	London, Waterloo Bridge, 1884 ²⁶	Middlesex	c.100	96
	London, Westminster Bridge, 1895 ²⁷	Middlesex	10	7
	Hitchin, near c.1895 ²⁸	Hertfordshire	4	3
	Beeston Tor, 1924 ²⁹	Staffordshire	49	20
	Leckhampton, 1924 ³⁰	Gloucestershire	c.5	1
	St Albans, Abbey Orchard, 1968 ³¹	Hertfordshire	46	22
	Repton 1 and 2, 1982/1985 ³²	Derbyshire	11	4
	Walmsgate, Lincoln, 1985 ³³	Lincolnshire	9	2
	Barkby Thorpe, 1987 ³⁴	Northamptonshire	c.10–15	Likely
	Severn Stoke, 1992–96 ³⁵	Worcestershire	17	11
	Duddington, 1994 ³⁶	Northamptonshire	36	10
	Torksey, c.1995 ³⁷	Lincolnshire	6	Likely
	Banbury Castle, 1997 ³⁸	Oxfordshire	3	Possibly
Southern ³⁹	Trewhiddle, 1774 ⁴⁰	Cornwall	114	45
	Dorking, 1817 ⁴¹	Surrey	c.700	1
	Hampshire 1, 1836 ⁴²	Hampshire	31	18
	Gravesend, 1838 ⁴³	Kent	539	429
	Croydon, 1864 ⁴⁴	Surrey	c.250	94

²³ Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008.

²⁴ Broadly those counties east of modern-day Wales and west of modern-day East Anglia (this including Essex and Cambridgeshire), north of the Thames (including Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire) and south of the Mersey–Humber line (including Cheshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire).

²⁵ Checklist no. 74; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 221.

²⁶ Thompson 1956, no. 256; Checklist no. 65.

²⁷ Checklist no. 68; Pagan 1965, 24. A seventh coin is noted in the addenda to the Corpus.

²⁸ Thompson 1956, no. 190; Checklist no. 62; *NC*, 3rd ser. 17 (1897), 248.

²⁹ Thompson, 1956, no. 40; Brooke 1924, 322–5; Checklist no. 73.

³⁰ Blunt and Dolley 1958–59; Checklist no. 66. The sole Burgred coin from this find was stolen in the 1960s and must be considered lost, but it is illustrated by Blunt and Dolley.

³¹ Checklist no. 80. Coins illustrated in *SCBI* 42. See also Lyons and MacKay 2008, 69, n.111.

³² Repton 1: Biddle *et al*, 1986, 115–22, Checklist no. 70; Repton no. 2: Biddle *et al*, 1987, 16–19, 23, 24; Checklist no. 71,

³³ Checklist, no. 71a.

³⁴ Checklist no. 70a. It is likely numbers stated here are incomplete: see Lyons and MacKay 2008, 69, n.115.

³⁵ Checklist no. 71b; Hillaby, 2000; Lyons and MacKay 2007. The two Æthelred I Four-Line coins in this hoard were not listed in the Corpus of Æthelred I.

³⁶ Checklist no. 76a. Information on content provided by Miss Marion Archibald.

³⁷ Blackburn 2011b, 225.

³⁸ Symons 2014, 409–12, noted three fused coins, Coin A with obverse visible is obverse variety V5. Symons attribution to series Vb uses a designation from early drafts of this paper. Coin C with the reverse, type E, visible was tentatively assigned to ?Biled, in correspondence with Symons in 2012, but no such moneyer exists in the Corpus here and the name of the moneyer for this coin should be regarded as uncertain.

³⁹ Includes all counties south of the river Thames and the Somerset Avon.

⁴⁰ Thompson 1956, no. 363; Checklist no. 59. Rashleigh 1868 listed thirty-nine Burgred pennies in the possession of the Rashleigh family and six others with two other owners. The Rashleigh portion was dispersed at auction, Sotheby, 21 June 1909. Pagan 1982 provided a summary listing of the Rashleigh family parcel from this hoard; for Trewhiddle non-coin content, see Wilson and Blunt 1961.

⁴¹ Thompson 1956, no.123; Checklist no. 58. Combe 1821 listed 661 coins. Blunt 1972 and Pagan 1988 have noted additional coins from Dorking, suggesting a total of c.700 coins.

⁴² Thompson, 1956, no. 182 (Hampshire No. 1); Checklist no. 60; clarified by Pagan 1988 as in fact two hoards, now referred to as Hampshire 1, 1836, dated to c.870, and Hampshire 2, 1837, dated to c.850. Some uncertainty remains as to whether Hampshire 1, 1836 included any coins of Alfred.

⁴³ Thompson, 1956, no. 176; Checklist no. 64; Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 221. The hoard also contained Lunettes types of Æthelred I (57), Archbishop Ceolnoth (1) and Alfred (1).

⁴⁴ Thompson, 1956, no. 111; Checklist no. 67. Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, established with reasonable certainty that 94 coins of Burgred can be attributed to Croydon 1862. Initial publications of the hoard indicated a total of c.250 coins: see Christmas 1862 and Evans 1866.

TABLE 1. *Continued*

<i>Region</i>	<i>Hoard</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Total no. of coins</i>	<i>No. of coins of Burgred</i>
Southern <i>Cont.</i>	Wandsworth, <i>c.</i> 1913 ⁴⁵	Surrey	Unknown	4
	‘West Country’ <i>c.</i> 1920–30 ⁴⁶	?	?5	1
East Anglia ⁴⁷	‘Suffolk’, <i>c.</i> 2008 ⁴⁸	Suffolk	3	1
Northern ⁴⁹	Lower Dunsforth, 1861 ⁵⁰	North Yorkshire	15	6
	Gainford, 1864 ⁵¹	Durham	4	1
	‘North Yorkshire’, 2003 ⁵²	North Yorkshire	9	7
Uncertain	Uncertain Location, 2010 ⁵³	?	<i>c.</i> 25–30	Likely
Wales, Scotland and Ireland	‘Burgred Ireland’, <i>c.</i> 1870 ⁵⁴	Ireland	6	3
	Talnotrie, 1912 ⁵⁵	Scotland	11	4

Whilst there are large numbers of hoards and coins, the value of the hoard record to the researcher has limitations, due to many finds being poorly recorded, leading to difficulties in proving specific hoard provenances for individual surviving coins. Ten of the twenty-eight hoards are sufficiently well attested to be placed on the hoard record but details of their contents are either incomplete or at worst very vague, making them of little use to the researcher.⁵⁶ In some cases coins from these finds may have been dispersed into the trade with their origin unstated, making them untraceable. This would seem likely for Westminster Bridge 1895, Wandsworth *c.*1913 and Hitchin *c.*1895. For other hoards, such as Barkby Thorpe 1987 and Banbury Castle 1997, the preservation of the coins was such as to make accurate identification of all the coins impossible. Dorking 1817, the largest of all the ninth-century English hoards, only contained a single penny of Burgred, a coin of the moneyer Tatel, the location of which is now lost,⁵⁷ ensuring that this hoard can make only a very limited contribution to understanding Burgred’s coinage. The same difficulty applies to the Hampshire 1, 1836 find with coins from this difficult to identify with certainty. In addition to this group, Torksey *c.*1995 is incomplete and Suffolk *c.*2008, is a small find with less than five coins, making both finds of limited value.

The remaining fourteen hoards form the core hoard record of most value to the researcher. These are well recorded with traceable content. The most important of these are Gravesend 1838, of which 197 coins are now in the British Museum collection, and Croydon 1862, with twenty-six traceable coins as well as others not traced but accurately illustrated by Corbet Anderson in 1877.⁵⁸ Trewiddle 1774, whilst both a sizable and, thanks to the Rashleigh family, a well recorded find, was dispersed in the Rashleigh sale in 1909,⁵⁹ at a time when Burgred pennies were too inconsequential to merit illustration; however, a number of Trewiddle coins can be identified in private and public collections.⁶⁰ Coins from Beeston Tor 1924 and Hook

⁴⁵ Checklist, no. 69. The Burgred coins are SCBI 42, 648–9, 656, 658, Corpus V5.11, V4.5, H12.8 and H12.16.

⁴⁶ Two coins noted from this possible source by Pagan 1986b, 118, 119.

⁴⁷ Includes modern day Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire.

⁴⁸ See Lyons and MacKay 2008, 69 and n.118.

⁴⁹ Includes counties north of the Mersey–Humber line and south of the modern Scottish border.

⁵⁰ Thompson 1956, no.146; Checklist no. 67; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 222–5; numbers of coins from Blunt and Dolley.

⁵¹ Thompson 1956, no. 167, Checklist no.76; Pagan 1966.

⁵² Checklist no. 78a; Williams 2008.

⁵³ Advised to the author by Dr Gareth Williams, 2011; Treasure case 2011 T516, uncertain findspot.

⁵⁴ Checklist no. 72, noted as before 1886; Dolley 1967.

⁵⁵ Thompson 1956, no. 349.

⁵⁶ ‘Ireland’ *c.*1870, Hitchin 1895, London Westminster Bridge 1895, Talnotrie 1912, Wandsworth *c.*1913, Leckhampton 1924, ‘West Country’ 1920–30, Barkby Thorpe 1987, Banbury Castle 1997, and ‘uncertain’ 2010.

⁵⁷ Naismith 2011, 73 identified BMC 386, Corpus P1.10, as this coin, but this is not certain. Tatel is known for Berhtwulf and only the very earliest coins of Burgred.

⁵⁸ Corbet Anderson 1877. Some coins from this find were acquired by Evans and later entered the British Museum collection. Others acquired by C.S.S. Lewis in 1871 in Tonbridge Wells later formed part of the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, collection now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

⁵⁹ Sotheby, 21 June 1909.

⁶⁰ Unless a Rashleigh provenance is given with a coin, establishing concordance is only possible by matching the weight and description with the NC 1868 listing of Trewiddle coins.

Norton 1848 are in the British Museum collection, whilst St Albans Abbey Orchard 1968 (published in *SCBI* 42), Lincoln Walmsgate 1985 and Severn Stoke 1992–96 are held in regional museums. North Yorkshire 2003⁶¹ and Repton 1 and 2 1982/85 are also published,⁶² as was Gainford 1864 some years after its discovery.⁶³ Duddington 1994 was recorded at the British Museum, but has not been published.⁶⁴ Lower Dunsforth 1861 provenances are noted for four coins in public collections, with others being sold through the *Spink Numismatic Circular* in 1924, unillustrated. Some coins from Waterloo Bridge 1884 also reside in public collections, whilst others were acquired by dealers shortly after its discovery, with a few now in private collections retaining their provenance.

The key factor that is of help in establishing a chronology of the coinage is that hoard coins of Burgred are almost always found with coins of other rulers (see Appendix 1), especially coins of the kings of Wessex.⁶⁵ The most useful evidence for dating arising from this is the absence of coins of Alfred, which must have been struck after his accession in April 871. However, only three of the twenty-eight hoards (Dorking 1817, Trewhiddle 1774 and Severn Stoke 1992–96) most certainly do not contain coins of Alfred, with Severn Stoke 1992–96 the best recorded of these. The remainder, deposited between 871 and 875 in the final years of Burgred's rule and arguably all evidence for the upheaval caused by the activities of the Danish 'Great Army' in Mercia and Wessex at this time, contain one or more coins of Alfred. This includes the best recorded hoard, Gravesend 1838, which, with a single coin of Alfred, is generally agreed to have been deposited close to the start of his reign in 871. These finds consequently provide some idea of the coinage in use between 871 and 876–77, when the Wessex Lunettes coinage most likely ended, but offer little assistance in establishing the chronology of Burgred's coinage before 871.

TABLE 2. Hoards with coins of Burgred: likely date of deposition

<i>Before 871</i>	<i>871–72</i>	<i>873–74</i>	<i>After 874</i>	<i>Uncertain (mainly after 871)</i>
Trewhiddle 1774	Gravesend 1838	Beeston Tor 1924	?Hook Norton 1848	Wandsworth c.1913
Dorking 1817	Croydon 1862	Repton 1 and 2 1982/85	Gainford 1864	London, Westminster Bridge 1895
Severn Stoke 1992–96	London, Waterloo Bridge 1884	Lincoln, Walmsgate 1985	Leckhampton 1924	Barkby Thorpe 1987 Banbury Castle 1997
	Lower Dunsforth 1861	Torksey c.1995	Abbey Orchard, St Albans 1968	'Burgred Ireland'
			Duddington 1994	Hampshire 1, 1836
			North Yorkshire 2003	Hitchin 1895
			Suffolk 2008	Talnotrie 1912
				West Country c.1920–30
				Uncertain location, 2010

Of the three hoards dating from before 871, an interpretation of Dorking 1817 based solely on its content would allow potentially misleading conclusions to be drawn on Burgred's coinage before 865. Dorking 1817 contained a mix of older coins alongside a large number of a single type, the Inscribed Cross type of Æthelwulf and Æthelberht. It seems likely that it contained two parcels of coins: one of recently issued coins that might be regarded as current

⁶¹ Williams 2008.

⁶² Biddle *et al.*, 1986; 1987.

⁶³ Pagan 1966.

⁶⁴ A photocopy of actual size images of the coins was provided to the author by Marion Archibald in 2007.

⁶⁵ Precise determination of content of Barkby Thorpe 1987, Banbury 1997 and 'Uncertain location' 2011 is impossible as in each the coins were corroded or fused together.

cash and a second of older savings-related coins. Moreover, the Dorking hoard contained many examples of the Wessex Inscribed Cross type of Æthelberht but no examples his Floreate Cross issue, suggesting that it was deposited *c.*862–63.⁶⁶ Any date between *c.*860 and 864 is possible, but this narrow dating to *c.*862–63 would seem to fit the lack of Floreate Cross type coins, an issue that may have begun as late as *c.*864–65. Although it contained coins of earlier Mercian kings as well as coins of East Anglia and the archbishops of Canterbury, the overwhelming majority of the coins were issues of the kings of Wessex, with only one coin of Burgred, and this by the moneyer Tatel, only known for Burgred's earliest coins.⁶⁷ In the absence of any other hoard context from the mid-860s, it might be deduced from this that coinage in Mercia, especially from the London moneyers, virtually ceased for some years after the death of Berhtwulf.⁶⁸ This argument is untenable in the face of compelling evidence offered by Lyon for the continuity, both stylistically and in the names of some moneyers, in the coins of Berhtwulf and Burgred.⁶⁹ Equally, such an argument pre-supposes a very rapid and compressed period of production, into which all the Burgred types generally accepted as pre-dating the adoption of the Lunettes coinage by Wessex, including Lyon's B and F (Berhtwulf and Floreate) groups, must be placed. The paucity of coins of Burgred in Dorking 1817 remains a key feature of this hoard and an explanation for this may be that before monetary union in 866 coins struck outside Wessex were not in general circulation in Wessex.⁷⁰ This suggests that Dorking 1817 is a Wessex coinage hoard deposited by a West Saxon, and so is primarily a cross-section of coins found in use in Wessex in the years up to *c.*863.

Trewhiddle 1774, an anomalous hoard and perhaps the assembled wealth of a religious institution,⁷¹ seems to date from before 870, with Wessex Lunettes coins of Æthelred I but not of Alfred. The difficulty with this hoard is that although the composition of the Rashleigh family parcel of coins of Burgred is relatively certain as regards reverse types and moneyers represented in it, the available descriptions of the individual coins are not quite sufficient for modern scholarly purposes. This makes it difficult to utilise Trewhiddle as evidence for an understanding of Burgred's coinage. On the other hand, Severn Stoke 1992–96, the only hoard from within Mercia that can be dated with certainty to before 871,⁷² is well recorded. It was most likely deposited shortly after 866–67, as is suggested by the presence of two Four-Line type coins of Æthelred I, which can be dated to 865–66,⁷³ but no Wessex Lunettes coins of Æthelred I, this despite the hoard containing earlier issues of Wessex alongside those of Burgred. The eleven Burgred Lunettes coins in this hoard have a high proportion of reverse styles C and D when compared to hoards dated after 871, but it also includes an example of the Lyon V (Vertical) group, generally considered as from the last years of his reign.⁷⁴ Severn Stoke 1992–96 is therefore a welcome addition to the hoard record for Burgred.

Fifteen hoards⁷⁵ can be confidently assigned to dates between 871 and 875/76, and all of these reflect, either directly or indirectly, the disruption caused by the Danish 'Great Army' in its campaigns between 870 and 877. Only two hoards, Gravesend 1838 and Croydon 1862, contained coins of types other than Wessex (including Canterbury Archiepiscopal issues) or

⁶⁶ Naismith 2011, 71, assigns Dorking to *c.*862.

⁶⁷ Tatel is known for Berhtwulf and the earliest coins of Burgred.

⁶⁸ Lyon, 1968, 230, 234; Pagan 1986, 57. It is possible that the Viking attack on London in 851 disrupted coinage production at London for a period.

⁶⁹ Lyon 1968.

⁷⁰ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 74–6.

⁷¹ Trewhiddle may contain parcels of coins from different periods, including one of *c.*850 and another of *c.*868: see Brooks and Graham–Campbell 1986, 109.

⁷² Naismith 2011, 81, assigns Severn Stoke 1992–96 to *c.*874, which seems late given the lack of coins of Alfred and the presence of coins of Æthelwulf, Æthelberht and Æthelred I: these would tend to suggest that a deposition date in the later 860s is more appropriate for this hoard.

⁷³ The two Æthelred I Four-Line coins were not listed in the Lyons and MacKay 2007 Corpus of coins of Æthelred I, as they were unknown to them at the time. Notably, Severn Stoke also contained a second clear example of a Lunettes coin in the name of Æthelberht by a second moneyer, confirming this type: see first example considered in Lyons and MacKay 2007, 96–7.

⁷⁴ See Corpus V5.136, Eadwulf, rev. type A.

⁷⁵ Gravesend 1838, Croydon 1862, Waterloo Bridge 1884, Lower Dunsforth 1861, Beeston Tor 1924, Repton 1 and 2 1982/85, Lincoln Walmsgate 1985, Torksey *c.*1995, Gainford 1864, Hook Norton 1848, Leckhampton 1924, St Albans Abbey Orchard 1968, Duddington 1994–95, North Yorkshire 2003, Suffolk *c.*2008.

Mercian Lunettes, including issues from East Anglia and elsewhere.⁷⁶ Compared to Gravesend 1838, Croydon 1862 has a significantly larger proportion of coins of Alfred, suggesting that it was deposited later in his reign, with a date of *c.* 872 appropriate for this hoard.⁷⁷ The other thirteen hoards contain Mercian and Wessex Lunettes coins only, with a broad cross-section of Lunettes obverse varieties and reverse types, and coins of very widely varying standards of fineness are found together. St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968 is the largest and most important of the recent finds in this group.⁷⁸ The presence of a large number of smaller-flan coins of Alfred suggests that this hoard dates from the very end of Burgred's reign.⁷⁹ The consistency of Mercian coins occurring along with Wessex Lunettes coins in these hoards suggests that after 866 monetary union between Mercia and Wessex was effective and far-reaching, and the lack of non-Lunettes coins points to these hoards comprising coinage in active circulation between 870 and 875.

Many of these hoards are small, with twenty or less coins, and come from find locations which, it has been suggested, can be related to the movements the Danish 'Great Army'.⁸⁰ This would certainly seem to apply to finds from Northumbria, which might be linked to the movement north of Halfdan's army from Repton in 874–75, as well as, possibly, to a number from Mercia itself that might be linked to the events of 873–74. Leckhampton 1924, Torksey *c.* 1995, Croydon 1862, Gravesend 1838 and Repton 1 and 2 1982/85 are directly associated with, or within the vicinity of, known locations at which the Danes over-wintered. The same applies for the two London hoards from Waterloo Bridge 1884 and Westminster Bridge 1895, as well as Wandsworth *c.* 1913, which may be connected to the events in and around London when the Danish 'Great Army' wintered there in 871–72. The presence of Kufic dirham fragments and hack-silver in the Croydon hoard seems to link this to the Danish 'Great Army', matching the profile of finds from the 872–73 over-wintering site at Torksey noted by Blackburn.⁸¹

With such plentiful numismatic evidence it might be expected that understanding of the coinage would be well developed. However, the poor record of many hoards, along with the heavy skew of data into a few years at the end of the reign, means it has not been possible to resolve the key issues of sequence and chronology, particularly for the period before 871.

Single finds

A total of forty-five single finds are recorded at Appendix 2. This compares with the twelve coins of Æthelred I⁸² and thirty-four coins of Alfred's Lunettes type⁸³ previously noted by Lyons and MacKay. Finds are recorded from archaeological contexts and old published references, as well from metal-detector finds recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), the Fitzwilliam Museum Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC) and the UK Detector Finds Database (UKDFD).

The majority of the single finds (24 or 53 per cent) are from the English midlands, a region broadly matching ninth-century Mercia. This includes a cluster of eight coins from Torksey in Lincolnshire. This Torksey cluster, all metal-detecting finds, carefully recorded through close communication between Mark Blackburn at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the finders, is associated with finds of Wessex Lunettes pennies and lead trial pieces, along with dirham and other coin fragments. These finds all seem to be casual losses linked to the

⁷⁶ See Appendix 1A. Both hoards included issues of the archbishops of Canterbury and East Anglia. Croydon alone contained overseas coins, in this case Carolingian *deniers* and Arabic *dirhams*.

⁷⁷ Brooks and Graham–Campbell 1986, 110.

⁷⁸ The Alfred London Monogram halfpenny fragment related to this find (see *SCBI* 42, no. 758) has led to some difficulty in dating this hoard. The hoard report has yet to be published but for the purposes of this paper the working hypothesis is (as it was in Lyons and MacKay 2007 and 2008) that the London Monogram coin was added later or became associated with the hoard by some other means.

⁷⁹ This hoard also contained a single coin of Archbishop Ceolnoth.

⁸⁰ Brooks and Graham–Campbell, 1986, 108–9.

⁸¹ Blackburn 2011b, 92–3, noted the presence of Arabic dirhems at Torksey and in the Croydon 1862 hoard.

⁸² Lyons and MacKay 2007, 74.

⁸³ Lyons and MacKay 2008 Appendix 1, Table 1B.

TABLE 3. Geographical distribution of single finds by region

<i>Geographical region</i>	<i>No. of single finds</i>
Midlands	24
Southern	5
East Anglia	7
Northumbria	6
Other locations in the British Isles	2
Outside the British Isles	1

over-wintering of the Danish army at Torksey in 872–73.⁸⁴ All of the other finds from the midlands, with the exception of three from Oxfordshire and one from Gloucestershire, are concentrated in the eastern counties of Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Bedfordshire. This pattern may reflect a greater prevalence of metal detecting in the arable east than in the generally more pastoral west.

Outside Mercia more finds are noted from northern England and East Anglia than from southern England, which is surprising, given hoard evidence for Wessex and Mercian Lunettes pennies circulating alongside each other in both kingdoms after 866. Of the five southern finds, two are western England (from the Cheddar palace excavations), whilst the others are from Kent. In northern England a cluster of three finds come from archaeological contexts at York and might be associated with Danish activity after the capture of city in 866.⁸⁵ The East Anglian group of seven coins are from scattered locations, with hints of a cluster at Thetford, but this is somewhat uncertain, being based on an eighteenth-century reference.⁸⁶ Finds from the British Isles outside the English kingdoms are rare, with one find noted from Birsay in Orkney and another from the Welsh border. The first has a Viking-period context whilst the second is within a few miles of Mercia itself. A single coin has been found outside the British Isles, in an archaeological context in Denmark.⁸⁷ (Pl. 8, 189–91)

With the exception of the East Anglian finds the pattern mirrors that of the hoards, with a concentration in eastern England, London and Wessex. Other than the outlying coins from Scotland (Orkney) and Denmark all finds are from the British mainland, a pattern also noted with the Alfredian Lunettes coinage.⁸⁸ Overall, as with hoards, the single-find record provides little that can assist with understanding the structure and development of Burgred's coinage.

The context of Burgred's coinage in the mid-ninth century: continuity and innovation

Burgred's coinage, because of its longevity, stands out from its immediate Mercian precursors and contemporary Wessex issues. Nevertheless, it cannot be detached from either. The coinage of his immediate predecessor in Mercia, Berhtwulf (840–52), maintained the traditions of the Mercian coinage from the time of Offa: a number of different types that seem to be associated with a number of die-cutting centres or die-cutters. The major difference between the coinage of Burgred and the coinages of previous Mercian kings is that extensive design variation ceases, a pattern which also occurs in Wessex with the introduction of the Inscribed Cross type by Æthelwulf c.854, suggesting that standardisation of coinage design was a trend in both Wessex and Mercia in the 850s. A similar trend is evident in East Anglia until the Danish conquest in 869.⁸⁹ Elsewhere, the Northumbrian coinage, having avoided the broad flan penny revolution of the 760s, remained its own master, travelling a path separate from the rest of Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Europe.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Blackburn 2011b provides a comprehensive listing of the Torksey finds.

⁸⁵ Pirie, 1986.

⁸⁶ Noted by Metcalf 1957, 206, citing T. Martin, 1779.

⁸⁷ A Lunettes type E penny, rolled into a tube shape probably for use in jewellery, found in the excavation of a pit house at Syvsig, Hedeslev, Denmark in 1980 and notified by Kirsten Bendixen to Christopher Blunt at the time, with a sketch. The coin is now in Hedeslev Museum. Advised to the author by Jens Christian Moesgaard, National Museum of Denmark, 2012.

⁸⁸ Lyons and MacKay 2008, 41.

⁸⁹ Pagan 1982.

⁹⁰ It should be noted that the sceat seems to have continued in use at Ribe in Denmark until c.800.

Developments in the coinage in Mercia and Wessex in the 850s contrast sharply with the West Frankish currency at the time.⁹¹ Here the period from 840 to 864 is marked by Charles the Bald failing to maintain a tightly controlled and efficiently run monetary economy, with the coinage seeing a proliferation of types, a decline of central control by the king and a loss of public confidence due to debasement by 861.⁹² A similar pattern is noted in the Middle Kingdom of Lothar between 840 and 855.⁹³ By contrast, the coinage of Burgred, across twenty-two years, was remarkably consistent, with standardisation on a single design indicating strong central control of the coinage similar to Wessex. This seems to have been maintained even after 868, in the face of increasing economic, military and political pressure on the Mercian kingdom.⁹⁴

What is striking about Burgred's coinage is its difference from what had gone before. The Lunettes type of Burgred seems to have sprung from a complete re-assessment of the coinage at the very beginning of his rule. A one-type coinage, with a right facing bust on the obverse and lunettes with five variations on the reverse, seems to take hold. This single typology contains its own design variations, most notably in the Lunette designs but also in tunic patterns and regnal titles on the obverse and pellet combinations in the Lunette angles on the reverse. This original one-type coinage concept proved so successful that it continued to be issued for twenty-two years and became the unified type for Wessex and Mercia.⁹⁵

In Burgred's coinage the most innovatory aspect is the emergence of a range of reverse lunette variations (types A–E). There are Mercian antecedents for Lunette type A (closed lunette) going back to Offa, as it is found on Offa's Canterbury issue broad flan coins, dated 792–96, such as Chick types 222, 229, 230, 232, 233.⁹⁶ This style is also found on second reign issues of Wiglaf (830–40), Naismith type L29. Lunette D (crooks) occurs on Canterbury issues of Ceolwulf I (821–23), Naismith type C49. With a bewildering variety of designs on the Mercian coinage between 792 and 852 it is likely that these recurring types served some systematic purpose in the way that Lunettes types A to E seem to do in the coinage of Burgred.⁹⁷ They are though a Mercian creation, and their re-emergence in the coinage of Burgred as a mainstream part of the design seems to suggest that this drew on an established tradition in the Mercian coinage.

The final aspect of continuity and innovation to be considered is the influence of Wessex on the mid-ninth century Mercian coinage. Scholarship in this area, notably Blunt, Lyon and Stewart's major survey of the coinage of southern England,⁹⁸ tends to focus on the mint at Canterbury controlled by Mercia until 825, and thereafter the political primacy of Wessex and its coinage through its control of Canterbury. In this model the dominance of Wessex is particularly evident in the fact that the earlier portrait issues of Berhtwulf, Booth Group I (probably issued as late as 848), are variations of the Wessex coinage of Æthelwulf and seem to be related to the activity of Rochester die-cutters assisting in development of the London mint.⁹⁹ The later coinage of Berhtwulf (North Group III bust G) is confidently produced with a distinctive style, suggesting that by 850 Mercia no longer needed support from Wessex in producing and designing its coinage. With his Lunettes coinage from the start of his reign, Burgred maintained the recently reinvigorated Mercian coinage, differentiated by its design from that produced in Wessex.

⁹¹ Coupland 1991.

⁹² This is suggested by the Decree of Quierzy in 861, which sought to address debasement and an apparent loss of confidence in the coinage: see Coupland 1991, 154–5.

⁹³ Coupland 2001.

⁹⁴ The same can be said of Wessex; however, there seems to have been a greater willingness to change types, as is suggested by the Floreate Cross, Lunettes and the unique Inscribed Cross bust / Cross Pattée types of Æthelberht and the Four-Line and ultimately the Lunettes types of Æthelred I.

⁹⁵ This latter development might also be influenced by the short period in the later 840s when Berhtwulf and Æthelwulf issued the same bust right / Cross-Crosslet type (see Naismith Berhtwulf L34 and Æthelwulf C110; North, Berhtwulf N.414, 414/1, and Æthelwulf N. 610).

⁹⁶ Chick 2010, pl. 26–7.

⁹⁷ Lunettes types B (open at top and bottom) and C (open at corners) are not found before Burgred's issues.

⁹⁸ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963

⁹⁹ Booth 1998.

The traditional view that sees Canterbury primacy in design does not sit easily with the consistency of Burgred's coinage.¹⁰⁰ There remains only one type, Lyon F (Floreate),¹⁰¹ where the design seems to be influenced by Wessex Canterbury issues. All of the evidence points to Burgred's Mercian coinage being from the start a Mercian independently conceived and driven enterprise that by the mid-860s had developed some significant merits of consistent purity and style. In contrast, between 864 and 866 Wessex, with a history of slightly more debased coinage than Mercia, attempted reforms, with Æthelberht's Floreate Cross type followed by Æthelred I's Four-Line type suggesting an awareness of this problem. The former of these two Wessex coinages, with a distinctive reverse design, appears to have a high silver content, whilst the latter reverted to a silver purity closer to that prevalent in the Mercian Lunettes coinage and a design that was similar.¹⁰² At this time there also seems to have been a tentative issue of Wessex coins in the Mercian Lunettes format,¹⁰³ as well as an alternative reverse with a large cross pattée replacing the inscribed cross.¹⁰⁴ These developments point to the fragility of the Wessex coinage. It may be that this led Wessex, perhaps unwittingly, to be drawn into a monetary union with Mercia in 866, a remarkable achievement for Burgred's uniform Mercian coinage, as only twenty years earlier it was Wessex that had helped re-establish the Mercian London mint.

The Corpus of coins of Burgred

Creating a Corpus of the coins of Burgred requires facing a principal obstacle not generally found with issues of this period: they survive in larger numbers than any other ninth-century issue. As a result, pennies of Burgred were rarely illustrated in sale catalogues until the 1970s. The tracking of many coins before then is consequently difficult. To take these factors into account, the Corpus has been built in three stages. The first stage focused on the published coins in the *SCBI*, the British Museum collection, and EMC single finds records. To these were added coins from other sources, including the photographic plates of the Lockett collection, along with details of coins currently held in private collections. Finally a search through auction catalogues and dealers' lists of the last twenty years has added further coins, the current whereabouts of which is not always known.

The Corpus cannot claim in any way to be a definitive listing of all of the surviving coins of Burgred, or to provide a comprehensive provenance for every coin. Nevertheless, it has been possible to list a significant quantity of surviving material, with 847 coins recorded, compared with a total of c.900 coins from hoards, pre-1838 records and single finds.¹⁰⁵ It is, of course, impossible to know what additional material has appeared on the market from unrecorded finds, or to trace all coins located out of view in private collections. The number involved here may not be large and may amount to no more than 100 additional coins. This, in addition to those coins that have been traced, suggests that between c.950 and c.1,050 coins of Burgred survive into modern times. Moreover, as the Corpus records a very significant repetition of the varieties encountered, there can be a high level of confidence that it provides a comprehensive view of the range of Burgred's coinage.

¹⁰⁰ Pagan 1965, 13, regarded the 'Floreate' type as the initiation of a good quality Mercian coinage for Burgred at London, which had been operating as a mint for Burgred before this, issuing well-designed and produced coins.

¹⁰¹ Classified as obverse variety H3 later in this article.

¹⁰² The silver content of the sole Floreate Cross coin tested to date by Dr Peter Northover at Oxford in 2010 was 86%, whilst Æthelred I Four-Line coins were 35–40%, a level closer to the Burgred's Floreate Cross bust style coins.

¹⁰³ Two examples, the first, Dudda, (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM1.338.1990, ex Blunt), Naismith C214.2, , and noted Lyons and MacKay 2007, 96–7; the second, Hebea, ex Severn Stoke Hoard, acquired by the British Museum, noted in Hillaby 2000. Both are struck from the same obverse die. The use of the same obverse die by different moneyers, extremely unusual for the ninth century, may suggest they may be of unofficial production.

¹⁰⁴ Naismith, 2011, addendum, 173–4.






¹⁰⁵ The listed hoards total 790 coins, with another 45 single finds. As already noted, the records for several hoards are very likely incomplete, with coins 'lost' to the trade shortly after discovery.

The result is a Corpus of 847 coins,¹⁰⁶ struck by a total of fifty-four moneyers and representing around 80–90 per cent of all surviving coins and almost certainly a complete tally of the moneyers.¹⁰⁷ Analysis of the Corpus shows that around two-thirds of coins are held in museums, leaving around a third in private collections and ‘in the trade.’¹⁰⁸ It is noticeable that over the past fifty years the proportion of the coins held by museums has increased.¹⁰⁹ This is because modern hoards tend to be retained by public collections, rather than being dispersed through the trade, and museums have consistently acquired collections and individual coins faster than the market can be replenished with new material. The detailed Corpus follows this paper as an appendix.

Current approaches to classification

The traditional and current classification of Burgred’s coins is by reverse lunette types A–E.¹¹⁰ The Corpus shows, as has long been known, that type A accounts for around 60 per cent of all surviving coins, with types D and C between them accounting for most of the remainder. Types B and E are both infrequent, comprising less than 5 per cent of all known coins.

TABLE 4. The coinage of Burgred, classification by reverse types: Corpus proportions by type

Reverse type	A: closed lunettes	B: lunettes open at top and bottom	C: lunettes open at sides	D: ‘crooks’ without upper and lower lunettes semi-circle	E: as D with addition of large uncial letter M breaking MONETA (two varieties Ei, Eii*)	Total
Illustration						
No. of coins	501	27	117	196	6	847
Recorded						
Percentage	59	3	14	23	1	100

* Type Ei shown here; Eii has the large uncial M with a double stem.¹¹¹

This classification based on lunette types has provided a simple and effective way to distinguish one coin from another, whilst also allowing for some consideration of rarity, which places types B and E in the very rare category, C as rare, D as scarce and A as common. This simple classification falls short on two key grounds. Firstly, no convincing case has been made for the relative chronology of the lunette types. This in part stems from the core lunette forms all being simple designs, with little scope for variation that might provide clues to sequencing. Secondly, focusing on the reverse lunette differences, whilst recognising that reverse type A is present at the start of the coinage and types A and B alone seem to be present at the end, ignores the very considerable variation found in the style of the obverse. Pagan recognised this problem and sought to define groups and sequences of issues based on obverse characteristics, such as the style of the eye, legend formats, diadem and lips as well as reverse features, including the presence or not of a cross before the moneyer’s name, symbols within

¹⁰⁶ To this should be added 8 coins which have appeared at auction or in dealers’ lists, or are new finds since completion of the Corpus, 7 coins that are imitative and 14 coins that are indeterminate, giving an overall list of 876 coins.

¹⁰⁷ Unlike the Lunettes coinage of Alfred, where formerly unknown moneyers have been added at a very considerable rate over the past fifty years, it seems that there are no newly recorded moneyers for Burgred in this period.

¹⁰⁸ This figure will be a minimum, as it is easier to trace coins in public than private collections.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, Lockett had 100 coins of Burgred in the three relevant sales, a number that would be very difficult for any modern collector to assemble.

¹¹⁰ In order to avoid confusion the established description of ‘type’ has been used to refer to reverse Lunette variations whilst obverse styles are noted as ‘obverse varieties.’

¹¹¹ Williams 2008.

the lunette corners, and the form of the letter O in the reverse legend.¹¹² These insights established new lines of thinking, suggesting the presence of two core groups, Horizontal (H) and Vertical (V). Pagan also sought to tackle the chronology and sequencing, proposing early, middle and late Phases, based on an assessment of reverse lunette styles and the presence of symbols in the lunette quarter corners. Within the H group this approach highlighted beaded, plain and pelleted horizontal lines in the reverse central panel. Similarly, Pagan noted some coins in the H group having an obverse which featured six pellets above vertical bars on the tunic and others with a large nose.¹¹³

Whilst Pagan made useful observations about patterns found in the surviving coinage they were not supported by convincing analysis across an extensive corpus. Consequently, he was able to make suggestions about sequencing and dating that were helpful, but unable to provide a definitive analysis. The overall effect of this was to leave the reader with clues, but no clear answers, to the sequencing and chronology of the coinage. Pagan himself seems to have suspected that he could not find the elusive answers he was seeking and he candidly refers to the ‘insane complexity’ of Burgred’s coinage.¹¹⁴

Looking to move the interpretation forward, Lyon accepted Pagan’s V and H groups and proposed three additional groups based on bust styles, B (Berhtwulf), G (Grotesque) and F (Floreate).¹¹⁵ Here, style B linked the obverse with the coinage of Berhtwulf that preceded that of Burgred; G noted the presence of a group of coins with a crude rather ugly bust and a distinctive triangular tunic; and F recognised a bust in the same style as that found on the Floreate Cross type of Æthelberht and Four-Line type of Æthelred I in Wessex in the period 864–66. Whilst Lyon avoided offering a definitive solution to the classification and dating of the coinage, he added further valuable observations, and for the first time made a linkage on stylistic grounds between the coins of Burgred and those of other contemporary rulers.

This seemed to exhaust the debate, as little new was added after this until Lyons in collaboration with the author examined the parallel Wessex Lunettes coinages of Æthelred I and Alfred in 2007 and 2008.¹¹⁶ This work identified groups of coins within these coinages, which could be dated to tight periods (866–71 and 871–76/7), and that were almost certainly struck with dies cut in Mercia, probably at London. These groups used styles more commonly associated with the London coinage of Burgred that differed markedly from the more usual bonneted bust on the coins of Æthelred I and Alfred, which was almost certainly derived from dies cut at Canterbury. Coins of Burgred styles H and V were noted for each king, with a number of varieties.¹¹⁷ For Æthelred I, variant v and three coins of variant vi aligned with the Pagan/Lyon Horizontal group, and the majority of coins of variant vii aligned with the Vertical group; for Alfred, variant IV aligns with the Horizontal and variant V with the Vertical group.

This, in addition to Lyon’s B and F groups, means that several chronological reference points now exist which can start to unlock the ordering of the Burgred’s coinage. Combining this with Pagan and Lyon’s observations on bust and reverse types the foundations are now in place to take a fresh look at the coinage of Burgred and to provide an improved classification and chronology.

Classifying the coinage of Burgred

As with the work on the Wessex Lunettes coinages of Æthelred I and Alfred, this study focuses on the obverse design as the foundation for building a classification for the coinage of Burgred. This accepts that the basic bust design is largely consistent over time (in the case of Burgred a diademed draped bust facing right), but the style in which it is executed varies during the two

¹¹² Pagan 1965, 18.

¹¹³ Pagan 1965, 20.

¹¹⁴ Pagan 1965, 24.

¹¹⁵ Lyon 1968, 232–4.

¹¹⁶ Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008.

¹¹⁷ This conclusion was missed at the time of writing on Æthelred I and Alfred in Lyons and MacKay 2007 and 2008, as these studies were written without a confident appreciation of Burgred’s coinage.

decades of its currency, either through deliberate changes to design by some central authority, changing stylistic interpretation by die-cutters, or through a combination of both. Where these variations are shared across several coins they can be identified as a group, and based on this the coinage can be divided into obverse varieties.

The features of the obverse design that are the most important indicators of variation are the lips, eye, diadem, tunic, hair and nose. The design of the lips falls into three forms: parallel bars, inward pointing wedges and outward or upward pointing wedges. On a few coins the lips are omitted. The style of the eye varies, with the principal forms being a competent effort with an almond shape, a large annulet or pellet in annulet, a pellet with a crescent below, a pellet alone or a small pellet cut across by the diadem. The tunic generally comprises three panels. In all cases there is a central panel, with a large variety of infill patterns of bars and pellets and, exceptionally, crosses, crescents and hatching. Most coins have two side panels with matching infill patterns usually crescents or bars. The hair varies: horizontal lines, diagonal lines, rows of pellets, diagonal lines ending with pellets and neat stacks of diagonal crescents are all noted. A particular stylistic anomaly, shared with the Floreate Cross bust, are tufts of hair forward of the diadem. The diadem is usually a single, or less frequently, a double band and is sometimes pelleted. The nose is generally a curved hook-like device but on some coins this is more prominent, sometimes connected with the diadem, sometimes not and on other coins realistically executed.

The obverse legend form has considerable variation with 113 styles (see listed in the Corpus introduction) noted and many occurring only once (see Appendix 4 for commonly occurring forms by obverse variety). The legend, which is almost always literate, either commences, rarely, at 12 o'clock, or, usually, at 7 o'clock.¹¹⁸ All obverse legends are read starting at 7 o'clock to avoid confusion between coins and ensure consistency in transcription. The basic reading **BVRGRED REX** is frequently supplemented with symbols such as crosses: **† BVRGRED REX †**, **† BVRGRED RE †**; an **X**, **BVRGRED REX X**; an **M**, **BVRGRED REX M**, **BVRGRED RE M**; an uncial **Ṁ**, **BVRGRED REX Ṁ**, **BVRGRED RE Ṁ**; and a diagonal line, **BVRGRED REX /**.¹¹⁹ Pellets and contraction bars are also used. On a few coins an uncial **Ṁ** is been inserted at 12 o'clock within the king's name, **†BVRGMRED REX**. A number of coins have the legend starting at 12 o'clock with it divided by the base of the bust, the most frequent style being **ED REX † BVRGR**. Lettering is generally a rather heavy or broad form but variations were noted, including some with narrower straight sided lettering and others with a neater smaller form. Although later coins have the cross prefix preceding the basic **BVRGRED REX** less often, there are no hard and fast rules on the occurrence of obverse legends.

Analysis of reverse features and other characteristics has supplemented the obverse-based classification in seeking to understand the coinage. The reverse lunette type (A–E), most obviously, but also the presence of pellets within the lunette corners were taken into account, and lettering forms were also noted. The standard reverse legend has the moneyer's name, sometimes preceded by **†**, dividing the word **MONETA**, for example **MON †DVDEMAN ETA**, with the last letter of the moneyer's name sometimes wrapped around into the first part of Moneta, **NMON DVDEMA ETA**.¹²⁰ Moneyers names are usually consistently spelled, although occasionally some are contracted, such as **BHRGHLM** for **BVRGHELM** or **HEAVVF** for **HEAWVLF**. In a few cases letters are transposed, for example, **ELVD** for **LVDE**.

Metal quality and weight are valuable tools in ordering any long-running series of coins. Metal quality (specifically the silver content) was noted for fifty-four coins that had been included in Metcalf and Northover's 1985 survey,¹²¹ and one coin was separately tested.¹²² Weights of coins were noted but did not have any real contribution to the determination of a

¹¹⁸ Data on tunic patterns found was collated and no discernable pattern was found to explain variations.

¹¹⁹ Obverse legends have been consistently read starting at 7 o'clock, to ensure accurate transcription across all of the coins.

¹²⁰ To ensure consistency of transcription across all coins reverse legends are read starting from the top left and reading through to the lower right.

¹²¹ Metcalf and Northover 1985.

¹²² A Severn Stoke hoard coin tested by the British Museum.

typology.¹²³ Flan diameters varied, with some coins as large as 20 mm, whilst some were as small as 17 mm, but this feature was not analysed as it was not possible to confidently measure the diameter of every coin.¹²⁴ Analysis of the activity of moneyers was valuable when seeking to understand the evolution of minting under Burgred, with groupings of particular moneyers or the appearance of new moneyers around a cluster of similar coins providing evidence for variation and dating. Dr Philip Shaw, an Anglo-Saxon philologist, was consulted to iron out cases of the same moneyer's name being rendered in different styles.

Classification: obverse varieties and chronology

Obverse stylistic features underpin the classification, with clusters of coins having common characteristics defining an obverse variety. This approach is inevitably a matter of judgement and with such a range of styles to consider in Burgred's coinage it is possible that misattribution can occur. That said, the presence of clusters of coins with common obverse features is beyond doubt. Moreover, an obverse variety is deemed to exist in this classification only where it is found for more than one moneyer. Where this is not so, then it has been considered here as an obverse sub-variety. The discovery of additional coins in time may alter this assessment.

Taking into account all of these factors, an obverse variety-based classification of the coinage has been developed, structured around two groups of coins: those coins that almost always have a tunic in three similar-sized panels and an obverse legend commencing at 7 o'clock, and those that do not show either one or both of these characteristics. The first group, designated the Preliminary Lunettes Group (P), is a small group with sixty-six coins, 8 per cent of the Corpus. This group comprises the earliest coinage of Burgred, with some coins struck by moneyers known for Berhtwulf and having obverse stylistic features found on Berhtwulf's Group III coins. The Preliminary Lunettes Group (P) is divided into four varieties, designated P1 to P4. It includes Lyon's B and G styles. The second group, comprising the remainder of the Corpus, is designated the Standard Lunettes Group. In this the obverse design has standardised around a similar sized three-panel tunic and a legend usually commencing at 7 o'clock. The Standard Lunettes Group is divided into two series, H (Horizontal, aligned with Pagan's and Lyon's Horizontal and including Lyon's F style) and V (aligned with Pagan's and Lyon's Vertical). The latter series (V) has in common a bust where the lips are formed of two bars or wedges that point inwards and a diadem that is shallowly pitched at between about 45 and 60 degrees. The former series (H) differs in having outward or upward pointing wedge shaped lips and a steeply pitched diadem at between 60 and 90 degrees. A number of obverse varieties are noted, with twelve Horizontal, designated H1 to H12, and five Vertical, V1 to V5. The H Series comprises 441 coins (52 per cent of the Corpus) and the V Series, 340 coins (40 per cent).

Dating is based on obverse stylistic linkages with other Mercian or Wessex types, hoard contents (especially taking into account coins known to occur in the pre-871 finds from Trewhiddle and Severn Stoke), and obverse stylistic linkages with the other coins of Burgred. The earliest issues are those which can be associated on the basis of obverse stylistic features with Berhtwulf's coinage or which use narrow straight-sided lettering and with the legend often starting at 12 o'clock. Among the latest coins are some which have features also found on Alfred's Group 2 Mercian-style Lunettes coinage, notably his Mercian-style Lunettes variants IV and V. It has been shown that these linkages existed within the coinages of Æthelred I and Alfred in the Mercian or irregular groups of their coins.¹²⁵ Other Burgred obverse varieties have a clear association with the Floreate Cross and Four-Line Wessex types of Æthelberht and Æthelred I, and so can be dated accordingly to c.864–66. Additionally, individual Wessex coins such as the unique Æthelred I double inner-circle Lunettes penny¹²⁶ and a second Æthelberht Lunettes penny from the Severn Stoke hoard¹²⁷ provide markers for dating similar

¹²³ Weights were recorded for 635 undamaged coins.

¹²⁴ Many coins were recorded from photographs where scaling could not be accurately measured.

¹²⁵ Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008.

¹²⁶ Lyons and MacKay Æthelred I Corpus, Ae3.2, MacKay 07/04.

¹²⁷ A coin by Hebeah, now in the British Museum.

clusters of coins within Burgred's coinage. Evidence for dating arising from the presence of varieties in hoards has been taken into account, with the presence of later V Series coins in Severn Stoke, which had no coins of Alfred, suggesting that obverse varieties V2 to V4 were produced before 870, most likely between *c.* 866 and *c.* 868, and that obverse variety V5, known but rare for Æthelred I (his var. vii), commenced towards the end of his reign, *c.* 868.

Setting out a phased chronological division of Burgred's coinage within which specific types can be placed requires defining dividing lines that can separate one phase from another. Pagan's proposed division into three phases, early, middle and late¹²⁸ has not been widely adopted, possibly reflecting a level of uncertainty about the underlying classification.¹²⁹ The obverse variation based classification proposed here provides the means to define dividing lines by allowing one cluster of coins with common obverse features to be compared and contrasted with other clusters. The detail of where the key chronological dividing lines should be drawn needs to be based on identifying where a step change takes place between one portion of the coinage and another. There are two key observable step changes, one near the start of the reign and one near the end, which endorse Pagan's suggestion that the coinage can be divided into three phases. These are designated Phases I, II and III, rather than early, middle and late.¹³⁰ Moreover, it is clear that some obverse varieties may belong to earlier or later in a Phase, so Phase I has been divided into Phase Ia and Ib, and Phase II into Phase IIa and IIb. Phase III is not divided. With a lack of firm evidence on which to build a chronology, dating of each phase and obverse variety can, in most cases, only be tentative and the dates specified are suggested rather than certain.

Phase I precedes the first key step change, and it can be broadly assigned to the 850s. It is characterised by a tentative and gradual move away from styles found in the preceding coinage of Berhtwulf, leading to the emergence of a consistent design that then dominates the remainder of the coinage. It ends a few years into the reign, *c.* 858–60, when the three-panel tunic format seems to be generally adopted and a higher level of obverse stylistic consistency becomes standard. This places obverse varieties P1 to P4 in Phase I of Burgred's coinage, in the years 852 and *c.* 858–60, a date range that allows sufficient time for this sequence to develop. Phase I is divided into Phases Ia and Ib. The earliest coins, obverse variety P1, with the closest association to the types of Berhtwulf, are assigned to Phase Ia and may be dated 852–*c.* 855. Obverse varieties P2 to P4, with less stylistic connection to Berhtwulf, are assigned to Phase Ib and may be dated slightly later, *c.* 855–858/60.

The first key step change, marking the start of Phase II, is the introduction of obverse variety H1, which standardises the three panel tunic design, and an increase in minting activity, with the complement of moneyers rising from five (obverse varieties P2 to P4) to eight for H1. Phase II probably commences around the end of the 850s, *c.* 858–60, and covers the middle years of the reign. It lasts until the late 860s, *c.* 868–70, after which a second step change in production occurs. Obverse varieties H1 to H8 and V1 to V4 are all assigned to Phase II. Phase IIa, the earlier part of Phase II, covers the first half of the 860s, broadly the period preceding monetary union with Wessex in 866. To this belong obverse varieties H1 to H5 and V1. Of these H1, with some coins showing features associated with P Group, is undoubtedly the earliest in Phase IIa and may be dated to *c.* 858–62. H2, a development of H1, seems to date slightly later probably *c.* 860–*c.* 864. Also assigned to Phase IIa are obverse varieties H3 to H5 and V1, all associated with the styles aligned to the Wessex Floreate Cross and Lunettes types of Æthelberht and the Four-Line type of Æthelred I. These can be dated with confidence to between 864 and 866. Phase IIb, the later part of Phase II, covers the later 860s, *c.* 866–*c.* 868/70, coinciding with the first years of monetary union with Wessex. Obverse varieties associated with this period are in the main derivatives of Phase IIa varieties, with H6 to H8 and V2 to V4 assigned to this Phase. All of these have features either found in the Wessex

¹²⁸ Pagan 1965, 19.

¹²⁹ For instance, the holdings of Burgred at the Fitzwilliam Museum are divided into early, mid and late, but those at the British Museum are not.

¹³⁰ Phases I, II and III is preferred here to early, middle and late.

coinage of Æthelred I (Burgred obverse variety V3, double inner-circle) or are notable for not being found in the Wessex coinage as Mercian types, suggesting that they date from before more widespread sharing of Mercian die-cutting facilities with Wessex (a feature of Phase III, which seems to coincide with the increasing crisis arising from the Danish invasions from 868 onwards).

The start of Phase III, dated to c.868–870, two or three years after the adoption of the Lunettes coinage by Wessex, is marked by the second key step change in production. This aligns with the increasing Danish threat and the expansion in the use of Mercian die-cutters in the Wessex coinage. Obverse varieties H9 to H12 and V5 are assigned to Phase III. These are the most prolific of Burgred's coinage, accounting for 62 per cent of all the coins listed in the Corpus. Overall, these varieties see a further dramatic increase in the complement of moneyers, with H10, H11 and H12 respectively known for 21, 27 and 16 moneyers and V5 for 36. This compares with 16, the largest complement for any other variety (V2). Dating for Phase III can be assigned with some confidence to c.868/70–874, as the obverse varieties H11, H12 and V5 are also found in the Wessex Lunettes coinage for Alfred and on a few coins of Æthelred I,¹³¹ suggesting that these commence a little before the end of the reign of the latter, c.868, whilst H12 is rare in early 870s hoards but more frequent in mid-870s finds, suggesting that H12 dates from the very end of the reign. This is supported by an analysis of coins listed in the Corpus that can be confidently assigned hoard provenances (see Appendix 3). Of the major hoards Beeston Tor and St Albans Abbey Orchard, dated to c.874–75, both have a higher proportions of Phase III coins assigned to varieties V5 (47% and 67% of Phase III content) and H12 (27% and 22%) than Gravesend and Croydon, dated a little earlier to 871 and c.872, where V5 is 46% and 32% with notably H12 at 5% and 11% respectively. This may also suggest that production of obverse varieties H9, H10 and H11 may have ceased before the end of the reign, in about 872, with H12 and V5 continuing to the end.

Classification: the Preliminary Lunettes (P) Group

The Preliminary Lunettes (P) Group comprises the earliest issues of Burgred's coinage. It includes Lyon's B and G groups. The P Group comprises four obverse varieties, designated P1 to P4. P1, the earliest, is assigned to Phase Ia. Three others, P2 to P4, are later and assigned to Phase Ib.

Phase Ia, 852–c.855

Obverse variety P1: Preliminary A

Usually, a well-executed bust in good style with a distinctively hooked nose, an attempt to show the neck, an almond eye, often with an eyebrow extension in the form of an inverted crescent to the left of eye, and with narrow straight sided lettering (**Pl. 1, 2–6**). The bust seems to look upwards. A sub-variety P1a, all by the moneyer Tatel (**Pl. 1, 4–6**), who worked for Berhtwulf, is generally considered the earliest coinage of the reign. These have a five-panel tunic and a large neat bust, with a boldly, well-executed eye and the inverted crescent eyebrow extension continuing to the left of the eye. *BMC* 387 (Corpus P1.8), a P1a obverse, is die-linked with the reverse of a standard P1 coin (P1.7), confirming P1a as a sub-variety of P1 rather than a variety in its own right. Nine obverse legend styles are noted, with **BVRGRED REX M, ED REX + BVRGRE** and **+ BVRGRED REX M** the only styles noted more than once.

P1 is undoubtedly linked on stylistic grounds with the later coinage of Berhtwulf and is very similar to Berhtwulf's Naismith types L37 and L38 (**Pl. 1, 1**) and Booth's Group III bust G.¹³² One coin, a P1 var. a, *BMA* 151, has a distinctive tunic infill pattern with parallel sets of

¹³¹ Burgred H11 aligns with Æthelred I var. v and Alfred vars. III and IV. Most listed Alfred var. IV coins align with Burgred H12. For examples of Alfred in H11 and H12 style, see Lyons and MacKay 2008, Pl. 2, nos. 39 and 40 and this article, Pl. 5, 115, 116; Pl. 6, 142–3.

¹³² Booth 1998, Pl. 6, 77, 80. A date of c.850–52 would now seem likely for these.

bars, similar to that found on Berhtwulf Naismith type L33. These links suggest that the dies for this issue of Burgred are the work of the same person as Berhtwulf's coinage. P1 is recorded for thirteen examples, all by the moneyers Tatel and Dudecil. Tatel is one of two of Berhtwulf's moneyers who continued to operate under Burgred. All P1 coins are reverse Lunettes type A. Metallurgical data is available for four examples, showing good silver content, ranging from 92 per cent to 69 per cent, which matches firmly with issues of Berhtwulf and Æthelwulf, supporting an early date.¹³³

Phase Ib, c.855–c.858/60

Obverse variety P2: Preliminary B

Obverse varieties P2 to P4 are assigned to later in Phase I. Obverse variety P2 (**PI. 1, 7–13**) has an abstract bust with a large annulet or pellet-in-annulet eye and hooked nose, and generally with wedge lips, often pointing outwards but not always, some having simple bars and some omitting the lips altogether. The tunic is almost always a single panel containing bars and pellets in a variety of arrangements. In some cases a row of pellets occurs at the base of the bust. The obverse legend frequently commences at 12 o'clock with the bust dividing the legend. Lettering is narrow and straight sided. Six obverse legend styles are recorded, with **ED REX + BVRGR**, **ED REX + BVRGR** and **+ BVRGRED REX** among the most frequent. Some coins, notably by Dudecil and Eanred, have blundered or retrograde legends.

Although some characteristics of P2 might be detected in Naismith's Berhtwulf L35, listed as Phase II bust F by Booth, the nose and tunic differ, making this a new style, with limited reference to an earlier form. P2 also introduces new moneyers, which suggests that this issue precedes H1 but is later than P1. P2 is therefore designated as a later Phase I issue, and is dated to Phase Ib, most likely between c.855 and c.858/60. P2 is a precursor to Standard Lunettes obverse variety H1.

P2 is recorded for twenty-six coins struck by six moneyers (Dudda, Dudecil, Eanred, Ethelwulf, Tata and Wine), of whom five¹³⁴ are first noted for this type for Burgred with two, Eanred and Wine, also known for Berhtwulf. Reverse types A, B, C, and D are recorded in proportions of 38%, 12%, 27% and 23% respectively. Metallurgical data is available for five coins, with silver content ranging from 46 to 69 per cent.

Obverse variety P3: Preliminary C

Obverse variety P3 (**PI. 1, 14–16**) has a distinctive tunic with low shoulders, an exaggerated neck and a three panel tunic. Most coins retain the elegantly cut lettering noted for P1 but with smaller letters. Obverse legend styles **ED REX + BVRGR** and **ED REX + BVRGR** are most frequently recorded for this variety.

This unusual tunic form is similar to that found on Naismith's Berhtwulf type L35.6b, suggesting that this style is a derivation of it. This link to Berhtwulf's coins indicates that P3 dates to the early years of the reign, and some aspects of the style (for example, the eye, the broken legend commencing at 12 o'clock, and the angle of the head) seem to connect it with P1. Equally, the overall style, including the clear division of the tunic into three panels, the hair and the eye, look forward to obverse variety H1.

P3 should be considered as the first obverse variety in which the three-panel tunic and neater bust design of the Standard Lunettes Group becomes established. It is therefore both a precursor to H1 as well as a successor to P1, possibly struck with dies cut by the same workshop. It should be dated to c.855–c.858/60, and it is the precursor to H1. P3 is recorded from ten coins by four moneyers (Dudda, Dudecil, Eanred and Wine), all of whom are known for H1, with one (Dudecil) also known for P1. Reverse types A, C, D are found, with A (50%) and

¹³³ This aligns with the 75% silver noted by Metcalf and Northover for a coin of Berhtwulf, which is similar to the result for a contemporaneous Rochester penny of Æthelwulf.

¹³⁴ Dudda, Eanred, Ethelwulf, Tata and Wine.

C (40%), the most frequent. D is known from a single coin. Metallurgical data is available for three coins, with a silver range of 45–65 per cent, which is broadly similar to other P coins.

Obverse variety P4: Preliminary D

Obverse variety P4 (**Pl. 1, 17–20**) aligns with the Lyon G or ‘Grotesque’ group. Coins of this variety have a very crude abstract bust with a large, usually pellet-within-annulet eye, and lips comprising one or two wedges, sometimes pointing outwards. The tunic, the key feature of P4, is formed of a single panel in a triangular shape, often containing a cross, and some having a line of pellets below. Some coins have retrograde legends or inverted letters. Most coins recorded use the divided legend style **ED REX + BVRGR**. Lettering forms are less narrow and elongated than on varieties P1 to P3.

P4 is by far the crudest and most remarkable style found in all Burgred’s coinage. The tunic style is derived from triangular forms found on Naismith’s Berhtwulf type L40, notably L40.1a. P4 is assigned to Phase Ib, most likely dated to between c.855 and c.858–60. It is noted from seventeen coins struck by five moneyers (Dudecil, Dudda, Eanred, Tata and Wine), four of whom are known for both P2 and P3. Reverse types A (35%), C (18%) and D (47%) are noted. Metallurgical data is available for five coins, with a wide silver content variation of between 49 and 70 per cent, broadly consistent with other coins in P group. Stylistically, P4 is the precursor to obverse variety V1.

Classification: the Standard Lunettes Group, Phases II and III

The Standard Lunettes Group is the bulk of Burgred’s coinage. After the experimentation of the Preliminary Series the coinage standardizes around a bust facing right, almost always with a tunic of three panels of similar size. The bust style divides into two distinctive forms, both styles being first set out by Lyon and Pagan and perhaps linked to different die-cutters, one with inward-pointing wedge lips and a shallow sloping diadem (the H or Horizontal Series), and another with outward- or upward-pointing wedge lips and almost always with a steeply pitched diadem (the V or Vertical Series). The narrow, straight lettering of the P series is replaced by a broader and less elegant form.

Phase IIa, c.858/60–c.866

Phase II is divided into earlier and later groupings: Phase IIa, c.858/60–c.866 and Phase IIb, c.866–868/70. In Phase IIa the earliest H obverse varieties, H1 and H2, are followed by H3 and H4, in which an attempt seems to have been made to introduce an obverse style similar to that on the Floreate Cross type of Æthelberht and Four-Line type of Æthelred I of Wessex. These obverse varieties (H3 and H4) are likely to have been struck from dies cut by a Canterbury die-cutter working for Burgred. H5 has a coarser version of the Floreate bust, probably cut by a Mercian die-cutter. The V series appears with V1, the earliest V obverse variety, in this phase.

Obverse variety H1: Early Horizontal A

Obverse variety H1 (**Pl. 1, 21–4; Pl. 2, 25–9**) has a compact bust with a large, coarsely-shaped almond eye and a narrow three-panel tunic. H1 introduces neater-style features in the execution of the hair and a more compact bust and tunic than are found in P3, to which it seems to be the successor. Some coins lack lips. Lettering is broader and blockier in comparison to the straight-sided narrow format associated with the P group coins. Five obverse legend styles are noted, with **+ BVRGRED RE +** frequently found on H1 coins, whilst a small number have the divided style **ED REX + BVRGR**, a style more usually associated with the P Group. These may be the earliest H1 coins.

H1 has no precedent in the related Wessex coinage. It is the earliest of the Series H Standard Lunettes issues and should probably be dated to *c.*858/60–*c.*862. H1 is stylistically linked to H2. Three of the five reverse lunette types are noted for H1, with C (37%) and D (54%) frequently found; type A is uncommon (9%). No metallurgical data is available for this variety.¹³⁵ H1 is recorded from thirty-five coins struck by eight moneyers (Cenred, Ciallaf, Dudda, Dudecil, Dudeman, Eanred, Ethelwulf and Wine), three of whom (Cenred, Ciallaf and Dudeman) first appear with this variety.

A sub-variety is assigned to H1 (**Pl. 1, 24**). This is a single coin (*SCBI* 2, 376), known since the eighteenth century,¹³⁶ by the moneyer Dudeman, who is noted only for obverse varieties H1 and H2, as well as a single example of V2. This, along with the use of the divided legend in a unique style **† REX- O † BVRGRED**, and an unusual form of lettering, suggests that this is early in H1, and possibly an experiment that was not generally adopted. The bust, with an exceptionally wild shock of hair, a large almond-shaped eye and unusual three-panel tunic, seems to hint at elements found in the bust on the Inscribed Cross type of Æthelwulf and Æthelberht, of which this may be an imitation by a Mercian die-cutter. The reverse is type C, not uncommon for H1.

Obverse variety H2: Early Horizontal B

Obverse variety H2 (**Pl. 2, 30–7**) is similar to H1 in that the large well-formed almond shaped eye is continued, but the bust is different, being more elongated and less squat, with a wider tunic. Obverse legend styles and reverse types suggest that H2 is linked to H1 with the bust style differentiating it from H1. H2 seems to look forward to later varieties, where this form becomes the standard. The lettering style matches H1, as do obverse legend styles, of which eight are noted, with **† BVRGRED REX** and **† BVRGRED RE †** the most frequent. The divided legend style **REX M † BVRGRED**, a format used on the Wessex coinage, is also noted for H2. Compared with H1, reverse type A is more frequent (25%) and D (60%) is commonly found; reverse C is also found (14%). No metallurgical data exists. H2 is recorded from twenty-eight examples and fifteen moneyers,¹³⁷ eight of which are recorded for the first time.¹³⁸ The existence of H2/V1 mules, with an H2 obverse die muled with a reverse die also found with a V1 obverse, and two V1 obverse dies muled with reverse dies found with an H2 obverse, indicate that H2 and V1 are chronologically related.¹³⁹ Two examples of H2 are recorded from the Severn Stoke hoard, which supports its association with mid-860s and, with the presence of several new moneyers, it appears to overlap and then follow H1. H2 should probably be dated on this basis to *c.*860–*c.*864.

Associated with H2 is a sub-variety (**Pl. 2, 37**), known from a single coin by Dudda (*SCBI* 20, 613). This has a tunic style similar to that found on the Wessex Inscribed Cross type of Æthelwulf and Æthelberht but it retains the elongated bust, with an almond-shaped eye, typical of H2. Dudda is also known for H2, and the obverse legend style on this coin, **† BVRGRED RE †**, is frequently found in H2. The Inscribed Cross type of Wessex dates to between 855 and 864, and the Mercian die-cutter may have been deliberately copying features found in this type.

Obverse variety H3: Floreate Horizontal A

Obverse variety H3 (**Pl. 2, 39–47**) is Lyon F type. H3 is a distinctive obverse variety, which seems to provide a fresh start compared to what had gone before in Burgred's coinage and may

¹³⁵ Curiously, Metcalf and Northover 1985 unintentionally failed to test any coins of this type in their survey, an omission which needs to be rectified.

¹³⁶ Acquired by Dr William Hunter (d.1783).

¹³⁷ Berheah, Cenred, Ciallaf, Cunehelm, Dudda, Dudecil, Dudeman, Ethelwulf, Hereferth, Hugerred, Liafman, Ludig, Osmund, Wine and Wulfheard.

¹³⁸ Cunehelm, Hereferth, Hugerred, Liafman, Ludig, Osmund and Wulfheard.

¹³⁹ The mules are an H2 obverse die with a reverse on a V1, coin H2.1, *BMC* 167, Berneah; a V1 obverse with a reverse on an H2, two examples, both Beranh (Berneah), coins V1.1, *BMC* 167 and V1.2, MacKay 13/03.

represent an attempted reform. Its characteristics are a realistic and detailed bust, usually with a double diadem, a life-like nose, a pronounced neat tuft of hair above the forehead and hair on the head formed of rows of small crescents or pellets. The tunic always has six pellets in two rows at the base of the neck. Eleven obverse legend styles are noted, with **† BVRGRED REX M-** and **† BVRGRED REX M** (the latter with a contraction bar over the last letter), being found with this variety more than with others.

H3 has the same bust design as that found for the Wessex Floreate Cross type of Æthelberht (Pl. 2, 38) dated to 864 and 865, which is distinctive for the two rows of three pellets below the neck.¹⁴⁰ Whilst retaining the core features of Series H, H3 is very different from other obverse styles found for Burgred, and undoubtedly has more in common with that noted for the kings of Wessex and the archbishops of Canterbury and the output of the Canterbury die-cutting workshop in the 860s. Features in common include the six pellets, the tuft of hair at the forehead and the same small neat lettering as found on the Wessex coins. This suggests that the same die-cutter was deployed in Wessex and Mercia in creating this obverse design, possibly in an early move to standardise elements of coin design between the two kingdoms.

H3 is recorded for twenty-five coins and eleven moneyers,¹⁴¹ two of which are new.¹⁴² Reverse Lunettes types A, C and D are recorded for H3, with a higher proportion of C (72%) than usually found for other types. Metallurgical data is available for five coins, with silver content ranging from 55 to 78 per cent, suggesting that H3 was struck at above average levels of silver. With the close linkage to the Canterbury Floreate Cross obverse and an example in the Severn Stoke hoard, H3 can be confidently dated to between *c.*864 and *c.*865. The motif of pellets at the base of the neck recurs in later obverse varieties, notably in V2 and V3, and the obverse is very likely the model behind H4, H5 and H8. H3 is therefore a highly influential variety within the sequence of Burgred's coinage.

Obverse variety H4: Floreate Horizontal B

Obverse variety H4 (Pl. 3, 49–50), retains the neat style of H3 and nearly all of its features, but it lacks the six pellets below the neck. This bust design is known in the Wessex coinage for the Floreate Cross type of Æthelberht,¹⁴³ and it is the usual design for Æthelred I's Four-Line type. In addition, the obverse legend **REX M- † BVRGRED**, the sole style found, uses the Wessex format starting at 10 o'clock, as found on the Floreate Cross and Four-Line types of Æthelberht and Æthelred I. It is likely that the dies for this variety were either cut by a Wessex die-cutter working for Burgred, or by a Mercian die-cutter who had worked at Canterbury for the kings of Wessex. On balance the former seems more likely.

H4 is recorded from four coins, struck by two moneyers. Three coins are by the moneyer Framric, who is known only in this variety. All coins are of reverse type C. No metallurgical data exists. H4 without doubt aligns to the Floreate Cross type of Æthelberht (Pl. 2, 38) and the Four-Line type of Æthelred I (Pl. 2, 48), and is therefore dated to 865–66, perhaps slightly later than H3.

Obverse variety H5: Floreate Horizontal C

Obverse variety H5 (Pl. 3, 51–4) retains all of the core features of H3 and H4: notably the double diadem, hair treatment and eye, but it is coarsely executed and seems to be the work of a less skilled hand reproducing H3 and H4 dies rather than the work the principal H3 and H4 die-cutter. The die-cutter drops the six pellets found on H3 at the base of the neck and places a row of pellets at the base of the bust, a feature also noted for P2. Eight obverse legend styles

¹⁴⁰ Naismith 2011, types C211–16. Type C217, also a Floreate Cross type in the name of Æthelberht, omits the six pellets.

¹⁴¹ Berneah, Cenred, Cethelwulf, Cethliaf, Ciallaf, Cunehelm, Dudda, Eanred, Ethelwulf, Liafman and Wine.

¹⁴² Cethelwulf and Cethliaf, both only known for this variety.

¹⁴³ Naismith 2011, type C217, struck by Torthmund, who is also known for four Æthelred I Four-Line type coins: see Lyons and MacKay 2007, 102–3.

are noted, seven of which only occur once: **† BVRGRED REX M**, with a contraction bar above the last letter, is the only style found more than once.

H5 is aligned to H3 and H4 on style and moneyers recorded, and so should be dated to *c.* 864–*c.* 866 on that basis. The treatment of the bust suggests that this variety is the work of a Mercian die-cutter seeking to copy the H3 and H4 design of the Canterbury die-cutter working for Burgred. Obverse variety H5 is recorded from ten coins struck by five moneyers, Berneah, Dudda (Duda), Eanred, Tata and Wine, four of whom also struck H3.¹⁴⁴ Lunette reverse types A and C are recorded, with 70 per cent of type C, a high proportion similar to that found for H3 and H4. No metallurgical data is available for this type.

Obverse variety V1: Early Vertical

Obverse variety V1 (**Pl. 3, 56–62**) has an untidy bust with outward-pointing wedge lips, the hair outlined with a line of pellets, an expansive tunic and a steeply pitched diadem, which is often a double band. Notably, the eye is always prominent, either as a large annulet or as a pellet within a large annulet. The nose is always a bold prominent hook. The central panel of the drapery is sometimes more elaborately decorated than on other coins. Twelve obverse legend styles are found, a wide variety for a small number of coins, with eight coins having unique styles. A few coins divide the legend with an uncial **M** inserted within the king's name **† BVRGR M ED REX**.¹⁴⁵

The obverse design of V1 is also found on the two known Wessex Lunettes coins of Æthelberht, with that from the Severn Stoke hoard a clear example (**Pl. 3, 55**) of this,¹⁴⁶ unlike the other, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum,¹⁴⁷ the subject of much debate over the years. These coins are in a similar style and suggest that V1 should be dated to *c.* 864–*c.* 866.¹⁴⁸ Coins of this design are not known for the Wessex Lunettes or Mercian-style coins of Æthelred I and Alfred. The existence of two V1 obverse dies muled with reverse dies also found with an H2 obverse, and a V1 reverse die muled with an H2 obverse,¹⁴⁹ indicates that V1 and H2 are related and may overlap chronologically.

V1 is recorded from eighteen coins and for five moneyers, Berneah, Ciallaf, Dudda (Duda), Liafman and Tata, all known for earlier issues, and four of whom are also noted for H2 and H3. The moneyer Berneah uses the name Beranh on all but one of the five coins recorded for him for this issue.¹⁵⁰ V1 introduces no new moneyers. Reverse Lunettes type C is the most common (56%), with A (28%) and D (16%) also known. Metallurgical data is recorded for four coins, with a silver content ranging from 48 to 92 per cent,¹⁵¹ and two coins recorded at around 60 per cent, suggesting that V1 was struck at a little above average silver content. V1 is a precursor to varieties V2 to V5.

¹⁴⁴ Dudda, Eanred, Wine and Berneah.

¹⁴⁵ This uncial **M** first appears on the Mercian coinage in the regnal title on coins of Offa. Outside Mercia the same symbol also occurs in the reverse legend element **MONETA** on some coins issued at Canterbury and Rochester for the West Saxon kings (see *SCBI* 20, 704 and 2, 540), and for Ecgberht and Æthelwulf and occasionally in East Anglia (see Æthelweard, Naismith E53.1a). It is also found, rarely, on some Northumbrian stycas of Æthelred II by Leofthehn (see Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.73–1990, ex Blunt), where it appears at the centre of the obverse. This tends to suggest that the uncial **M** is a letter style only with no other significance. Its insertion in the middle of the king's name may therefore be the whim of a particular die-cutter.

¹⁴⁶ The best recorded of the two examples is by Dudda (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.338–1990, ex Blunt), Naismith C.214C and Lyons and MacKay 2007, 96–7. Corpus listed Ae1). Lyons and MacKay concluded that this coin was most likely an irregular production from the mid-860s and the work of a Mercian die-cutter. The similarity between this coin and Burgred type V1 suggest this was indeed struck from London dies and should not be attributed to Canterbury. A second, better-struck example, with the same obverse die as the last, by the moneyer Heaberht (Heabea) (Severn Stoke hoard, now in the British Museum) suggests that this was a tentative or unofficial issue late in Æthelberht's reign.

¹⁴⁷ Blunt 338. See Lyons and MacKay 2007, 96–7, before the Severn Stoke example was confirmed.

¹⁴⁸ The Æthelberht Lunettes coins, along with the Floreate Cross style obverse in H3 and H4, suggest that moves to a Wessex and Mercian coinage with shared areas of the design were underway before 866.

¹⁴⁹ Berneah, V1 reverse with H2 obverse, *BMC* 167, Corpus H2.1; two coins, Berneah (Beranh), V1 obverse with reverse paired with an H2 obverse, *BMC* 166, Corpus V1.1, MacKay 13/03, Corpus V1.2.

¹⁵⁰ Two other examples with this same version of Berneah's name are modern copies: see Corpus, indeterminate coins. Philologically Beranh is the same as Berneah and Berheah.

¹⁵¹ The 92% result recorded for the coin NMW 80.61H/2, Corpus V1.16, Tata, seems peculiarly high.

Phase IIb, c.866–c.868/870

Obverse varieties H6 to H8 and V2 to V4 are assigned to Phase IIb, dated c.866–c.868/70. All of these varieties are distinctive, and either precede later varieties or cannot be matched within the Wessex coinage from after 866. V2 has stylistic links to H3 and precedes V5. V3 aligns with the double inner-circle variety of Æthelred I,¹⁵² as well as V2 and H3. V4 has no precedent in the Wessex Lunettes coinage, but with an example recorded in Severn Stoke, it is assigned to this phase.

Obverse variety H6: mid-Horizontal A

Obverse variety H6 (**Pl. 3, 63–6**) has a tall thin bust with a prominent circular eye, inward pointing wedge lips and a boldly cut crescent and pellet surmounting a single diadem. The central panel of the tunic is often of unusual style, sometimes with pellets and other ornamentation. Seven obverse legend styles are noted, with **BVRGRED REX** and **† BVRGRED REX M** the only styles to occur more than once.

H6 is recorded from nine coins and four moneyers, Cunehelm, Duda (Duda, Dudd), Dudwine and Liafman, one of whom (Dudwine) first appears with this issue. Reverse type A (56%) is most frequent, but C (22%) and D (22%), are also known. Metallurgical data exists for one coin, with a silver content at 54.85 per cent. All of the four moneyers of H6 are also known for V2. On this basis, and with no similar coins in the Wessex series, H6 can be dated to c.866–c.868/70. It certainly dates to before 871, with an example recorded in the Gravesend hoard.¹⁵³

Obverse variety H7: mid-Horizontal C

Obverse variety H7 (**Pl. 3, 67–71**), has an ill-proportioned bust, with a compact small head set on a large spread tunic. Usually with a double band diadem, a tuft of hair above the forehead and a pellet within inverted crescent eye, H7 is a very distinctive type within Burgred's coinage. Five obverse legend styles are noted, with **† BVRGRED RE †** and **† BVRGRED REX** found frequently with this type, but other rare styles including **† BVRGRED RE I** are also known.

H7 is recorded from twenty-three coins and six moneyers (Cenred, Diarwulf, Hugerred, Hussa, Tata and Wulfheard), two of which (Hussa and Diarwulf) appear for the first time. Reverse type D (92%) is almost always found with this variety, with a specimen each for A and C noted. Metallurgical data exists for two coins, with the range from 46 to 61 per cent, a normal silver content for Burgred's coinage. With the appearance of new moneyers associated with Burgred's later issues and with no coins of similar style in the Wessex coinage, H7 is assigned to Phase IIb, c.866–c.868/70. Examples of this type are recorded in the Gravesend, Croydon and Waterloo Bridge hoards, suggesting a date certainly before 872. Two coins of this variety, BMC 184 and 219, are both noted in the British Museum trays as 'Southampton 1837' and may be from the Hampshire 1, 1836 hoard which is thought to have had no coins of Alfred, supporting a pre-871 date for H7.

Obverse variety H8: mid-Horizontal C

Type H8 (**Pl. 3, 72; Pl. 4, 73–6**) is distinctive for its realistic pointed nose, with a straight diagonal line for the bridge and a straight horizontal line for the nostril. H8 is usually found with a spread tunic with bars in the side panels, a small eye in the bust, and curves for the hair, and it always occurs with a double diadem. A few coins have a distinctive disc-shaped object below the neck.¹⁵⁴ Four obverse legend styles are recorded, with **BVRGRED REX** and **BVRGRED RE †** usual.

¹⁵² Æthelred I Corpus Ae3.2, MacKay 07/04.

¹⁵³ BM 1840,0314,124, BMC 266, Dudwine.

¹⁵⁴ Noted for Berneah and Cenred: see Corpus H8.3, H8.5. A further coin with this feature, see Addenda to Corpus.

H8 is noted from fifteen coins and five moneyers (Berneah, Cenred, Guthhere, Husa and Osmund), with one moneyer (Guthhere) noted in this variety for the first time. The other moneyers are also recorded in earlier H varieties,¹⁵⁵ and one (Berneah) in variety V1. All known examples of H8 have reverse type A. No metallurgical data exists. With no similar coins to H8 in the Wessex coinage, and stylistic features such as the double diadem and the well-executed details, H8 seems to draw on H3 and H4. This, and the lack of any coins of reverse types C or D, suggests that H8 should be dated to *c.*866–*c.*868/70. The presence of several examples of this type in the Gravesend hoard certainly supports a date before 871.

Obverse variety V2: mid-Vertical A

Obverse variety V2 (**Pl. 4, 77–86**) has the outward-pointing wedge lips typical of Series V. V2 is a neater version of V1. It is differentiated from the later, very frequent, V5 by a wide tunic, with many coins having one or two rows of boldly executed pellets below the neck in the central panel of the tunic, a feature first introduced into the coinage on H3. Other key differentiating features are the tufts of hair above the forehead and the annulet eye, in this type smaller than on V1. Sixteen obverse legend styles are recorded, with the most frequent being **BVRGRED REX-**, found on twenty-four coins, but a number of other styles, including thirteen styles noted from one V2 coin only, are also found.

V2 is recorded from forty-one coins and fifteen moneyers,¹⁵⁶ of which three (Beagstan, Diga and Heawulf) first appear for this variety. Twelve of the fifteen moneyers striking V2 are also noted for V5,¹⁵⁷ and four of the five V1 moneyers also strike V2 (Berneah, Dudda, Liafman, Tata). Reverse style D (64%) is most frequent, with A (27%) also noted, along with B and C, which are both rarely found for V2. Metallurgical data exists for one coin, with a silver content of 29 per cent at the lower end of the range for Burgred's coinage. Stylistically, V2 links to the earlier H3, and it is the precursor to the numerous V5. With an example in Severn Stoke, it should be dated *c.*866–*c.*868/70. Examples are also noted in the Gravesend and Croydon hoards, which indicates a date before 872, reinforcing the date suggested by the Severn Stoke coin. Additionally, V2 is also associated stylistically with V3, which can be firmly dated to the mid- to late 860s, due to its association with a coin of Æthelred I.¹⁵⁸

Obverse variety V3: mid-Vertical B

Obverse variety V3 (**Pl. IV, 88–91**) is similar to V2 but it has a second inner-circle around the bust. Stylistically, coins of this type all have the expansive tunic and in some cases, as on V2, pellets in one or two rows at the base of the neck. Other ornamental features in the central panel are also noted. Six obverse legend styles are recorded, with the most frequent being **BVRGRED REX-**.

V3 is recorded from eleven coins struck by eight moneyers,¹⁵⁹ six of whom Beagstan, Cunehelm, Diarwulf, Dudda, Husa and Liafman also strike V2. The moneyer Ealdulf is only noted for this type. Reverse style D (73%) is most frequently found, but A (18%) and C (9%) are also known. This broadly matches the profile noted for V2 and it confirms the close links between these varieties. No data is available on silver content.

A single Wessex Lunettes Mercian-style coin with the same double inner-circle exists for Æthelred I (MacKay, 07/04, Æthelred I Corpus Ae 3.2, Biarneah, **Pl. 4, 87**).¹⁶⁰ This coin sug-

¹⁵⁵ Specifically, Cenred, H1 to H3, Berneah, H2, H3, H6 and V1, Osmund, H2, Huger, H2 and H7.

¹⁵⁶ Berneah, Beagstan, Cunehelm, Diga, Diarwulf, Duda, Dudeman, Dudwine, Ethelwulf, Heawulf, Husa, Liafman, Osmund, Tata and Wine.

¹⁵⁷ Beagstan, Berneah, Cunehelm, Diarwulf, Diga, Dudda, Dudwine, Ethelwulf, Heawulf, Husa, Osmund and Tata.

¹⁵⁸ Æthelred I Corpus Ae3.2, MacKay 07/04.

¹⁵⁹ Beagstan, Cunehelm, Diarwulf, Dudda (Duda, Dudda), Ealdwulf, Huger, Husa and Liafman.

¹⁶⁰ Lyons and MacKay 2007. This coin was assigned to Æthelred I var. vi, dated to the end of his reign, 870–71. The existence of the Mercian double inner-circle coins and their style suggests that an earlier date may be more appropriate, and this Wessex coin could be associated with the earliest phase of the introduction of the Lunettes type in Wessex, *c.*865/66.

gests that Burgred's double inner-circle issue is certainly from before 871, as no coins with this style are known for Alfred. A date in the mid- to late 860s would therefore seem appropriate for this issue and it can be confidently dated to *c.*866–*c.*868/70, a date supported by the presence of type V3 coins in the Trewiddle hoard as well as the Gravesend, Waterloo Bridge and Croydon hoards.

Obverse variety V4: mid-Vertical C

Obverse variety V4 (**Pl. 4, 92–6**) has all of the expected V Series features, except that the head is compact, untidily cut and distinctively within an inner-circle of smaller diameter than usual. Lettering is coarse and untidy. Almost all coins of this variety are of reverse type A (94%), with D (6%) also noted. Fourteen obverse legend styles are recorded, nine of which occur more than once, with **BVRGRED REX-X**, with contraction bars above each X, especially associated with this type.

V4 is recorded from thirty-six coins struck by six moneyers (Beagstan, Cunehelm, Diga, Dudwine, Heawulf and Osmund), all of whom are also known for V3 and V5. Metallurgical data exists for one coin, with silver content at 46 per cent, about the average for Burgred's coinage. V4 is clearly associated with V2 and V5. With an example in Severn Stoke, along with others in Gravesend, Waterloo Bridge and Croydon, and with this style not known for Alfred, V4 should be dated to *c.*866 and *c.*868/870.

Phase III, *c.*868/70–874

Obverse varieties H9 to H12 and V5 are assigned to the final phase of Burgred's coinage, dated to *c.*868/870–874. The Phase III obverse varieties are by far the most numerous of his coinage, accounting for 62 per cent of the recorded Corpus. Varieties H11, H12 and V5 are also found in the Wessex Lunettes coinage, and they occur frequently in the post-870 hoards.

Obverse variety H9: late Horizontal A

Obverse variety H9 (**Pl. 5, 97–9**) seems to be derived from H8, and it retains the distinctive angular realistic nose noted for this type, but the overall execution is coarser, with features found on other later H series varieties. The bust has a flat face that seems to foreshadow H12. The eye is generally a crescent, as usual for H11, and the hair consists of nearly horizontal lines terminating with a pellet. The tunic tends to be broad, often with the outer edges curving up to the neck. Unlike H12, the six-pellet cluster is not found in the lower right lunette. Two obverse legend styles are recorded on H9, with **BVRGRED RE +** usual.

H9 is recorded from eight coins struck by four moneyers (Cunehelm, Eadnoth, Ethelwulf and Lulla), all of whom are also known for H10, but only one (Ethelwulf) for H12. No H9 moneyers are known for the stylistically similar H8, which suggests that H9 is a separate issue. H9 introduces two new moneyers, Eadnoth and Lulla. Reverse type A (88%) predominates, with C also known. Metallurgical data exists for two coins, with the silver content ranging from 31 to 41 per cent. H9 is not recorded from any of the principal hoards, but has features in common with Æthelred I Mercian style lunettes var. vi and is the same style as Alfred Mercian lunettes var. IV. H9 might be dated to *c.*868–*c.*871 on this basis.

Obverse variety H10: late Horizontal B

Obverse variety H10 (**Pl. 5, 100–14**) generally has a tall rather elongated bust, usually with a double diadem that always seems to cut across the eye, to the extent that the eye is almost obscured. The hair often consists of almost horizontal lines terminating with pellets. The diadem is often surmounted by a crescent, and tufts of hair sit above the forehead. The tunic side-panels almost always contain bars. On some coins small pellets, from one to three in number, may be found at the base of the neck. Thirteen obverse legend styles are found, with

four occurring only once; frequently found styles are **BVRGRED REX**, **BVRGRED RE I** and **+ BVRGRED REXI**.

H10 is recorded from eighty-one coins struck by twenty moneyers,¹⁶¹ seventeen of whom also strike type H11, suggesting a close relationship between these two varieties. This is supported by the existence of a mule of an H10 obverse with an H11 reverse.¹⁶² H10 is one of the two obverse varieties (the other being H11) recorded for reverse type E; however, A (51%) and D (35%) are predominant. Metallurgical data exists for four coins, with silver content ranging from 23 to 60 per cent, with two readings below 30 per cent. H10 does not occur in Trewhiddle or Severn Stoke, but is found in modest numbers in Croydon and Gravesend, as well as in the late hoards. This suggests H10 should be dated to between *c.*868 and *c.*872/74. No coins with this style are noted for either Æthelred I or Alfred.

Obverse variety H11: late Horizontal C

Obverse variety H11 (**Pl. 5, 117–20; Pl. 6, 121–41**) has a distinctive eye executed as an inverted crescent, within which there is often a pellet. The diadem is usually a single band but it can occur as a double band. The hair is usually an arrangement of small crescents. The tunic comprises three panels,¹⁶³ with crescents or bars found in the outer panels. Twenty-seven obverse legend styles have been recorded, with twelve occurring only once: the most frequent styles are **BVRGRED REX**, **BVRGRED RE M**, **+ BVRGRED RE +** and **BVRGRED RE +**. Reverse types vary, with A (45%) and D (36%) dominant, but B, C and E are also noted for H11. H11 is die-linked with both H10 and V5, with an H11 obverse muled with a reverse die found with a V5, and an H11 reverse die found with an H10 obverse.¹⁶⁴

H11 is recorded from 149 coins and twenty-six moneyers,¹⁶⁵ twenty of whom strike obverse variety V5 and seventeen strike H10, but only eight are known in H12.¹⁶⁶ Metallurgical data is available for five coins, with the silver content ranging from 16 to 56 per cent, a wide range providing evidence for the issue of base coins within this type. Coins similar to H11 are found for Æthelred I vars. v (**Pl. 5, 115**), vi and Alfred, var. IV (**Pl. 5, 116**).¹⁶⁷ Three H11 coins are known from the Severn Stoke and Trewhiddle hoards, suggesting that H11 commenced before 870. Unlike V5 and H12, this variety has a smaller proportion of reverse type A, which suggests a different chronological profile to that of the later obverse varieties of Burgred. On balance, this and its close association with H10 and V5 moneyers suggests that H11 should be dated to *c.*868–74, possibly ceasing by *c.*872, as is suggested by the smaller proportions noted in the later hoards.¹⁶⁸

Obverse variety H12: late Horizontal D

Obverse variety H12 (**Pl. 6, 144; Pl. 7, 145–51**) has a distinctive ‘flat’ face, and a pellet eye, usually within upper and lower surrounding crescents. The hair usually consists of bold horizontal bars, frequently with a double diadem. Some coins have straight sides on the outer

¹⁶¹ Beagstan, Berheah, Cenred, Cunehelm, Cuthberht, Diarwulf, Dudwine, Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ethelwulf, Guthhere, Heawulf, Hereferth, Hugerred, Hussa, Huthhere, Lulla, Osmund, Tata and Tidhelm.

¹⁶² Cunehelm, H10 obverse muled with reverse die of an H11: *SCBI* 2, 63, Corpus H10.22.

¹⁶³ A coin by Osmund assigned to H11 (*SCBI* 1, 418, Corpus H11.129), has a single panel tunic containing a cross. The coin is anomalous but the eye style and the correctly spelt moneyer’s name suggest that it is not imitative and is most closely associated with H11. It is possible that the anomaly is a die-cutting error that omitted the left and right panels. More likely, it is a locally produced obverse die.

¹⁶⁴ H11 obverse, Cunehelm (*BMC* 192, Corpus H11.20); same reverse also found with an H10 obverse, Cunehelm (*SCBI* 2, 63, Corpus H10.22); H11 obverse, Diarwulf (Blunt 213, Corpus H11.34); reverse also found with a V5 obverse (*BMC* 224, Corpus V5.84).

¹⁶⁵ Beagstan, Berthelm, Bernred, Burghelm, Cenred, Cunehelm, Diarwulf, Diga, Dudda (Duda/Dudda/Dudhh), Dudecil, Dudwine, Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ethelwulf, Guthhere, Hereferth, Heawulf, Hugerred, Hussa, Huthhere, Ludig, Liafwald, Lulla, Osmund, Tata, Wine and Wulfheard.

¹⁶⁶ Ethelwulf, Cenred, Ludig, Wulfheard, Diarwulf, Guthhere, Eadwulf and Liafwald.

¹⁶⁷ See Lyons and MacKay 2008, pl. 1, 29–31.

¹⁶⁸ 19% and 22% for Croydon and Gravesend versus 12% and 5% for Beeston Tor and St Albans Abbey Orchard: see Appendix 3.

edges of the tunic. The reverse often has a cluster of six or more pellets in the fourth-quarter lunette. Eight obverse legend styles are recorded, with **BVRGRED RE** \ddagger often found in this variety, but other forms, such as the basic **BVRGRED REX** frequent on other Phase III coins, also occur.

H12 is recorded from fifty-four coins and sixteen moneyers,¹⁶⁹ eight of which are also known for H11 and fourteen for V5. H12 introduces seven new moneyers (Cuthwulf, Dela, Ethelheah, Ethelstan, Ethelred, Guthmund and Lefle), of which six also strike V5 (Cuthwulf is not known for V5). Only reverse type A is recorded for H12. Metallurgical data is available for two coins, with silver content ranging from 23 to 66 per cent, a very wide range perhaps suggesting an increasing frequency of base coins. Many coins of this variety are base in appearance.

Coins of H12 align with the Wessex Lunettes Mercian-style issues of Æthelred I var. vii (a single example, **Pl. 6, 142**)¹⁷⁰ and Alfred var. IV (**Pl. 6, 143**), in which a similar bust is found. The six pellets in the fourth-quarter lunette are also noted on a few coins of Alfred. H12 is without doubt from late in Burgred's reign, with the presence of new moneyers not found for H10 or H11 suggesting that it outlived these issues, so it might be dated to between c.870 and 874. H12 is found in the post-870 hoards, but not in Trewhiddle or Severn Stoke, and higher proportions of H12 in the later hoards suggest production up until the end of the reign.¹⁷¹

A sub-variety of H12 (**Pl. 7, 149**), is known from a single coin by the moneyer Liafwald. This has a bust with a bonnet enclosing the hair in the style of Canterbury coins of Æthelred I and Alfred, but in all other respects it matches H12. This coin aligns with the Mercian-style bonnet variety noted for Æthelred I var. vi and Alfred var. III, five and twenty-two examples of which are recorded, respectively.¹⁷² This is therefore dated with confidence to 870–74. Liafwald is not known for the issues of Æthelred I or Alfred.

Obverse variety V5: late Vertical

Obverse variety V5 (**Pl. 7, 154–68; Pl. 8, 169–84**) has a remarkably uniform and consistent obverse design. This consists of outward or upward pointing wedge lips, a steeply pitched diadem (which on some coins is almost vertical), simple hair (usually comprising a diagonal stack of small crescents), a short hooked nose, and an annulet with upper and lower surrounding crescents for the eye. Some coins have a double-banded diadem, but most have a single band only. The tunic usually has bars or crescents in the left and right side panels. The central panel is usually filled with one to three vertical bars and one or two horizontal bars. Forty-two obverse legend styles are recorded, with **BVRGRED REX**–, **BVRGRED REX M** and **BVRGRED REX** frequently found along with many others, with twenty-two styles recorded from only a single coin. The reverse of coins of V5 coins usually has symbols in the lunette corners, with single pellets, crescents, trefoils and multi-pellets frequent. Most V5 coins by Diga have two columns of three pellets after the moneyer's name but no symbols in the corners of the lunettes. Reverse type A (89%) is found on most V5 coins, with B (5%), C (2%) and D (4%) found rarely.

V5 is by far the most frequent of any Burgred obverse variety, with 234 examples recorded, struck by thirty-six moneyers,¹⁷³ of which eight are known only for V5.¹⁷⁴ Metallurgical data exists for ten coins, with silver content ranging from 24 to 61 per cent. V5 falls at the lower end of the range of silver content for Burgred's coinage and many V5 coins seem base in appearance.

¹⁶⁹ Berneah, Cenred, Cuthwulf, Diarwulf, Dela, Eadwulf, Ethelheah, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf, Ethelred, Guthhere, Guthmund, Lefle, Liafwald, Ludig and Wulfheard.

¹⁷⁰ A single example of this style for Æthelred I, see Lyons and MacKay 2007, Corpus Ae3.12 (*BMC* 19), moneyer Dunn.

¹⁷¹ Of certainly recorded coins, 3% and 6% in Gravesend and Croydon respectively versus 25% and 20% in Beeston Tor and St Albans Abbey Orchard.

¹⁷² Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008.

¹⁷³ Beagstan, Berthelm, Berneah (Berheah), Biornoth, Burgnoth, Cunehelm, Dagelte, Dealinc, Dela (Dela, Dealle), Denewald, Diarwulf, Diga, Dudda (Duda), Dudwine, Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ecgwulf, Ethelheah, Ethelred, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf, Guthhere, Guthmund, Heawulf, Hereferth, Hussa, Lefe (Lefe, Lefle), Liafwald, Ludig, Lulla, Osmund, Tata, Tidhelm, Wulfearld, Wulferth and Wulfred.

¹⁷⁴ Biornoth, Burgnoth, Dagelte, Dealinc, Denewald, Ecgulf, Wulferth and Wulfred.

Æthelred I var. vii and Alfred var. V both contain coins in the V5 style (Pl. 7, 152–3),¹⁷⁵ with some of the coins for the latter struck on small flans, a feature also found for some V5 coins of Burgred. This suggests V5 that was being struck toward the end of Burgred's reign, after the introduction of the Lunettes coinage in Wessex. A single V5 coin was found in the Severn Stoke hoard, suggesting that its production was underway by 868, and a high proportion in late hoards such as St Albans Abbey Orchard suggest that this type endured into the last year or two of the reign.¹⁷⁶ V5 can be associated with H11, with one coin having a V5 reverse muled with an H11 obverse.¹⁷⁷ It is therefore dated to c.868–874, with its frequency and its survival in large numbers perhaps attributable to its longevity as well as to the impact of the incursions of the Danish 'Great Army' into Mercia from 868.

Classification summary: chronology and sequencing

With an obverse variety classification and a dating framework established, the coinage of Burgred can be set out chronologically (Fig. 1), with four varieties dated to c.858–60 or earlier and five to after c.868. The remaining twelve varieties are all dated to between c.858/60 and c.868.

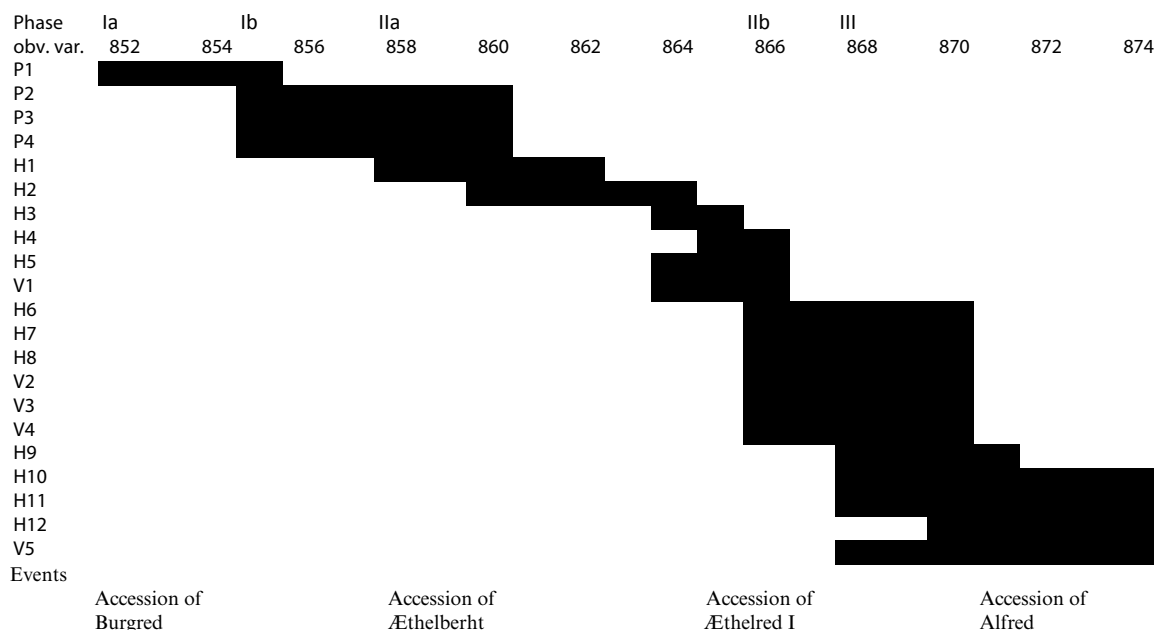


Fig. 1. Chronology of the coinage of Burgred by Phase and obverse variety

Note. Dating cannot be precise. Obverse varieties at a Phase boundary are shown commencing at the earliest considered date, for example 858, and ending at the latest considered date, for example 860. Varieties H10 and H11 may cease c.872.

Continuity in style allows sequences to be suggested between varieties and across Phases (Fig. 2), which may be indicative of the work of particular die-cutting workshops. The first such sequence may be detected in the Horizontal Series: this sequence links P1 with P3 in Phase I as precursors to the Standard Lunettes Horizontal Series varieties H1 and H2 in Phase IIa, which in turn link with H6 and H7 in Phase IIb and H11 in Phase III. A second sequence, in the Vertical Series, links P4 in Phase Ib with V1 in Phase IIa, V2 to V4 in Phase

¹⁷⁵ See Lyons and MacKay 2007; 2008; for Æthelred I, see *BMA* 441, Corpus Ae3.21 by Tirulf and for Alfred, see *BMC* 172, Corpus Afl 2.50 by Tata.

¹⁷⁶ Of certainly recorded coins, 28% and 23% noted for Gravesend and Croydon versus 44% and 60% for Beeston Tor and St Albans Abbey Orchard.

¹⁷⁷ Diarwulf, V5 reverse, V5.84, *BMC* 224, paired with H11 obverse, H11.34, Fitzwilliam CM.1.213 1990, ex Blunt.

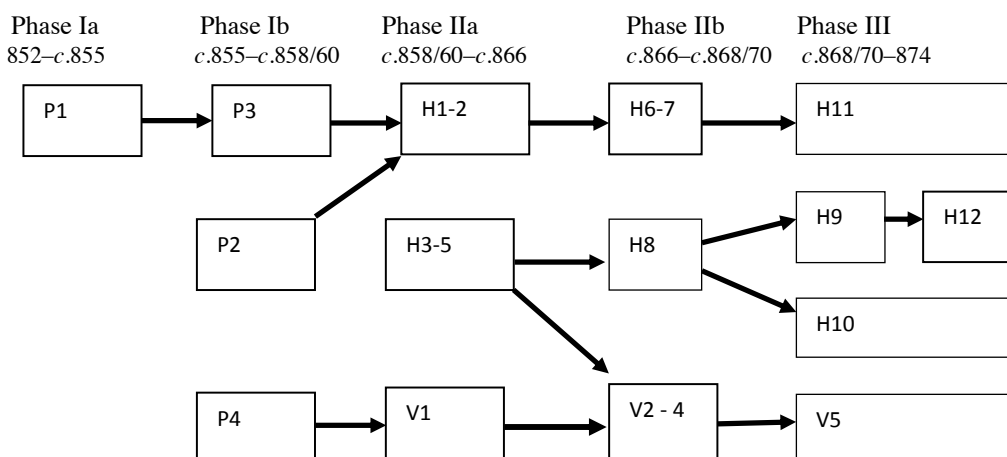


Fig. 2. Sequencing of obverse varieties in Burgred's coinage

IIb and V5 in Phase III. A third and more complex sequence is initiated with H3 and its derivatives H4 and H5. This sequence influences the V series in V2 to V4, notably in the six-pellet busts of V2 and V3. In addition, it drives its own H-Series sequence through H8 (this derived from H4), and linking through H9 with H12, and establishing the style (sometimes with small pellets added below the neck) found in H10.

Imitative irregular and false coins

Imitative and irregular coins (**Pl. 8, 185–6**) occur in Burgred's coinage but are rare, with seven examples recorded over and above a regular Corpus of 847 coins, compared with nine noted for Alfred's Lunettes coinage in a regular Corpus of 197 coins.¹⁷⁸ Irregular or imitative coins all have coarsely executed obverses, with distinctly blundered and misspelt legends often combined with a very coarse abnormal treatment of the bust. One coin, from the Gravesend hoard,¹⁷⁹ purporting to be by Hugerred, has elements of the design engraved by an unskilled hand, with the obverse lacking tunic side panels and an abnormal style, but with a literate legend, whilst the reverse uses the same style of lettering but misspells the moneyer's name.¹⁸⁰ In most cases the reverse legend is of anomalous execution, with the moneyer's name or other elements spelt incorrectly, and sometimes with inverted or retrograde letters. This can be seen with **DMON HVGEIE ETA** (inverted G) for Hugerred on the Gravesend coin previously mentioned, and **TALLA** with inverted Ls for Ts in what should be **TATA**,¹⁸¹ **MON IDIGA ATE** on a coin in the name of Diga,¹⁸² and **HON HLZZA TIN** on a coin in the name of Hussa.¹⁸³ Another coin of very coarse form reads **NOID DANA ETA**, with the first **D** retrograde. The origin of these coins is uncertain, and the local unofficial cutting of dies, contemporary forgery, and imitation by the Danish invaders all cannot be ruled out as explanations for these curious pieces.

Being relatively common and consequently of low value, coins of Burgred have not been subject to extensive counterfeiting in modern times. Despite this forgeries exist, one, noted for two coins (Corpus Id.1–2, the first, **Pl. 8, 187**), is a cast copy of a V1 coin by Beranh and another, also cast (Corpus Id.6, **Pl. 8, 188**), noted for one coin is in the style of H1 by the moneyer Hussa. Both are likely fabrications dating from before 1970.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸ Lyons and MacKay 2008, 104–5.

¹⁷⁹ Now in British Museum, BM1840,0314,160, *BMC* 328, Corpus Im.4.

¹⁸⁰ The obverse legend uses the form **BVRGRED RE M** with a contraction bar above (Style F11), and the moneyer's name is **HVGEIE** with the **G** inverted.

¹⁸¹ Coin found Lincolnshire, 2009, UKDFD 20530, Corpus Im.7.

¹⁸² Gravesend, now BM 1840,0314,119, *BMC* 355, Corpus Im.3.

¹⁸³ Croydon 1862, later Lockett 396e, Corpus IM.5.

¹⁸⁴ For the V1 in the name of Beranh, see Corpus Id.1 and Id.2 the second of which was in the 1974 Bird sale; for the H1 in the name of Hussa, see Corpus Id 6.

The Mercian coinage under Burgred

With the surviving issues of Burgred dominating the Southumbrian coinage of the third quarter of the ninth century an analysis of data on silver content, weight, moneyers and die production relative to Phases and obverse varieties is essential to its interpretation. In so doing new light can be shed on this important period in the development of the Anglo-Saxon coinage.

Monetary standards: silver fineness

The silver content of the coinage was examined by Metcalf and Northover in their survey of the metallurgy of coinage from the time of Alfred.¹⁸⁵ Included in this were fifty-four coins of Burgred, with examples from most of the major finds, including two coins from the Repton excavation with deposition datable to 873/74. More recently, a single coin from the Severn Stoke hoard was tested,¹⁸⁶ giving a total sample of fifty-five coins (6.5 per cent of the Corpus) for which metallurgical data is available. Silver content data from these tests is recorded in the Corpus, with seventeen coins in Phase I, nine in Phase IIa, five in Phase IIb and twenty-four in Phase III. Unfortunately Metcalf and Northover were drawn to more interesting varieties of Burgred's coinage, with an over-concentration on Phase I and II coins. No metallurgical data currently exists for obverse varieties H1, H2, H4, H5, H8 or V3.

TABLE 5. Analysis of silver content by Phase

<i>Silver percentage</i>	<i>Ia</i> 852–c.855	<i>Ib</i> c.855–c.858/60	<i>IIa</i> c.858/60–c.866	<i>IIb</i> c.866–c.868/70	<i>III</i> c.868/70–874
91–95	1		1		
86–90					
81–85					
76–80			1		
71–75	1		1		
66–70	2	5			
61–65		3	2		2
56–60			2	1	2
51–55		3	1	1	2
46–50			1	2	3
41–45		2			3
36–40					
31–35					1
26–30				1	2
21–25					8
16–20					
11–15					1
<11%					
Total	4	13	9	5	24

The data shows a wide variation in silver content, ranging from as high as 92% to as low as 16%. Coins tested dating from Phases I (a and b) and IIa, before monetary union with Wessex in 866, were typically in the range 60–70% silver, not falling below 40%, and in two cases being over 90%.¹⁸⁷ In Phase Ia, obverse variety P1 (the earliest variety dated to 852–c.855) had the highest silver content, at generally between 65% and 75%, with exceptionally one coin (*BMC* 386, Corpus P1.10, Tatel) at 93.1% silver. These figures appear to maintain the high silver fineness noted for a single coin of Berhtwulf, which tested at 76.1% silver.¹⁸⁸ By contrast, silver content for Phase Ib, P2 to P4 (dated to c.855–c.858/60) is between 40% and 70%, averaging at around 60%, suggesting a slight reduction from the later 850s to a level maintained through

¹⁸⁵ Metcalf and Northover 1985. Data added to and incorporated into Naismith, 2011.

¹⁸⁶ An H3 by Cenred, tested by British Museum Research Laboratory (Worcestershire County Museum 3728–05, Corpus H3.7).

¹⁸⁷ A P1, *BMC* 386, Corpus P1.10, 93.1%, and a V1 National Museum of Wales, 80.61H/2, Corpus V1.16, 92.23%.

¹⁸⁸ Naismith type L35.1, Deneheah, c.846–51.

Phase IIa (with no data on H1 and H2). The only exception here is a V1 coin (NMW80.61.H/2, Corpus V1.16, Tata) at 92% silver. In the later 860s, silver content appears to reduce, initially in Phase IIb with the range 29–61% compared to 48–92% for Phase IIa. Debasement is clearly apparent in Phase III (H9 to H12 and V5), after *c.*868–70, with no coin exceeding 65% silver, and half of the coins for which there is data being less than 40% silver and therefore at a lower level than any coin noted for Phase I or Phase IIa. The pattern from 868/70 onwards in Phase III is that of a consistently reduced silver fineness, with the latest dated varieties, H12¹⁸⁹ and V5, both having a high proportion of low silver coins, less than 25% fine.¹⁹⁰

When compared with the coinage of Wessex at the same time, the Mercian coinage of Burgred seems always to have been able to maintain a higher silver fineness. Burgred's Phase I and IIa coins (852–*c.*866), at typically 60–70% silver compared with the Wessex Inscribed Cross type (854–864), which tested at 45–55% for Æthelwulf in 854–58, reducing to 30–40% under Æthelberht in 858–864.¹⁹¹ There seems to have been an attempt in Wessex to improve fineness, with the Floreate Cross type *c.*864–65, but this does not appear to have succeeded.¹⁹² After 866, the decline in the fineness of Wessex coinage resumed, and the Wessex Lunettes coinage was always more base than the Mercian equivalent, with Æthelred I Wessex Lunettes typically 30–35% silver, compared with 45–50% silver for Burgred Phase IIb at the same time, and coins of Alfred in 871–76 at *c.*20%¹⁹³ compared with *c.*30–40% in Burgred Phase III (*c.*868/70–874). The exception to this pattern of Southumbrian debasement was the coinage of East Anglia, which up to its end in 869 seems to have been *c.*70% silver.¹⁹⁴

The wide range of silver fineness found for any one obverse variety of Burgred seems to indicate that there was significant flexibility in silver content and that silver was diluted with base metal for economic or administrative reasons. There was a tendency for the coinage to become debased, especially at a time when payment of tribute may have placed strains on productive capacity and bullion supply. There can be no doubt that debasement of the coinage was a general phenomenon in Southumbria in the third quarter of the ninth century. The effects of debasement were more pronounced in Wessex, where a typical silver content of *c.*90% has been noted before 840,¹⁹⁵ which compares markedly with that for the Inscribed Cross and Wessex Lunettes coinages, where debasement does indeed seem progressive from *c.*50% silver under Æthelwulf to as low as 20% under Alfred. An attempt to halt this decline was made with the Floreate Cross type, but this did not endure, with a reversion to pre-existing levels under Æthelred I. By contrast, for much of the 850s and 860s, up until *c.*868/70, Burgred's Mercian coinage retained a remarkably consistent and higher silver content, relative to Wessex at the same period. It was only after *c.*868/70 that further debasement affected Mercia. East Anglia, on the other hand, seems to have been able to maintain a consistently higher fineness. It is clear from this that the level of debasement varied from kingdom to kingdom, and from time to time.

The variation in silver content in the early to mid-860s may explain the surprising dearth of coins of Burgred in the 1817 Dorking hoard. Pagan suggested that this may reflect a deliberate monetary policy adopted in Wessex (and possibly also in East Anglia), which resulted in the coinage of Burgred, being unacceptable outside Mercia.¹⁹⁶ However, it has already been argued that the Dorking hoard does not provide reliable evidence of the currency in circulation.¹⁹⁷ Any division that might have existed around the circulation of the coinage seems to have been set aside in 866, when the coinage design of the two kingdoms was united. The reason for the

¹⁸⁹ Some caution may be needed with the data here. Silver content data exists for two H12 coins at 65.95% and 22.78% silver. A direct comparison of this variety with Lunettes coins of Alfred may be misleading, as some H12 coins may precede Alfred and some Alfredian coins may date from after 874.

¹⁹⁰ Metcalf and Northover 1985, 155–8.

¹⁹¹ Naismith 2011, II, 145–6.

¹⁹² The single Floreate Cross coin tested at 83.8% silver (Naismith 2011).

¹⁹³ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 79; 2008, 56.

¹⁹⁴ Naismith 2011, II, 147, notes two coins of Eadmund one at 66.1% and the other 64.5% silver.

¹⁹⁵ Naismith 2011, II, 145–6. The data is based on a small sample with information for mid-ninth-century coins sparse.

¹⁹⁶ Pagan 1986, 58, n.24.

¹⁹⁷ As noted earlier in considering the hoard evidence, this was 'savings' hoard, with exceptional numbers of older coins.

adoption of the Lunettes design coinage by Wessex in 866 is a matter of conjecture. The most likely cause was the crisis posed by the arrival of the Danish 'Great Army' in 865 and the need to set up a unified system of coin production and circulation which offered fiscal benefits to both kingdoms in responding to this threat. Alternatively, it might be argued that by aligning its coinage and gaining access to the better silver quality Mercian coinage, Wessex benefited by helping to remedy its own problems of poor silver content that could have been undermining the credibility of its currency. If so, this problem did not go away, as the silver content of the unified Lunettes coinage continued to differ widely between Mercia and Wessex. This seems to have been especially so from c.868/70, when demand for coin, to respond of the attacks of the Danish 'Great Army,' reached unprecedented levels, and it seems that the bullion supply in both kingdoms was overwhelmed, with enough coins only able to be produced by reducing the silver content to lower and lower levels.¹⁹⁸

The picture that emerges from this is that the coinage of Southumbria faced a major crisis of debasement in the years from 868 to 876. Whilst external pressures may have been responsible for this, the fact remains that in terms of circulation monetary union did work. The larger hoards of the period 870–75 all contain a wide variety of Wessex and Mercian issues, with no signs of differentiation between those of good and poor quality. It was the impact of the Danish attacks, to which monetary union seems to have been a response, which eventually led to the coinage becoming so debased that it lost all credibility and had to be replaced in both Wessex and Mercia with the much higher silver content Cross and Lozenge type, from c.877.¹⁹⁹

Monetary standards: weights

Weights are noted for 635 complete (undamaged) coins, 74% of all coins in the Corpus. Of these 635 coins, 52 are in Phases Ia and Ib (79% of all coins in Phase I), 97 (81%) in Phase IIa, 106 (79%) in Phase IIb, and 380 (72%) in Phase III (see Appendix 5). The earliest coins, in obverse varieties P1 to P3, have a median weight of c.1.40–1.45 g. This reduces slightly to c.1.35–1.40 g for all varieties thereafter, suggesting that a small weight reduction followed the earliest coinage, establishing the weight for the Mercian penny at c.1.30–1.35 g from the late 850s. This weight is maintained consistently to the end of the reign, even for the latest varieties issued when coinage production was expanded after c.868/70 to meet the Danish threat. This seems to imply that whilst a reduction in metal content was allowable to the authorities, alteration of the coin weight was not.

Compared with the Wessex coinage of the same period, the Mercian coinage seems to have been heavier in 854–58, at c.1.40–1.45 g versus c.1.20–1.24 g for Wessex.²⁰⁰ For a period, coinciding with Phase IIa and the Inscribed Cross type of Æthelberht, weights were about equal, at c.1.30–1.35 g in Mercia and c.1.30–1.34 g in Wessex. After 866, despite monetary union, the two coinages diverged, with Phase IIb and III Mercian Lunettes coins heavier than Wessex Lunettes from the same period, which were lighter at c.1.22 g for Æthelred I and c.1.00–1.15 g for Alfred,²⁰¹ making the Wessex penny c.20–30% lighter than its Mercian counterpart by the end of the reign. This is especially noticeable for H12, the latest of Burgred's coins, where the median weight is 1.26–1.35 g. This suggests that Mercia was better able to maintain the weight standard of its coinage than Wessex.²⁰² It might be that Wessex moneyers were trying to undercut Mercian moneyers by minting more coins from the available metal.²⁰³

If monetary union was intended to provide a coinage with common weights it failed, with the gap between the Mercian and Wessex coinages, especially the Canterbury issues, growing

¹⁹⁸ A few Alfredian Lunettes pennies sink as low as 8%–15% silver, whilst the lowest silver content noted for Burgred was an H11, Dudda (Dudh), Repton 1, 1982, Corpus H11.50, dated after 870, at 15.8% silver.

¹⁹⁹ The two examples of this issue analysed by Metcalf and Northover were both 92% silver.

²⁰⁰ Wessex data: see Naismith 2011, II, 129 and Table IIa.

²⁰¹ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 92; 2008, 54–5.

²⁰² As with silver content, it should be noted that data on coin weights for Alfred will include some coins struck after 874, which may skew a direct comparison.

²⁰³ The same motivations might be argued to apply on silver fineness as well.

after 870.²⁰⁴ However, differences in weight between Mercian and Wessex coins do not seem to have affected their status as legal tender and they were accepted in both kingdoms as well as by the Danish invaders and in the subsequently Danish controlled territories. What seems clear is that the Lunettes coinage was undermined by general debasement after 868 and diverging weights between the issuing kingdoms may have been contributory factors in the loss in its credibility. Together this may well explain the need for its rapid demonetization after 876/77.

Monetary production: moneyer deployment

In the Corpus fifty-four moneyers are noted as striking coins in the name of Burgred. Apparent variants of moneyer's names have been listed as one moneyer on the basis that they are the same name on philological grounds. As a result, Dudda as listed includes Duda, Dudd and Dudh; Berneah includes Beranh, Bearne and Berheah; and Dela includes Dealge and Dealle.²⁰⁵ The picture that emerges is of a steady rise in the number of moneyers in Mercia under Burgred (see Table 6). Prior to Burgred's accession thirteen moneyers are noted for the whole of Berhtwulf's reign, with eight across his later issues in Groups III and IV.²⁰⁶ Under Burgred two moneyers are noted for his earliest coins in Phase Ia (852–*c.*855); six for Phase Ib; twenty for Phase IIa (*c.*858–66) and Phase IIb (*c.*866–68), and forty-four for Phase III (*c.*868–874). In Phases Ia and Ib the greatest number of moneyers for an obverse variety is six (in P2); in Phase II, fifteen (H2); in Phase IIb, fifteen also (V2), and in Phase III, thirty-six (V5) (see Appendix 6 for a listing of recorded coins for each moneyer by Phase and obverse variety).

TABLE 6. Summary of moneyer deployment by Phase

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Total moneyers</i>	<i>New moneyers</i>	<i>Moneyers ceased to operate</i>	<i>Moneyer dormant in phase</i>
Ia	2	0	6 ²⁰⁷	2 ²⁰⁸
Ib	6	4 ²⁰⁹	1 ²¹⁰	0
IIa	20	14 ²¹¹	0	0
IIb	20	8 ²¹²	5 ²¹³	2 ²¹⁴
III	44	25 ²¹⁵	3 ²¹⁶	0

All but three of Berhtwulf's eight Group III and IV moneyers did not operate after Burgred's accession, with Eanred, Tatel and Wine remaining. This break suggests that the new king made changes to the production of the coinage as well as to its design at the start of his reign, although it is possible that at least some of the five moneyers who ceased to operate had done so before the end of Berhtwulf's reign. The complement of moneyers was then restored to broadly the same level as under Berhtwulf, with four new moneyers added. The new moneyers found in Phase Ib in many cases go on to strike throughout all of Burgred's reign, and in some cases they are even found working for Alfred.²¹⁷

²⁰⁴ For Alfred a significant weight reduction occurred (and flan size reduction) in var. I and II Canterbury coins, with a median weight of *c.*1.0 g, whilst Alfred's var. III–V Mercian style coins were slightly heavier, at typically 1.10–1.15 g (Lyons and MacKay, 2008, 54–5).

²⁰⁵ My thanks to Dr Philip Shaw of Leicester University for reviewing the list of moneyer's names and indicating which are old English alliterations for the same name.

²⁰⁶ Booth 1998, 103, Appendix A.

²⁰⁷ The comparison is with the eight moneyers noted by Booth for Berhtwulf Groups III and IV.

²⁰⁸ Wine is noted by Booth for Berhtwulf Group III only, Tatel for Group IV only and Eanred in both groups.

²⁰⁹ Dudecil, Ethelwulf, Tata and Duda.

²¹⁰ Tatel is inactive after *c.*855.

²¹¹ Cenred, Dudeman, Berneah, Ciallaf, Cunehelm, Hereferth, Hugered, Liafman, Ludig, Osmund, Wulfheard, Cethelwulf, Cethliaf and Framric.

²¹² Dudwine, Diarwulf, Hussa, Guthhere, Beagstan, Diga, Heawulf and Ealdwulf.

²¹³ Ciallaf, Eanred, Cethelwulf, Cethliaf and Framric were inactive after 866.

²¹⁴ Hereferth and Ludig.

²¹⁵ Eadnoth, Lulla, Cuthberht, Eadwulf, Huthhere, Tidhelm, Bernred, Berthelm, Burghelm, Liafwald, Cuthwulf, Dela, Ethelheah, Ethelstan, Ethelred, Guthmund, Lefe/Lefe, Biornoth, Burgnoth, Dagelte, Dealinc, Denewald, Ecgulf, Wulferth and Wulfred.

²¹⁶ Dudeman, Liafman and Ealdwulf were inactive after *c.*868.

²¹⁷ Among the new moneyers appearing at this time are Dudda, Ethelwulf and Tata, who go on to strike in all Phases.

The first major increase in moneyers takes place in Phase IIa, in the early 860s, when the complement of moneyers more than trebles from six to twenty. Of the fourteen new moneyers added at this time seven (Berneah, Cenred, Cunehelm, Hereferth, Ludig, Osmund and Wulfear) go on into Phase III. Tatel, formerly a moneyer of Berhtwulf, ceased from the start of this Phase, indicating that he may have died or retired from minting before 858. The complement established in Phase IIa, in the early 860s, is maintained into the later 860s in Phase IIb, at around twenty moneyers. Ciallaf and Eanred appear to be inactive after c.866, whilst Cethelwulf, Cethliaf and Framric are only known for the Canterbury obverse die varieties H3 and H4, suggesting their tenure as moneyers was closely related to these issues, and a further indication of the exceptional position of these moneyers in Burgred's coinage. A second major increase in the complement of moneyers takes place from the late 860s, when the number more than doubles to forty-four. At this time twenty-five new moneyers were added, of which fifteen are only known for the latest varieties, H12 and V5, with eight of these (Biornoth, Burgnoth, Dagelte, Dealinc, Denewald, Ecgulf, Wulferth and Wulfred) only known for V5. Dudeman, Liafman and Ealdwald cease to active after c.868. The small surviving output for many of the H12 and V5 moneyers suggests they were supplying their services to smaller and smaller portions of the demand or for a short duration only. This is not a pattern confined to Mercia alone at this time.²¹⁸

The number of moneyers trebled in Wessex in the early 860s, from thirteen recorded moneyers for the Inscribed Cross type of Æthelwulf c.854–58 to fifty-one for the same type under Æthelberht by 864.²¹⁹ In Mercia the major expansion seems to commence later, from c.868/70, with forty-four moneyers noted for Phase III, c.868/70–874. It has been suggested by Naismith that the policy of dramatically expanding the number of moneyers began in Wessex around 860.²²⁰ The Mercian evidence seems to suggest that the increase in the number of moneyers started at about the same time in both kingdoms, initially most vigorously in Wessex around 860, and intensified in the later 860s in both kingdoms, most likely as a response to the activities of the Danish 'Great Army.' It may be no coincidence that the increase in coin production through the expansion in the number of moneyers is accompanied by the decline in the silver content of the coinage in both kingdoms and the decline in coin weights in Wessex.

Monetary production: moneyer affiliation

Whilst the same moneyer's name may appear on the coinage of each kingdom and the individuals named may be different,²²¹ there is a sufficiently frequent duplication to suggest some moneyers were working for both Mercia and Wessex. This development seems to begin around 860 with the Inscribed Cross issue of Æthelberht,²²² for which six moneyers (Cenred, Dudda, Dudwine, Ealdwulf, Hereferth and Wulfheard) are noted with the same names as moneyers recorded for Burgred.²²³ After 866, nine Burgred moneyers (Burgnoth, Denewald, Diarwulf, Dudda, Ethelred, Heawulf, Lulla, Wine and Wulfheard) are noted striking the Wessex Lunettes coinage for Æthelred I out of a total of thirty-two moneyers. Of these, four (Burgnoth, Diarwulf, Lulla and Wulfheard) use only the Canterbury-style dies of Æthelred I (Group 2, vars. i–iv), and two (Denewald and Heawulf) only London 'Mercian-style' dies (Group 3, vars. v–vii). The other three (Dudda, Ethelred and Wine) use both Canterbury and London-style dies. This suggests that the few moneyers who worked for both Burgred and Æthelred I were either sourcing dies from both die-cutting workshops in London and Canterbury or moving between each. The number of moneyers possibly in common between the two kingdoms rises

²¹⁸ In Alfred's Lunettes coinage forty-two moneyers are known for two or less coins: see Lyons and MacKay, 2008, 71–3.

²¹⁹ Naismith 2011, I, 142.

²²⁰ Naismith 2011, I, 110, suggested that this may have been a response by Æthelberht to his reduced income arising from his lack of control over the whole kingdom of Wessex before 860.

²²¹ It should be noted that it is possible that the same moneyer's name could have belonged to more than one individual given the period of time involved.

²²² One moneyer, Dudwine, appears on the Inscribed Cross coins of Æthelwulf but is only known for Mercia after c.866.

²²³ Ethelwulf and Ethelred are also noted, but these are common ninth-century names and so cannot be certainly attributed as the same person.

to fourteen under Alfred (from a total of sixty-eight moneyers). Of the moneyers in common, three (Diarwulf, Eadwulf and Guthmund) use only Canterbury dies (Alfred Lunettes Group 1, vars. I–II), seven (Cuthwulf, Dealinc, Denewald, Dudda, Dudwine, Ethelstan and Tata) use only London ‘Mercian-style’ dies (Alfred Lunettes Group 2, vars. III–V), and four (Ethelred, Ethelwulf, Wine and Wulfheard) use dies from both sources, which suggests the practice noted for before 871 was continued. To what extent the trend for moneyers in common was assisted by the collapse of the Mercian kingdom in 873–74 is unclear, but with the names of eighteen of Burgred’s Phase III moneyers also appearing on Alfred’s Two-Line type after 880,²²⁴ it would seem that a number transferred their services to Wessex. Finally, the introduction of the Cross-and-Lozenge type in the remnants of Mercia from 877 seems to have been as traumatic for moneyers in Mercia as it was in Wessex, with only five moneyers known for both Burgred and Ceolwulf II,²²⁵ a stark contrast to the forty-four known for Burgred Phase III.²²⁶ A few of Burgred’s moneyers seem to have been especially prolific in their output, suggesting that some had access to more lucrative locations than others, although the survival of their coins in hoards may not be a reliable guide to the size of their outputs.²²⁷

Monetary production: location

Any consideration of the location of production for Burgred’s coinage must make a distinction between the places at which dies were cut and the places at which coins were actually struck. Taking die-cutting first, it has long been accepted that there are two principal strands, V and H, in die-cutting styles for the coinage of Burgred.²²⁸ The stylistic sequencing presented in this article recognises this, with P1 to P3 as precursors of H and P4 as a precursor of V. The most likely location of the workshops responsible for these two sequences, with probably more than one hand cutting the dies at any one time, is London. However, the presence of other workshops elsewhere cannot be ruled out, not least because there is no evidence for a general cessation or deterioration in die production as might be expected after the Danish occupation of London in 871–72.

Within Burgred’s coinage, obverse varieties H3 and H4 stand out as a distinctive group in Series H and V. The close stylistic similarities of H3 with the Wessex Floreate Cross type and of H4 with the Four-Line type obverses of Æthelberht and Æthelred I suggest that the dies used for these were supplied by the same die-cutter, whose style was quite different from the usual H and V output of the Mercian London workshop. The most likely option is that, as Pagan suggested, the dies for this issue were cut by a Canterbury based die-cutter employed by Burgred.²²⁹ If so, this was an exceptional practice, as these are the only obverse varieties in Burgred’s coinage that can be in any way directly linked with the coinage produced at Canterbury for Wessex. Pagan thought that a consignment of Canterbury cut dies was used in Mercia in an effort to get coinage production moving, a view which may give too much weight to Wessex in the development of English coinage in the mid-ninth century.²³⁰ An alternative and preferred view is that H3 and H4 were part of an attempted coinage reform in 864–66 in Wessex, which was extended across both kingdoms. This should be set against the background of there already being a consistently fine coinage in Mercia, whilst fineness had become a significant problem in Wessex.²³¹ The related type H5 is part of the same issue but it seems to be an attempt by a

²²⁴ Dudda, Wine, Hereferth, Ludig, Beagstan, Heawulf, Ealdwulf, Lulla, Cuthberht, Eadwulf, Bernred, Cuthwulf, Ethelstan, Burgnoth, Dealinc, Denewald, Ecgwulf and Wulfred.

²²⁵ As noted by Blackburn and Keynes 1998, Beagstan, Cuthwulf, Liafwald, Dealinc and Guthhere.

²²⁶ In Wessex only 7 out of 68 Lunettes moneyers went on the strike the Cross and Lozenge type of Alfred: Lyons and MacKay 2008, 63.

²²⁷ Cenred, Dudda, Berneah and Cunehelm are all noted for more than forty coins.

²²⁸ First noted by Pagan 1965, 17.

²²⁹ Pagan 1965, 13.

²³⁰ Pagan 1965, 13.

²³¹ Silver content data for Inscribed Cross coins of Æthelbert ranges from 26% to 46%. The sole tested Floreate Cross coin is 82% silver (Naismith 2011). Data for Burgred obverse variety H3 ranges from 55% to 78% (Northover and Metcalf 1985).

Mercian workshop, probably in London,²³² to replicate the Canterbury-style dies, resulting in a coarser treatment. To this same period belong the Wessex Lunettes coins of Æthelberht and the Inscribed Cross obverse/cross pattée reverse coin,²³³ which along with Æthelred I's Four-Line type hint at a period of experimentation in the coinage of Wessex c.864–65, before the eventual adoption of the Mercian Lunettes coinage design in 866.

In the absence of mint signatures there are three alternative models as to where the coins were actually struck: in model 1, moneyers were sedentary at a specific locations, receiving dies from the central die workshop; in model 2, moneyers were all located with the die production workshop in a centralised 'mint'; in model 3, moneyers received dies and moved around from location to location. It is most likely that model 1 (with an element of model 2 present) is the closest to the most likely practice for Burgred's time and that nominated moneyers in a specific location or district received dies from a central workshop in order to produce coinage. Such a model would have had the benefit of enabling moneyers to work locally-held supplies of coin and bullion into new coin. This arrangement may have had time and ease of production advantages at a time when demand for coins grew.

This analysis demands consideration of the role of London in the last years of Burgred's reign, not least because it was the only place in Mercia known for mint signed coins before Alfred.²³⁴ In 871–72 the Danish Army wintered at London and, judging by the large number of coin hoards in the vicinity datable to this time, may have caused considerable insecurity.²³⁵ For a city that was most likely the dominant die-cutting centre and mint, such an event must have dramatically disrupted Mercian coinage production.²³⁶ It seems to have curtailed the production of obverse varieties H10 and H11, along with reverse type D, both of which reduce in frequency in the hoard record after 871, suggesting that the workshop or die-cutters responsible may have ceased operation around this time or shortly after. However, the late hoards, such as St Albans Abbey Orchard and Beeston Tor, do contain coins – a high proportion of V5 and H12, which are almost exclusively reverse type A – that certainly provide evidence for continued minting in Mercia after 872. This reinforces the case for the 871–72 occupation of London being a temporary and damaging disruption to the Mercian coinage, but with production able to continue, either with facilities and skills that remained in place or possibly by these being devolved to new locations. Either situation may apply as there is no evidence to suggest that the use of Mercian die-cutters by Wessex ceased at this time.

That a degree of unofficial die-cutting took place is supported by the retrograde reverses on Eanred's P4 coins,²³⁷ as well as by the three coins with a crude obverse without side panels noted for Hugerred (one example, in style of H11) and Osmund (two examples, both in style of H11).²³⁸ In addition to these, distinctly irregular or imitative coins occur, with six examples noted for Burgred.²³⁹ A number of the Lunettes issues of Æthelred I and Alfred also bear the same characteristics of the use of 'unofficial' dies.²⁴⁰

In conclusion, the most likely model for monetary production under Burgred is of moneyers operating in specified locations (in some cases co-located with die-cutting), using dies issued from a central workshop and, very occasionally, cutting dies locally. This model is such

²³² A comparison of die-cutting styles on two H5 pennies Dudda (Dudda), private collection, Corpus H5.3 and Wine, MacKay collection, Corpus H5.8, suggests that this is the same hand. Key features such as the eye, lips, hair and even letter forms are remarkably similar; both are reverse type C.

²³³ Noted by Naismith 2011, I, 173 and Spink 2015, 1053A.

²³⁴ Notably the Coenwulf Mancus, Naismith type G2, *DE VICO LVNDONIAE* and a penny of Ecgbert dated to 829–30, Naismith type L30, *HLVNDONIA CIVIT*–.

²³⁵ Swanton 2000, 72, 73 [871, A and E]: 'the raiding-army went from Reading to London town and took up winter-quarters there and then the Mercians made peace with the raiding-army.' The suggestion is one of disruption rather than destruction with the occupying force enriched with coin derived from payments made by the Mercians. See also Brooks and Graham-Campbell, 1986, 100–1.

²³⁶ Lyons and MacKay 2008, 62.

²³⁷ See Corpus obverse variety P4, *BMC* 284, *BMC* 285, *SCBI* 9, 29 and Lyon collection, Corpus P4.9, P4.10, P4.13.

²³⁸ The Hugerred coin, BM 1840.0314.160, *BMC* 328, Corpus IM.4. The Osmund coins, *SCBI* 1, 418 and Fitzwilliam CM.1.222.1990 ex Blunt, Corpus H11.129, H11.130.

²³⁹ See Corpus, Im1, Beagstan; Im2, blundered moneyers name; Im 3, Diga (Idiga); Im5, Hussa; Im6, Lulla; Im 7, Tata (Tatta). A lead trial piece of crude style naming Lulla is also recorded, see Corpus TP1.

²⁴⁰ See for Æthelred I, *BMC* 16 and Corpus Ae3.8, Dudda; for Alfred see Lyons and MacKay 2008, pl. 2, nos 46–51.

that it could be readily translated into a system of production of mint-signed coins, the first elements of which appear under Alfred, with named mints in Mercia at Oxford, Gloucester and London possibly hinting at former places of production under Burgred, with others no doubt lost by the subsuming of much of eastern Mercia into the Danelaw. This same system was formalised under Æthelstan in Wessex and London with the Grateley decree concerning mints and moneyers.²⁴¹

Volume of production: die analysis

With 847 coins recorded in the Corpus and an estimated *c.*950–1,050 surviving coins, Burgred's coinage, spread over twenty-two years, was clearly substantial in output. Overall, 752 obverse dies and 785 reverse dies are noted (see Table 7 and Appendix 7). Obverse and reverse 'singleton' dies known from only one coin are very frequent, with 655 and 707 dies respectively, suggesting that large numbers of dies have not yet been recorded. The slightly higher number of reverse dies supports the assumption that they were the upper die, prone to wear out more quickly. In addition, the small difference between obverse and reverse die numbers might be explained by both dies being rarely truly worn out when they were replaced, a suggestion supported by signs of die wear or breakage being most unusual on surviving coins.

TABLE 7. Die analysis by Phase

<i>Phase</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Obv. dies</i>	<i>Rev. dies</i>	<i>Obv. 'singletons'</i>	<i>Rev. 'singletons'</i>
Ia	13	12	11	11	9
Ib	53	47	51	43	45
IIa	120	102	110	80	93
IIb	135	115	120	98	105
III	521	476	493	423	455
Total	847	752	785	655	707

With 476 obverse and 493 reverse dies noted for Phase III the volume of Burgred's coinage produced between *c.*868 and 874 exceeds that noted for the whole reign of Offa,²⁴² the most numerous Mercian coinage before Burgred, and dwarves the Lunettes coinage of Wessex. Alfred's Lunettes coinage of 871–76/77 has a similar lack of recorded die-duplication, with 196 coins noted from 182 obverse and 177 reverse dies.²⁴³ The same applies to the Canterbury Lunettes coins of Æthelred I, with 117 coins struck from 102 obverse and 99 reverse dies between 866 and 871.²⁴⁴

The end of the Mercian Lunettes coinage

The assumption must be that the Mercian Lunettes coinage of Burgred ceased when his authority as king collapsed, following defeat by the Danes and his abdication. This would suggest 874 as an end date, but it is clear that the next Mercian coinage did not appear until 876/77,²⁴⁵ a break which is entirely plausible given the upheaval Mercia must have experienced at this time. This contrasts with Wessex, which did not face such chaotic conditions, and Alfred's Lunettes coinage almost certainly continued to be produced between 874 and 876/77. As to what happened to the Mercian coinage in this period, there is no evidence to suggest that coins continued to be issued in Burgred's name after his abdication. Moreover, the presence of Mercian-style Wessex Lunettes coins struck by some (one assumes by this time) former moneyers

²⁴¹ II, Æthelstan, 14.2, cited by Screen, 2007, 165.

²⁴² Chick 2010, 182–4, noted 394 obverse and 412 reverse dies for Offa and 481 and 500 obverse and reverse dies for the combined coinages of Offa and other contemporaneous rulers. These numbers will have increased as new finds have been added to the Corpus of coins of Offa and his contemporaries since Chick was published in 2010.

²⁴³ Lyons and MacKay 2008, 83–4.

²⁴⁴ Lyons and MacKay 2007, 102.

²⁴⁵ The sequence continued with a joint Mercian/Wessex coinage, initially with the rare Two-Emperors type, *c.*876, followed by the Cross and Lozenge issues from *c.*876/77: see Lyons and MacKay 2008, 65.

of Burgred suggests that Wessex took control of Mercian die-cutting facilities and some moneyers after 874.²⁴⁶

The Wessex remnant of the Lunettes coinage seems to have lasted for two to three years after Burgred before being replaced. A very rapid and complete demonetization of the Wessex and Mercian Lunettes coinage seems to have followed the introduction of the Cross-and-Lozenge type around 877, suggesting that by then the Lunettes coinage was fatally discredited. In the Danish-controlled territories its role was taken over in part by the 'bullion economy' of the Vikings, and by the Danelaw coinages from c.885.²⁴⁷ The collapse of its credibility and purpose was so complete after 877 that the Lunettes coinage ceases to appear in the hoard record from both English and Danish territory.²⁴⁸

Reverse variations

Lunette types: die-cutting workshops and die-cutters

Variations in lunette designs (types A–E) and the addition of pellets and other symbols in the corners of the lunettes on Burgred's coinage have long been noted but have never been satisfactorily explained. The division of Burgred's coinage into obverse varieties and chronological phases allows this aspect of the coinage to be reconsidered and possible explanations for the purpose of the variations to be put forward.

The occurrence of a small number of variations in the lunettes design is too deliberate for this to be merely a whim of die-cutters. Numismatists have always considered them to be an indicator of some kind, but for what purpose has been unclear. Pagan noted that some lunette designs seemed to point to a chronology for the coinage.²⁴⁹ He observed that type A seemed to occur in the earliest coins, 852–63, and in the latest coins, 865/66–74; A and C in 863–66; and C and D in 865/66–68. He additionally noted B, C, D as also occurring after 872, on the basis that these styles were absent from the Croydon hoard. The case for type E, first made by Blunt,²⁵⁰ was reinforced by the discovery of three new examples in 2003. Williams proposed that these existed in two designs, Ei and Eii, and that it was a substantive reverse type which dated to the very end of Burgred's reign.²⁵¹

TABLE 8. Percentages of Lunette reverse types occurring by Phase

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>
Ia	852–c.855	100	–	–	–	–
Ib	c.855–c.858/60	40	6	26	28	–
IIa	c.858–c.866	17	–	47	36	–
IIb	c.866–c.868/70	50	1	6	43	–
III	c.868/70–874	72	5	5	17	1

The evidence of the percentages of reverse types by phase in Table 8 does not support the assumption that the reverse type is an indicator of chronological sequencing. In Phase I, to c.858/60, reverse types A–D are found. In Phase IIa, c.858/60–866, reverse types A, C and D are found; in phase IIb, c.866–c.868/70, A, B, C and D; and in the Phase III, after 868, A, B, C, D and E. It is clear from this that use of a particular reverse style does not signify a period

²⁴⁶ The Burgred moneyers Cuthwulf, Denewald, Dudwine, Ethelstan, Ethered, Tata, Wine and Wulfheard are all noted for Alfred Group II Mercian (London) style Lunettes pennies, whilst Diarwulf, Eadwulf, Ethelwulf, Ethered, Guthmund, Herefreth, Wine and Wulfheard are noted for Alfred Group I, Wessex (Canterbury) style Lunettes pennies: see Lyons and MacKay 2008, 86–106. It should be borne in mind that some of these names are common in the ninth century, so it is possible that some may have been different individuals, but this is unlikely for all.

²⁴⁷ It is notable that the Danelaw penny weight, at c.1.30–1.35 g, was the same as that of the Mercian Lunettes coinage.

²⁴⁸ The 1904 Washington, Sussex, find contained only Cross-and-Lozenge coins, as also seems to be the case with the c.1996–97 find at Pitstone, Buckinghamshire. The 1840 Cuerdale hoard contained twenty-four Cross-and-Lozenge coins, the earliest English coins present, but no Lunettes coins: see Blackburn and Keynes 1998.

²⁴⁹ Pagan 1965, 14.

²⁵⁰ Blunt 1958–59.

²⁵¹ Williams 2008, 222–7. The coins noted here are obv. var. H10 and H11, both of which may have ceased c.872.

of issue. Pagan was however correct in his observation that some obverse varieties have a tendency to be dominated by one or a pair of reverse types. In Phase IIa, H1 to H5 are dominated by reverse types C and D, and V1 by C, whilst A dominates H8 and V4 in Phase IIb and H9, H12 and V5 in Phase III.

TABLE 9. Percentages of Lunette reverse types occurring by obverse variety

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Variety</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>
Ia	P1	100	—	—	—	—
Ib	P2	38	12	27	23	—
	P3	50	—	40	10	—
	P4	35	—	18	47	—
IIa	H1	9	—	37	54	—
	H2	25	—	15	60	—
	H3	12	—	72	16	—
	H4	—	—	100	—	—
	H5	30	—	70	—	—
	V1	28	—	56	16	—
IIb	H6	56	—	22	22	—
	H7	4	—	4	92	—
	H8	100	—	—	—	—
	V2	27	2	7	64	—
	V3	18	—	9	73	—
	V4	94	—	3	3	—
III	H9	88	—	12	—	—
	H10	51	1	11	35	2
	H11	45	7	9	36	3
	H12	100	—	—	—	—
	V5	89	5	2	4	—

An alternative possibility is that the variation in lunette type is obverse variety specific. Here again, in most cases (the exceptions being P1, H8 and H12, all 100 per cent type A) more than one reverse type is found, ruling out an obverse variety being linked to a sole reverse type. A further option is that the reverse lunette type was moneyer specific, with a particular moneyer using one lunette for a specific issue of coins. This is unlikely as most moneyers use more than one reverse type for any one obverse variety.

In considering Alfred's Lunettes coinage it was proposed that lunette type variations served some deliberate purpose.²⁵² It was suggested that the four lunette types found in Alfred's coinage were in use concurrently, and that the variation was a Mercian creation pre-dating Alfred. Based on this it was proposed that the purpose of lunette variation may have been as a 'label' in an accounting system which enabled the authorities to identify the territory from which a payment or a production of coin originated.²⁵³ This built on the view that Mercia was a kingdom formed of a federation of territories, over which the Mercian king commanded allegiance, as seems to be suggested by the Tribal Hideage, a document which sets out expected military manpower contributions from territories under Mercian control. The difficulty with this interpretation is that it gives too much credence to the Tribal Hideage, whose value is contentious among historians given its obscure purpose, uncertain origin and date. Such an explanation for the lunette variation, whilst it may have its attractions, is by and large conjecture in the absence of any convincing supporting evidence for it in either the numismatic or the historical record.²⁵⁴

So what might have been the purpose of the lunette variation, given that all of the above options fail to provide a plausible explanation? The answer may lie in the coins themselves and in the dies from which they were struck. An examination of Burgred's coinage, looking at

²⁵² Lyons and MacKay 2008, 57.

²⁵³ Lyons and MacKay 2008, 58–9.

²⁵⁴ Burgred's coinage has many moneyers producing an obverse variety with more than one reverse type. If lunette variation was a mark of the geographical origin of coins, then it would be expected that each moneyer would have only one reverse type.

reverse and obverse lettering styles of coins published in the *SCBI* series, has shown that the same letter strokes and forms occur where a letter (for example, **A**, **B**, **V** or **D**) appears on both the obverse and the reverse. This suggests that the obverse and reverse dies were being cut by the same hand. In a very few cases an obverse die is paired with reverse dies of two different types, as for example with two V5 coins by Cunehelm noted in the Corpus (V5.63 and V5.64): Lyon 600 with reverse A and BM 1975–11–26–6 with reverse C. Here, minor variations exist in letter style, cutting, ligation and word spellings between two reverse dies which may suggest a different hand at work, but perhaps sharing the same punches. Although it cannot be proven without doubt, it can be suggested that reverse variation is connected to the operation of die-cutting workshops and individual die-cutters.

It was proposed earlier, in considering the location of monetary production, that the dies for the coinage of Burgred were being cut after c.858/60 by two principal workshops, H and V, both of these most likely located at London. A further third smaller workshop, staffed by a Canterbury die-cutter, may have existed alongside these between c.864 and 866, cutting dies for types H3 and H4. In addition, the distinctive style of the P Series coins suggests these were the output of another single workshop operating in the early years of the reign, which ceased operation after c.858. This model of die production sees each workshop staffed by one or more die-cutters producing obverse and reverse dies, using the same shared set of engraving punches, with individuals differentiating their work through reverse die variation. Based on this, and the analysis of the surviving coinage, the number of individual die-cutters involved at each workshop may have been typically around two or three at any one time, rising to as many as five in a busy period. Over time individual die-cutters may have ceased to operate and new ones have been added to meet demand, adopting a lapsed reverse design, or in the case of style E, adding a new variation. That this may have been so seems to be borne out by the later coinage being dominated by V5 and reverse type A, indicating that workshop H had a reduced capacity and workshop V had been reduced to a single die-cutter. The same pattern is supported by H12, an all reverse type A output of workshop H, suggesting it was operating with a single die-cutter at this time. This pattern is consistent with die-cutting being London based and affected by the Danish occupation of 871–72. The greater frequency of types C and D in Phases IIa and IIb might be explained in this model by the C and D die-cutters being more prominent before 868/70, but less so after this, with their role perhaps subsumed by die-cutter A.

In the absence of historical or other evidence, it is not possible to provide a more detailed explanation for the purpose of the variations in the lunette type. The numismatic evidence is the only possible source available but extracting firm explanations from this is difficult given its complexity in that it reflects several factors at work including different coinage issues, workshops, die-cutters and moneyers all subject to change over a twenty-two year period.²⁵⁵

Reverse symbols

Pagan first commented on the tendency of later coins of Burgred to have a range of symbols within the reverse lunette angles.²⁵⁶ Coins occur with or without, and where they occur there is considerable variation in the symbols and how they appear within the four lunette corners. Single pellets, trefoils (a group of three pellets, sometimes as an inverted trefoil), a cluster of six or eight pellets, and a crescent are all found. In some cases single pellets and trefoils may occur on the same coin in different lunette corners. Trefoils and more complex styles are most commonly found on reverse type A coins, possibly because this design allows more space than types B, C and D for their addition. Data on the presence or absence of reverse symbols was recorded for all 847 coins in the Corpus (see Appendix 8). This shows that issues dated to before c.866, in Phases Ia, Ib and IIa, have a much lower proportion of coins with symbols

²⁵⁵ It might be conjectured that the purpose of the lunette variation may have been associated with the administration of the coinage by the king and his officials. The rapid addition and cessation of moneyers may also reflect the operation of the royal administration relating to the appointment of moneyers and the issue of dies to moneyers.

²⁵⁶ Pagan 1965, 18.

than those dated after *c.*866, in Phases IIb and III. In Phases I and IIa, 65% and 73% of coins do not have any symbols, whilst in Phases IIb and III only 32% and 26% are without.

In Phases I and II where symbols do occur they tend to be simple, with a pellet or trefoil, usually singly, in one lunette corner. A mixed format with both a trefoil and a pellet in different lunette corners occurs, as also does a crescent or two pellets, but these forms are rare. The form with a trefoil in each corner, common later, first occurs in Phase IIb. In Phase III, with 74% of coins having reverse symbols, more complex versions are found. For V5, where 90% of all coins were noted as having symbols, a trefoil in each corner occurs on 44% (103 coins) and a single trefoil in the last quarter on 19% (forty-four coins). Clusters of six or eight pellets in the fourth quarter are a feature associated with H12, with this noted for 55% (twenty-nine coins) of this variety. This seems to be a feature of the H12 die-cutter and is also found on Mercian-style coins of Alfred's var. IV.²⁵⁷ Two moneyers, Cenred and Hussa, deploy crescent reverse symbols specific to themselves, which give the appearance of placing the upper and lower portions of the reverse legend in brackets.²⁵⁸ This is noted for fifteen coins in Phase III, of which ten are variety H10.²⁵⁹

The picture that emerges here endorses Pagan's observation that the extensive presence of reverse symbols is an indicator of later issues, associated here with Phase III dated to *c.*868/70–874. The variable presence of reverse symbols may have had a deliberate purpose rather than being simply a decorative device. It is significant that their presence dramatically increases in Phase III, when coinage output expanded. The increase in symbols found in Phase IIb is also notable, and it may suggest that the practice grew in use after the lunettes design was adopted by Wessex in 866. The symbols might have been used as a differentiation device associated with the production of coins or dies. If so, they may be further evidence of the coinage production process in Mercia under Burgred.

Summary

Building on work undertaken by Pagan and Lyon some years ago, this study has examined a considerably larger Corpus of coins – 847 in total (some 50 per cent larger) – than was available to Pagan fifty years ago. By examining variations in obverse styles and comparing them with other issues, especially those of Wessex, where dating is more secure, and aligning this with the hoard record, notably assisted by the Severn Stoke hoard, a detailed obverse typology and dating is proposed for the coinage of Burgred for the first time.

In analysing the coinage of Burgred it is hard to not be struck by its extraordinary characteristics. The Lunettes coinage began right from the start of Burgred's reign and it marked a significant change from what had gone before. This seems to have been part of a wider trend to standardise the coinage taking place in both Wessex and Mercia from *c.*860. The Mercian Lunettes coinage became a standard design current for over twenty years, and after *c.*866, the standard coinage design for Wessex also. The initial volume of coinage until *c.*860 matched what had gone before, but thereafter it started to grow, increasing dramatically from 868/70, to meet the monetary challenges arising from the presence of the Danish 'Great Army'.

Remarkably, in the face of these challenges, the quality of the coinage was maintained relatively well. The weight standard was consistent until its end and silver content, despite experiencing some decrease in the last years, was always of a higher fineness than the Wessex coinage. Reduced silver contents and weight differences within the joint Wessex-Mercian Lunettes coinage after 868/70 most likely resulted in its losing credibility, leading to its replacement and a rapid and effective demonetization in both Wessex and the remaining English parts of Mercia around 876/77. Production of Lunettes coins in Burgred's name ceased after his abdication in 874.

²⁵⁷ For example, a coin of Biarnred, Alfred Lunettes Group 2, var. IVb, illustrated Lyons and MacKay 2008, Pl. 1, 36, rev. A.

²⁵⁸ At also occurs on one H10 coin of Cunehelm, *SCBI* 24, 343, Corpus H10.21.

²⁵⁹ The moneyer Diga places two columns of three pellets each after his name, which may be regarded as a stylistic feature rather than a die symbol.

Production of the Mercian Lunettes coinage was almost certainly dominated by London, where two principal two die-cutting styles or workshops seem to have existed from *c.*860. These replaced an earlier workshop active in the first years of Burgred's reign. A further workshop existed briefly in the mid-860s, run by a die-cutter from Canterbury. Reverse type variations suggest there may have been more than one die-cutter working for each workshop.

Whilst this article has been able to provide a fresh assessment along with new insights into this coinage, and in the process has answered most of the key questions it set out to consider, the conclusions reached open up new questions. These new questions include understanding the reasons for the fundamental changes to the Mercian coinage in the later 850s; explaining the longevity of the Mercian Lunettes coinage; understanding what lay behind the economic and political relationship between Mercia and Wessex and its implications for each kingdom over time; establishing why Mercia was consistently able to produce a better silver coinage than Wessex; and what coinage took the place of the Lunettes pennies in Danish Mercia after 874.

The sheer scale of survival of Burgred's coinage and his long reign makes this coinage one of the most important numismatic resources of the ninth century. Understanding the coinage of Southumbria in the third quarter of the ninth century has been limited so long as Burgred's coinage was deemed to be too complex to unravel. With this study it can now be given a more prominent and rightful position as one of the most important coinages of ninth-century England with a significant contribution to the overall development of the English coinage.

APPENDIX 1: HOARDS CONTAINING COINS OF BURGRED

1A – Principal recorded hoards with coins of Burgred deposited before 873

Hoard	<i>Trewiddle, 1774</i>	<i>Severn Stoke, 1992–96</i>	<i>Gravesend, 1838</i>	<i>Waterloo Bridge, 1884</i>	<i>Croydon, 1862</i>	<i>Lower Dunsforth, 1861</i>
Deposited	<i>c.</i> 868–70	<i>c.</i> 871	<i>c.</i> 871–72	<i>c.</i> 872	<i>c.</i> 872–73	
No. of coins	114	17	539	<i>c.</i> 100	<i>c.</i> 250	15
Coins of Burgred	45	11	429	96	94	6
Other coins:						
Mercia						
	Offa	1 ²⁶⁰				
	Coenwulf	2	1			
	Ceolwulf I	1				
	Beornwulf	1				
	Berhtwulf	9				
	Ecgbert	3				
	Æthelwulf	8			1	
	Æthelberht	2				
	Æthelred I	2				
	Alfred	2				2
	Ceolnoth		57	1 ²⁶¹	13	2
	Æthelstan	5	1		16	6
	Æthelweard		3		1	
	Eadmund		1		?	
	Eanred		5		11	
	Carolingian	1	43			
	Islamic	1	1		Yes	
	Artefacts	Yes	Yes		Yes	
Other items					Yes	
					Yes	
					Yes	

²⁶⁰ The presence of a coin of Offa in this hoard was doubted by Wilson and Blunt 1961.²⁶¹ As hoards of the 870s generally contain Lunettes coins of both Wessex and Mercia, it may be that this hoard contained more coins of Æthelred I and Alfred than are recorded, these being lost to the 'trade' shortly after discovery.

1B – Other hoards

Hoards listed here are all either of limited importance to the record of the coinage of Burgred or uncertainly recorded.

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Deposited</i>	<i>No. of coins noted</i>	<i>Coins of Burgred</i>	<i>Wessex Lunettes</i>	<i>Other contents and notes</i>
Dorking, 1817	c.862–63	c.700	1	No	Mercia, Ceolwulf I–Berhtwulf; Wessex, Egbert, Æthelwulf, Æthelberht with c.520 Inscribed Cross type, but no Floreate Cross type coins; East Anglia, Æthelstan I, Æthelweard, Edmund, archbishops of Canterbury, Ceolnoth; one Carolingian <i>denier</i>
Hampshire 1, 1836	c.870	31	18	Yes	Wessex, Æthelred I and other Wessex Lunettes; Burgred <i>BM</i> C 184 and 219 (Corpus H7.1 and H7.6), both ticketed in the BM trays as ‘noted Southampton 1837, possibly Hampshire 1836’ may be from this find
Hitchin, ‘near’, 1895	c.870	4	3	Yes	Wessex, Æthelred I; possibly part of a larger hoard dispersed shortly after discovery
Banbury Castle, 1997	After 870	3	Possibly	?	Three fused coins, one with Lunettes reverse type E visible, the other visible coins possibly Burgred but not certain
Barkby Thorpe, 1987	After 871	c.10–15, uncertain	Likely	?	An uncertain find, possibly the source of new coins in the trade c.1990–95. If similar in content to other finds of this size it is likely to have contained Mercian and Wessex Lunettes
Suffolk, c.2008	After 871	3, all fragments	1	Yes	Wessex Lunettes, Alfred (2), fragments
Uncertain location, c.2010	Likely after 871	?25–30	Likely	?possibly	A fused group of Lunettes pennies, uncertain number and issues, likely to have contained Mercian and Wessex Lunettes
London, Westminster Bridge 1895	c.872–73	c.10	7	?	No detail on other issues; uncertain
Wandsworth, c.1913	c.872–73	Not known	4	?Possibly	Probably with Wessex Lunettes, uncertain
Torksey c.1995	872–73	6	Likely	Yes	Wessex Lunettes, Alfred (1), 4 others not recorded (see Blackburn 2011b, 250)
Leckhampton 1924	c.875	c.5	1	Yes	Wessex Lunettes, Alfred. Burgred coin now lost
‘West Country’, c.1920–30	c.875	5	1	Yes	Conjectured, Wessex lunettes, Æthelred I (2), Alfred (2)
‘Burgred, Ireland’ c.1870	c.875	6	3	Yes	Wessex Lunettes, Æthelred I (1), Alfred (2); an uncertain hoard
Talnotrie, 1912	?c.875	11	4	No	Five stycas, dirham fragment, ornaments and jewellery

APPENDIX 2: SINGLE FINDS OF COINS OF BURGRED

This appendix includes coins recorded on the Fitzwilliam Museum's Corpus of Early Medieval Coin finds (EMC), the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (PAS) and the UK Detector Finds Database (UKDFD), as well as finds listed by Blackburn and others from Torksey. Single finds have only been included in the Corpus where they have been seen and sufficient detail exists to enable coin attribution to an obverse variety with confidence. Finds are listed regionally by county.

MIDLANDS²⁶³

<i>Find location and date</i>	<i>References/notes</i>	<i>Obverse variety</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Corpus ref.</i>
Harlington, Beds, excavation	EMC 2005.0122; <i>BNJ</i> 76, 2006, Coin Register, 193	Uncertain	Wine	Not listed
Roxton, Beds	EMC 2004.0170; <i>BNJ</i> 75, 2005, Coin Register, 157	V5	Osmund	V5.205
Stoke Gifford, Glos	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 338; EMC 1977.8338	H10	Tidhelm	H10.81
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 6	Uncertain, imitative	Beagstan	Im.1
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 7	V5	Beagstan	V5.15
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 8	H10	Cenred	H10.16
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 9	V5	Dealinc	V5.73
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 10	V4	Heawulf	V4.26
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 11	Uncertain	Tata	Not listed
Torksey, Lincs	Blackburn 2011, app. 1, pl. 1, 12; EMC 2009.0203; <i>BNJ</i> 80, 2010, Coin Register, 192	H11	Wulfheard	H11.141
Torksey, Lincs	Noted Blackburn 2011, 249; Spink auction 208, 22 June 2011, 607, later Dix Noonan Webb, 5 Dec. 2012, 329	V5	Guthmund	V5.164
Barrow on Humber, Lincs, St Chads excavations	EMC 1983.0009; noted by Blackburn, Collyer and Dolley 1983, 37, no. 12	Uncertain	Hussa	Id.11
Normanby-le-Wold, Lincs	<i>SCBI</i> 27, 1624	V5	Eadulf	V5.132
Lincolnshire	UKDFD 20530	Imitative, obv. H10	Tata	Im.7
Lincolnshire	PAS: NLM-7DF3F7	Uncertain, corroded, pierced, possibly from a weight	Cenred	Not listed
Kirkby Bellars, Leics	EMC 1017.0090; <i>SCBI</i> 17, 90	H10	Heawulf	H10.53
St Peter's Hill, London, excavation 1991	EMC 1991.0245, noted as same obverse as <i>BMC</i> 33 (Stott 65)	Uncertain	Hugered	Not listed
River Thames, London	EMC 1922.0006; Brooke 1922, 243, no. 152	Uncertain	Wulferd	Not listed
'Middlesex', June 2012	UKDFD 37838	V2	Osmund	V2.33
Flawford, Notts, excavation	EMC 1994.5001; Flawford excavation report, 82, note 1	Uncertain	No details	Not listed
Stoke Bardolph, Notts	EMC 1017.0094; <i>SCBI</i> 17, 94; Blunt 1958–59, 10	Uncertain, rev. type E	Ecgulf	Not listed
Harwell, Oxon, before 1893	EMC 1893.0001; Davies collection, Sotheby, 24 Feb. 1893, 55 (part)	Uncertain	Uncertain	Not listed
Pyrton, Oxon, 2010	EMC 2010.0259; PAS: SUR-453548	V4	Osmund	V4.35
Wantage 2008, Oxon, excavation at St Mary's School	Thames Valley Archaeological Services, 2008	Uncertain, rev. type D, corroded	Cenred	Not listed

²⁶³ Broadly those counties east of modern-day Wales and west of modern East Anglia (this including Essex and Cambridgeshire), north of the Thames (including Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire), and south of the Mersey-Humber line (including Cheshire and Derbyshire).

SOUTHERN²⁶⁴

<i>Find location and date</i>	<i>References/notes</i>	<i>Obverse variety</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Corpus ref.</i>
Kent	EMC 2005.0065; <i>BNJ</i> 76, 2006, Coin Register, 192	H11	Guthhere	H11.81
Aylesford, Kent	EMC 2011.0290	P3	Dudecil	P3.2
Springhead Quarter, Kent	EMC 2005.0121; <i>BNJ</i> 76, 2006, Coin Register, 194	H1	Duda	H1.15
Cheddar Palace excavations, Somerset	EMC 1977.8340; <i>SCBI</i> 24, 340	V5	Berneah	V5.43
Cheddar Palace excavations, Somerset	EMC 1977.8345; <i>SCBI</i> 24, 435	H10	Eadulf	H10.47

EAST ANGLIAN²⁶⁵

<i>Find location and date</i>	<i>References/notes</i>	<i>Obverse variety</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Corpus ref.</i>
Essex	EMC 2003.0228; <i>BNJ</i> 73, 2003, Coin Register, 152	H12	Cenred	H12.12
Sedgeford, Norfolk	EMC 2007.0232; <i>BNJ</i> 78, 2008, Coin Register, 232	H2	Dudeman	H2.19
Middleton, near King's Lynn, Norfolk	EMC 1996.0184; noted by Blackburn (EMC 1989.5001) as from near Lincoln; later re-recorded <i>BNJ</i> , 66, 1996, Coin Register, 184, from Middleton, near King's Lynn	H7	Tata	H7.18
Thetford, Norfolk, before 1779	Noted by Metcalf 1957, 206, from T. Martin, 1779, 281	Uncertain	Cenred	Not listed
Thetford, Norfolk, before 1779	As last	Uncertain	Beagstan	Not listed
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	EMC 1922.005; Brooke 1922, 242, no. 140; <i>BMA</i> 140	V2	Diarwulf	V2.13
Orford, Suffolk	EMC 2010.0186	Uncertain, corroded	Uncertain	Id.5

NORTHERN²⁶⁶

<i>Find location and date</i>	<i>References/notes</i>	<i>Obverse variety</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Corpus ref.</i>
Carlisle, Cumbria, Tullie House excavation	EMC 1997.8702; <i>SCBI</i> 48, 702, corroded	H11	Hussa	H11.112
York, near Tanner Row	PAS: YORYM 77D9E6 EMC 1975.8959; <i>SCBI</i> 21, 959, broken and repaired, noted by Blackburn as Lyon F, but almost certainly a V5	Uncertain V5	Dudeman Diga	Not listed V5.94
York, Aldwark	EMC 1986.0337; Pirie 1986, 37, noted as similar to <i>BMC</i> 284	P4	Eanred	Not listed
York, Skeldersgate Scarborough, N. Yorks.	EMC 1986.0338; Pirie 1986, 38 EMC 1998.0118; Simmons list 16, 1999	H11 Coin mounted in lead weight	Diarwulf Dudd	H11.33 TP4

²⁶⁴ Includes all counties south of the Thames.²⁶⁵ Includes modern-day Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire.²⁶⁶ Includes counties north of the Mersey-Humber line and south of the modern Scottish border.

WALES AND SCOTLAND

<i>Find location and date</i>	<i>References/notes</i>	<i>Obverse variety</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Corpus ref.</i>
Caerleon, near Newport, Gwent	EMC 1958.0001; Metcalf 1958, 73–4. Attributed to reverse D by Dykes	Uncertain	Cenred, no details	Not listed
Saever Howe, Birsay, Orkney	EMC 2001.1187, noted Stevenson, 1986 and <i>PSAS</i> , 116 (1986), 339–41	Uncertain	Tata	Id.13

OUTSIDE THE BRITISH ISLES

<i>Find location and date</i>	<i>References/notes</i>	<i>Obverse variety</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Corpus ref.</i>
Sysvig, Hederslev, Denmark, pit house excavation, 1980	Advised to author by Jens Moesgaard, National Museum of Denmark, 2012, probably jewellery	Uncertain; rev. type E	Uncertain, ? Liafwald	Id.3

Notes:

EMC 1993.0199 and 1993.0200, listed in EMC as from Severn Stoke are not included, these being hoard coins.

APPENDIX 3: PRINCIPAL HOARDS – COMPOSITION BY OBTVERSE VARIETY

This appendix is based on hoard attributions in the Corpus of coins of Burgred. The figures for Gravesend includes those coins in the British Museum that were acquired from Fox in 1838, all very likely a parcel from this hoard.

Phase Obverse variety Hoard		Date of deposition	THE COINAGE OF BURGRED OF MERCIA 852–874																						
			Ia P1	Ib P2	Ib P3	Ib P4	IIa H1	IIa H2	IIa H3	IIa H4	IIa H5	IIa V1	IIb H6	IIb H7	IIb H8	IIb V2	IIb V3	IIb V4	III H9	III H10	III H11	III H12	III V5	Total	
Trewiddle, 1774 Sewern Stoke 1992–96								2	1		1				1	1		1						4	
Gravesend 1838			1	4	3	3	6	8																8	
Waterloo Bridge 1884				1	1		3		1	1	6	1	6	3	6	14	2	6	1		15	44	6	56	197
Croydon 1862						2								1		1	1	1		6	5	2	6	26	
Lower Dunsforth 1861							1		1														2	4	
Lincoln																						1	1	2	
Walmsgate 1985																									
Repton 1 and 2, 1982/85																								3 ²⁶⁷	
Duddington 1994–95																								8	
Beeston Tor 1924															1				2	2	4	7	16		
North Yorkshire 2003																			3	2	2	2	7		
Hook Norton 1848																							1	1	
St Albans Abbey Orchard 1968					1													1	1	1	4	12	20		
TOTAL			1	6	5	5	10	10	11	1	1	8	1	10	7	17	6	10	0	30	64	22	96	321	
Hoard			Latest non-Burgred issues																	Latest non-Burgred issues					
Trewiddle 1774			Æthelred I																	Alfred					
Sewern Stoke 1992–96			Æthelred I																	Alfred					
Gravesend 1838			Alfred – single coin																	Alfred					
Waterloo Bridge 1884			?Æthelred I																	Alfred					
Croydon 1862			Alfred																	Alfred					
Lower Dunsforth 1861			Alfred																	Alfred					
Walmsgate, Lincoln 1985			Alfred																	Alfred					

²⁶⁷ The Repton excavation finds included a fourth coin, a cut half, Repton I, 3723; the obverse variety of this is uncertain so this is not listed here.

H11 (27)	B1 (42) B2 (3)	C1 (3)	D1 (11)	F1 (13) F2 (2) F3 (5) F5 (3) F7 (2) F10 (2) F11 (6)	H1 (4) H2 (5)	I1 (32)	K4(2)	12
H12 (8) V5 (42)	B1 (7) B1 (25) B3 (4) B4 (4)	C1 (76) C10 (10) C13 (3) C19(3)	D1 (36) D2 (3) D3 (3) D4 (6) D8 (3)	E2 (2) E1 (16) E6 (3)				5 22

Most commonly found legend forms by Phase

<i>Phase I (count)</i>		<i>Phase IIa (count)</i>		<i>Phase IIb (count)</i>		<i>Phase III (count)</i>	
A8	EDREX-† BVRGR (27)	I1	+BVRGRED RE+ (10)	C1	BVRGRED REX- (32)	C1	BVRGRED REX- (79)
H1	+BVRGRED REX (5)	K1	+BVRGRED REX $\overline{\text{m}}$ bar above $\overline{\text{m}}$ (9)	I1	+BVRGRED RE+ (13)	B1	BVRGRED REX (77)
		H1	+BVRGRED REX (9)	D1	BVRGRED RE+ (9)	D1	BVRGRED RE+ (40)
		J2	+BVRGRED RE I (7)			I1	+BVRGRED RE+ (35)
		A8	EDREX-† BVRGR (5)			F3	BVRGRED REX $\overline{\text{m}}$ (33)
						F7	BVRGRED REX- $\overline{\text{m}}$ (17)
						E1	BVRGRED REX M (16)

**APPENDIX 5. COIN WEIGHTS BY PHASE AND OBTVERSE VARIETY –
OCCURRENCE AND CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION (%)**

Highlighted numbers are those around the median.

A. Phase 1A and 1B

<i>Weight range (g)</i>	<i>Occurrence (No.)</i>				<i>Cumulative distribution (%)</i>			
	<i>P1</i>	<i>P2</i>	<i>P3</i>	<i>P4</i>	<i>P1</i>	<i>P2</i>	<i>P3</i>	<i>P4</i>
>1.60								
1.56–1.60						100		
1.51–1.55		1				96		
1.46–1.50		1			100	91	100	100
1.41–1.45	2	3	4	1	75	78	50	92
1.36–1.40	4	7		1	25	48	50	85
1.31–1.35		1		2	25	43	50	69
1.26–1.30		6		3	25	17	50	46
1.21–1.25	1	1	2	4	13	13	25	15
1.16–1.20	1	1	1	1	0	9	13	8
1.11–1.15						9	13	8
1.06–1.10		1				4	13	8
1.01–1.05				1		4	13	0
0.96–1.00			1			4	0	
0.91–0.95						4		
0.86–0.90		1				0		
<0.86						0		
No. of coins	8	23	8	13	8	23	8	13

B. Phase IIa

<i>Weight range (g)</i>	<i>Occurrence (No.)</i>						<i>Cumulative distribution (%)</i>					
	<i>H1</i>	<i>H2</i>	<i>H3</i>	<i>H4</i>	<i>H5</i>	<i>V1</i>	<i>H1</i>	<i>H2</i>	<i>H3</i>	<i>H4</i>	<i>H5</i>	<i>V1</i>
>1.60							100					
1.56–1.60	1						97		100			
1.51–1.55			1				97	100	95			
1.46–1.50	2	2					90	90	95			100
1.41–1.45	3		3			2	81	90	80	100	100	87
1.36–1.40	5	4	2	1	1	2	65	70	70	75	86	73
1.31–1.35	6	3	3	1	2	6	45	55	55	50	57	33
1.26–1.30	4	7	4	1	2	1	32	20	35	25	29	27
1.21–1.25	3	2	3	1	1	1	23	10	20	0	14	20
1.16–1.20	5	2	2			2	6	0	10		14	7
1.11–1.15	2		1				0		5		14	7
1.06–1.10			1			1			0		14	
1.01–1.05											14	
0.96–1.00					1						0	
0.91–0.95												
0.86–0.90												
<0.86												
No. of coins	31	20	20	4	7	15	31	20	20	4	7	15

C. Phase IIb

<i>Weight range (g)</i>	<i>Occurrence (No.)</i>						<i>Cumulative distribution (%)</i>					
	<i>H6</i>	<i>H7</i>	<i>H8</i>	<i>V2</i>	<i>V3</i>	<i>V4</i>	<i>H6</i>	<i>H7</i>	<i>H8</i>	<i>V2</i>	<i>V3</i>	<i>V4</i>
>1.60												
1.56–1.60										100		
1.51–1.55										97	100	100
1.46–1.50				1			100		100	97	100	100
1.41–1.45	1		1	2	1	1	88	100	92	91	90	96
1.36–1.40	0	2	3	6	1	2	88	89	69	72	80	88
1.31–1.35	2	5	1	7	3	8	63	61	62	50	50	56
1.26–1.30	1	4	4	7		6	50	39	31	28	50	32
1.21–1.25		5	3	6	2	2	50	11	8	9	30	24
1.16–1.20		1	1	1		1	50	6	0	6	30	20
1.11–1.15	1	1			2	1	38	0		6	10	16
1.06–1.10	1					4	25			6	10	0
1.01–1.05	1			1			13			3	10	
0.96–1.00	1			1			0			0	10	
0.91–0.95					1						0	
0.86–0.90												
<0.86												
No. of coins	8	18	13	32	10	25	8	18	13	32	10	25

D. Phase III

<i>Weight range (g)</i>	<i>Occurrence (No.)</i>					<i>Cumulative distribution (%)</i>				
	<i>H9</i>	<i>H10</i>	<i>H11</i>	<i>H12</i>	<i>V5</i>	<i>H9</i>	<i>H10</i>	<i>H11</i>	<i>H12</i>	<i>V5</i>
>1.60										100
1.56–1.60					1				100	99
1.51–1.55			1		2		100	99		98
1.46–1.50		2	1		2		97	98	100	97
1.41–1.45	1	4	3	1	5	86	90	96	97	94
1.36–1.40		3	22	3	22	86	85	76	87	81
1.31–1.35		10	22	7	32	86	69	57	65	61
1.26–1.30	3	14	19	8	34	43	47	40	39	41
1.21–1.25	2	11	17	3	26	14	29	25	29	25
1.16–1.20	1	7	11	6	20	0	18	16	10	13
1.11–1.15		7	12		8		6	5	10	8
1.06–1.10		2		2	3		3	5	3	7
1.01–1.05		1	6	1	6		2	0	0	3
0.96–1.00		1			4		0			1
0.91–0.95										1
0.86–0.90					1					0
<0.86										
No. of coins	7	62	114	31	166	7	62	114	31	166

APPENDIX 6: MONEYS - FREQUENCY BY OBTVERSE VARIETY

	Phase I			Phase IIa			Phase IIb				Phase III				Total							
	P1	P2	P3	P4	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	V1	H6	H7	H8	V2		V3	V4	H9	H10	H11	H12	V5
Moneyer/ obv. var.																						
Dudecil	6	5	4	2	2	1																21
Tatel	7																					7
Dudda		8	1	6	7	8	3		2	2	2			2	2				16		1	60
Eanred		3	4	5	3		2		1								1	2	7	4	10	18
Ethelwulf		2			2	1	2					1		3	3			1	2			34
Tata		2		3					2	9				3	2				1			27
Wine		6	1	1	5	1	4	1	3			4	4					17	9	14		25
Cenred					4	1	6							1								59
Dudeman					6	1												1		1		8
Berneah						5	1		2	5			3	5							29	52
Giallaf					6	1	1			1												9
Cunehelm						2	1				5			2	2	4	3	5	10			47
Hereferth						1												1	7		6	15
Hugerod						1						7			2			6	14			30
Liafnan						1	2			1	1			1	1							7
Ludig						1													1	2	1	5
Osmund						1								1	5	4		6	9	6	8	34
Wulfheard						2															9	31
Cethelwulf							2															2
Cethliaf							1															1
Framric								3														3
Dudwine											1			4		3		2	2		19	31
Diarwulf												2		3	1			11	9	1	7	34
Hussa												4	1	4	1			4	11		1	27
Guthhere													6					1	18	5		37
Beagstan														3	1	7		2	3		22	38
Diga														1		6			3		17	27
Heawulf														1		10		7	1		16	35
Ealdwulf															1							1
Eadnoth																	3	4	3		1	11
Lulla																	1	1	4		3	9
Cuthberht																						4
Eadwulf																		4	1	6	17	26
Huthere																		2	2			4
Tidhelm																		1			11	12
Bernred																			1			1
Berthelm																			4		1	5

[illegible]

APPENDIX 7: DIE ANALYSIS

ANNEX 7A: DIE STUDY BY OBERSE VARIETY AND PHASE

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Variety</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Obv. dies</i>	<i>Rev. dies</i>	<i>Obv. singletons</i>	<i>Rev. singletons</i>
P Ia and Ib	P1	13	12	11	11	9
	P2	26	21	24	17	20
	P3	10	10	10	10	10
	P4	17	16	17	16	15
	Phases Ia and Ib, all	66	59	62	54	54
Phase IIa	H1	35	30	34	21	24
	H2	28	23	25	18	22
	H3	25	22	24	19	23
	H4	4	3	3	2	2
	H5	10	9	10	8	10
	V1	18	15	14	12	12
	Phase IIa, all	120	102	110	80	93
Phase IIb	H6	9	8	8	7	7
	H7	23	16	20	12	18
	H8	15	11	10	9	7
	V2	41	40	41	39	41
	V3	11	10	11	6	8
	V4	36	30	30	25	24
	Phase IIb, all	135	115	120	98	105
Phase III	H9	8	8	8	8	8
	H10	81	63	78	49	74
	H11	149	139	138	131	129
	H12	54	47	48	41	45
	V5	234	219	221	194	199
	Phase III, all	526	476	493	423	455
ALL PHASES		847	752	785	655	707

ANNEX 7B: DIES BY MONEYER, OBERSE VARIETY AND PHASE

Phase Ia and Ib

<i>Variety</i>	<i>P1</i>		<i>P2</i>		<i>P3</i>		<i>P4</i>		<i>Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>obv.</i>	<i>rev.</i>
Dudecil	6	6	4	4	4	4	2	1	16	16
Tatel	6	5							6	5
Dudda			6	7	1	1	6	6	13	14
Eanred			3	3	4	4	4	4	11	11
Ethelwulf			2	2					2	2
Tata			2	2			3	3	5	5
Wine			4	6	1	1	2	2	7	9
ALL	12	11	21	24	10	10	17	17	60	62

Phase IIa

<i>Variety</i> <i>Moneyer</i>	<i>H1</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H2</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H3</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H4</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H5</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>V1</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>obv.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>rev.</i>
Cenred	4	4	1	1	5	6							10	11
Ciallaf	6	6	1	1	1	1					1	1	9	9
Dudda	6	7	6	7	3	3			2	2	2	2	19	21
Dudecil	1	2	1	1									2	3
Dudeman	5	6	1	1									6	7
Eanred	3	3			2	2			1	1			6	6
Ethelwulf	2	2	1	1	2	2							5	5
Wine	3	4	1	1	4	4	1	1	3	3			12	13
Berneah			4	4	1	1			2	2	4	3	11	10
Cunehelm			1	2	1	1							2	3
Hereferth			1	1									1	1
Hugered			1	1									1	1
Liafman			1	1	1	2					1	1	3	4
Ludig			1	1									1	1
Osmund			1	1									1	1
Wulfheard			1	1									1	1
Cethelwulf					1	2							1	2
Cethliaf					1	1							1	1
Framric							2	2					2	2
Tata									1	2	7	7	8	9
ALL	31	34	24	25	22	25	3	3	9	10	15	14	102	111

Phase IIb

<i>Variety</i> <i>Moneyer</i>	<i>H6</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H7</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H8</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>V2</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>V3</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>V4</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>obv.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>rev.</i>
Cunehelm	4	4					2	2	1	2	2	3	9	11
Dudda	2	2					2	2	2	2			6	6
Dudwine	1	1					4	4			3	3	8	8
Liafman	1	1					1	1	1	1			3	3
Cenred			4	4	4	4							8	8
Diarwulf			2	2			3	3	1	1			6	6
Hugered			3	5					2	2			5	7
Hussa			2	3	1	1	4	5	1	1			8	10
Tata			1	1			3	3					4	4
Wulfheard			4	5									4	5
Berheah					3	2	5	5					8	7
Guthhere					2	2							2	2
Osmund					1	1	5	5			4	4	10	10
Beagstan							3	3	1	1	7	7	11	11
Diga							1	1			5	5	6	6
Dudeman							1	1					1	1
Ethelwulf							3	3					3	3
Heawulf							1	1			9	8	10	9
Wine							2	2					2	2
Ealdulf									1	1			1	1
ALL	8	8	16	20	11	10	40	41	10	11	30	30	115	120

Phase III

<i>Variety</i> <i>Moneyer</i>	<i>H9</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H10</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H11</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>H12</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>V5</i> <i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>obv.</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>rev.</i>
Cunehelm	3	3	3	5	10	8			11	12	27	28
Eadnoth	3	3	2	3	3	3			1	1	9	10
Ethelwulf	1	1	2	2	6	7	3	3	10	10	22	23
Lulla	1	1	1	1					3	3	5	5
Beagstan			2	2	3	3			22	21	27	26
Berneah			1	1			1	1	25	26	27	28
Cenred			16	17	9	9	12	12			37	38
Cuthberht			1	2							1	2
Diarwulf			8	11	9	9	1	1	6	6	24	27
Dudwine			2	2	1	1			18	18	21	21
Eadwulf			2	2	1	1	4	5	16	16	23	24
Guthhere			1	1	18	18	5	5	7	7	31	31
Heawulf			5	7	1	1			11	12	17	20
Hereferth			1	1	6	7			6	6	13	14
Hugered			4	6	11	12					15	18
Hussa			4	5	11	9			1	1	16	15
Huthhere			1	2	2	2					3	4
Osmund			5	6	8	8			7	7	20	21
Tata			1	1	2	2			4	4	7	7
Tidhelm			1	1					11	11	12	12
Bernred					1	1					1	1
Berthelm					4	4			1	1	5	5
Burghelm					1	1					1	1
Diga					3	3			17	16	20	19
Dudda					16	16			1	1	17	17
Liafwald					1	1	7	5	1	1	8	7
Ludig					1	1	1	2	1	1	3	4
Lulla					2	2			3	3	5	5
Wine					1	1					1	1
Wulfheard					8	8	5	6	7	8	20	22
Cuthwulf							1	1			1	1
Dealge/Dealle							1	1	2	2	3	3
Ethelheah							1	1	1	1	2	2
Ethelstan							2	2	1	1	3	3
Ethelred							1	1	1	1	2	2
Guthmund							1	1	7	7	8	8
Lefle							1	1	2	2	3	3
Biornoth									2	2	2	2
Burgnoth									1	1	1	1
Dagelte									1	1	1	1
Dealinc									3	4	3	4
Denewald									1	1	1	1
Ecgwulf									1	1	1	1
Wulferth									1	1	1	1
Wulfred									4	3	4	3
ALL	8	8	63	78	139	138	47	48	219	221	476	493

APPENDIX 8: REVERSE SYMBOLS: PERCENTAGES AND FREQUENCY BY OBERSE VARIETY

Phases Ia and Ib

<i>Style</i>	<i>% (no.) of all Phase I</i>	<i>% (no.) P1</i>	<i>P2</i>	<i>P3</i>	<i>P4</i>
0/0/0/0	65% (43)	69% (9)	69% (18)	90% (9)	41% (7)
3/0/0/0	10 (7)		7.5 (2)		29 (5)
0/0/3/0	7 (5)	8 (1)	7.5 (2)		12 (2)
0/0/1/0	3 (2)		4 (1)		6 (1)
0/0/1/1	4 (3)	23 (3)			
0/1/0/0	3 (2)				12 (2)
0/0/0/1	2 (1)		4 (1)		
0/0/1/3	2 (1)		4 (1)		
1/1/1/1	2 (1)			10 (1)	
0/0/3/1	2 (1)		4 (1)		
	(66)	(13)	(26)	(10)	(17)

Phase IIa

<i>Style</i>	<i>% (no.) of all Phase IIa</i>	<i>% (no.) H1</i>	<i>H2</i>	<i>H3</i>	<i>H4</i>	<i>H5</i>	<i>V1</i>
0/0/0/0	73% (87)	88% (31)	60% (17)	88% (22)	100% (4)	60% (6)	39% (7)
1/1/1/1	9 (12)		14 (4)	4 (1)		20 (2)	27 (5)
2/0/0/0	4 (5)					10 (1)	22 (4)
0/0/3/0	3 (4)	3 (1)	7 (2)	4 (1)			
0/0/0/3	3 (4)	6 (2)	7 (2)				
0/1/0/1	1 (1)	3 (1)					
0/0/2/2	1 (1)		4 (1)				
0/0/0/1	1 (1)		4 (1)				
0/1/0/0	1 (1)		4 (1)				
0/0/2/0	1 (1)			4 (1)			
3/0/0/0	1 (1)					10 (1)	6 (1)
1/0/0/0	1 (1)						6 (1)
Uncertain	1 (1)						
	(120)	(35)	(28)	(25)	(4)	(10)	(18)

Phase IIb

<i>Style</i>	<i>% (no.) of all Phase IIb</i>	<i>% (no.) H6</i>	<i>H7</i>	<i>H8</i>	<i>V2</i>	<i>V3</i>	<i>V4</i>
0/0/0/3	37% (51)	11% (1)	52 (12)	8 (1)	46 (20)	27 (3)	38 (14)
0/0/0/0	32 (40)	33 (3)	35 (8)	13 (1)	34 (13)	36 (4)	32 (11)
3/3/3/3	10 (14)		9 (2)	53 (8)		9 (1)	6 (3)
1/1/1/1	6 (9)	11 (1)		13 (3)	12 (5)		
0/0/3/0	2 (3)	33 (3)					
(/)/(/)	2 (2)			13 (2)			
3/0/0/0	2 (2)				2 (1)	9 (1)	
Uncertain	2 (2)					9 (1)	3 (1)
0/0/1/3	2 (3)						9 (3)
0/0/3/symbol	2 (2)						6 (2)
0/0/3/3	1 (1)	11 (1)					
0/0/0/1	1 (1)		4 (1)				
1/1/1/3	1 (1)				2 (1)		
1/0/0/0	1 (1)				2 (1)		
1/1/3/3	1 (1)					9 (1)	
0/1/0/3	1 (1)						3 (1)
0/0/1/2	1 (1)						3 (1)
	(135)	(9)	(23)	(15)	(41)	(11)	(36)

Phase III

<i>Style</i>	<i>% (no.) of all Phase III</i>	<i>% (no.) H9</i>	<i>H10</i>	<i>H11</i>	<i>H12</i>	<i>V5</i>
3/3/3/3	26.6% (140)	50% (4)	14% (11)	6% (9)	24% (13)	44% (103)
0/0/0/0	26.2 (138)	50 (4)	37 (30)	54 (81)		10 (23)
0/0/0/3	15.4 (81)		11 (9)	18 (27)	2 (1)	19 (44)
1/1/1/1	5.9 (31)			4 (6)	4 (2)	10 (23)
3/3/3/6	4.0 (21)		1 (1)		33 (18)	1 (2)
Uncertain	4.0 (21)		5 (4)	1 (2)	7 (4)	5 (12)
(/)/(/)	2.8 (15)		12 (10)	3 (4)	2 (1)	
0/0/0/1	2.7 (14)		4 (3)	7 (10)		<1 (1)
3/1/3/3	2.3 (12)				2 (1)	5 (11)
0/0/0/6	1.9 (10)				18 (10)	
2/2/2/2	1.0 (5)					2 (5)
3/3/3/5	0.6 (3)		4 (3)			
1/1/1/3	0.6 (3)		1 (1)		2 (1)	<1 (1)
3/0/3/3	0.6 (3)		1 (1)			1 (2)
3/3/3/8	0.4 (2)		3 (2)			
3/3/3/2	0.4 (2)		1 (1)			<1 (1)
0/1/3/3	0.4 (2)					1 (2)
0/1/0/1	0.4 (2)			1 (2)		
0/3/3/3	0.4 (2)		3 (2)			
0/0/3/0	0.4 (2)			1 (1)		
3/3/2/6	0.2 (1)		1 (1)			
0/0/0/4	0.2 (1)		1 (1)			
0/0/0/2	0.2 (1)		1 (1)			
0/0/1/1	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
0/0/1/3	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
1/0/0/0	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
1/3/0/3	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
1/1/3/1	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
0/1/0/0	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
0/1/1/1	0.2 (1)			1 (1)		
1/3/3/3	0.2 (1)				2 (1)	
0/0/3/3	0.2 (1)					<1 (1)
0/0/3/6	0.2 (1)				2 (1)	
0/0/0/8	0.2 (1)				2 (1)	
1/3/1/1	0.2 (1)					<1 (1)
1/0/0/3	0.2 (1)					<1 (1)
3/0/0/0	0.2 (1)					<1 (1)
	(526)	(8)	(81)	(149)	(54)	(234)

CORPUS OF THE COINS OF BURGRED OF MERCIA**OBSERVE VARIETY IDENTIFICATION, GROUP P, H OR V**

Group P – Preliminary Lunettes	Usually single panel tunic, narrow lettering, often with legend divided at the base of the bust
Group H – Standard Horizontal Lunettes	Three panel tunic, lips inward pointed wedges or bars Some omit the lips altogether (within H1, H2)
Group V – Standard Vertical Lunettes	Three panel tunic, lips inward or upward pointing wedges

FEATURES OF LUNETTES PENNIES



Fig. 3. Lunettes penny of Burgred (MacKay 09/04, H11, Berththelm)

Obverse features

Eye

Nose

Lips

Diadem

Tunic

Hair at nape of neck
Hair to above diademForelock – hair above nose and to
right of top of the diadem

Legend

Inner-Circle

Style descriptions

An almond, pellet in annulet, inverted crescent with pellet above, single pellet, or single pellet within a crescent above and below.

A curving shape, sometimes with angular realistic form. Sometimes linked to diadem, sometimes separate.

Single or double horizontal bars or inward pointing wedges, sometimes omitted (H); outward or upward pointing wedges (V).

Shallow pitch (H), or steep pitch (V), single, double band or pelleted line(s).

Three panels on Standard Lunettes coins; usually one, sometimes three or more on group P. Left and right panels always with bars or crescents, almost always one or the other and equal size and number left or right. Central panel with many different patterns of bars, crosses, crescents, hatching and pellets.

Usually one to three between base of diadem and top of tunic.

Various styles, diagonal bars, horizontal lines, single or double rows with or without pellets at top of head.

Usually one to three small crescents in front of top of the diadem and above the top of the nose, quite pronounced on some coins.

Usually commencing at 7 o'clock, rarely at 10 o'clock. Many forms.

A plain or single pelleted circle broken by the tunic, occasionally a double plain line.

*Reverse features*Lunette corners – first, second, third
and fourth quarters

Central panel

Central panel upper and lower lines

Upper lunette

Lower lunette

Style Descriptions

First quarter, top left; second quarter, top right; third quarter, lower left; fourth quarter, lower right. Each with or without symbols these usually a pellet or trefoil, less frequently a double pellet or crescent. A cluster of six or eight pellets occurs in the fourth quarter on some coins.

Contains moneyers name, sometimes with a letter rolled over into the upper lunette. A cross may precede the name to the left on some coins. Others have a column(s) of pellets to the right.

Sometime a plain line; sometimes pelleted. Occasionally a plain line with a pelleted line above or below.

Contains letters **MON** of **MONETA**. Last letter(s) or first letter of moneyer's name sometimes rolled over into this lunette.With letters usually **ETA** of **MONETA**, exceptionally **NETA**.

Obverse features

Lunette variations

Style descriptions

Reverse lunette type A – closed lunettes

Reverse lunette type B – open at top and base

Reverse lunette type C – open at sides

Reverse lunette type D – ‘crooks’ without upper and lower lunette semi-circles

Reverse lunette E – as D with addition of large uncial letter **ᛗ** breaking **MONETA** (two varieties, Ei, with single stem uncial **ᛗ** and Eii, with double stem uncial **ᛗ**).

OBSERVE VARIETIES - DESIGNATING FEATURES

<i>Variety</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Tunic and bust</i>	<i>Commonly found reverse types and other notable features</i>
P1	Almond	Head looks up, good style	A
P2	Large annulet	Pellets at base, coarse style, some with no lips	A, C, D
P3	Almond with pellet	Low shoulders which seem to exaggerate neck	A, C
P4	Annulet with pellet or large annulet	Triangular tunic, very coarse style	D, A
H1	Almond with or without pellet	Compact tunic and neat often compact bust, some with no lips	D, C
H2	Almond with or without pellet	Wider spread tunic, taller thinner bust than H1	D, A
H3	Almond with pellet	Neat style as Æthelberht Floreate Cross type, six pellets at base of neck	C
H4	Almond with pellet	Neat style as H3, no pellets at base of neck, in style of Æthelred I Four-Line type	C
H5	Almond with pellet	Coarser version of H3, pellets below bust	A, C
H6	Large annulet	Large crescent and pellet at top of diadem, narrow tunic	A
H7	Crescent with pellet	Small head over broad/large shoulders, ill-proportioned bust	D
H8	Small pellet or annulet	Realistic pointed nose, double diadem, neat style	A
H9	Small crescent	Realistic pointed nose, coarser style than H8, flattened face	A
H10	Pellet, diadem seems to cut across eye	Often double diadem, narrow tunic, often with small pellet(s) at base of neck	A, D
H11	Crescent with pellet	Single or double diadem	A, D
H12	Pellet, small crescent above and below	Flattened face, double diadem, some with straight side to tunic	A
V1	Large annulet with pellet	Large untidy bust, complex tunic patterns, pellets around top of head, legend often broken with ᛗ	Six or eight pellet cluster in lower right lunette angle C, A
V2	Annulet	Broad tunic, often with three, five or six pellets at base of neck	D
V3	Annulet	Double inner-circle	D
V4	Pellet	Untidy, narrow diameter inner-circle	A
V5	Pellet, crescent above and below	Steeply pitched diadem, coarse facial features	A

SUMMARY OF TYPOLOGY: CHRONOLOGY AND FREQUENCY

<i>Obv. variety</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Notes</i>
P1	Preliminary Lunettes- P	Ia	Preliminary A	13	Varieties
P2		Ib	Preliminary B	26	
P3		Ib	Preliminary C	10	
P4		Ib	Preliminary D	17	
H1	Standard Lunettes – H and V Series	IIa	Early Horizontal	35	One variety

<i>Obv. variety</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Notes</i>
H2		IIa	Early Horizontal B	28	One variety
H3		IIa	Floreate Horizontal A	25	
H4		IIa	Floreate Horizontal B	4	
H5		IIa	Floreate Horizontal C	10	
V1		IIa	Early Vertical	18	One variety
H6		IIb	Mid-Horizontal A	9	
H7		IIb	Mid-Horizontal B	23	One variety
H8		IIb	Mid-Horizontal C	15	
V2		IIb	Mid-Vertical A	41	
V3		IIb	Mid-Vertical B	11	
V4		IIb	Mid-Vertical C	36	
H9		III	Late-Horizontal A	8	
H10		III	Late-Horizontal B	81	One variety
H11		III	Late-Horizontal C	149	
H12		III	Late Horizontal D	54	
V5		III	Late Vertical	234	
Total				847	

CATALOGUE REFERENCES

<i>BMC</i>	<i>North</i>	<i>Spink Standard Catalogue</i>
141–402	N.423 – Reverse A	S.938 as North
	N.424 – Reverse B	S.939 as North
	N.425 – Reverse C	S.940 as North
	N.426 – Reverse D	S.941 as North
	N.427 – Reverse E	S.942 as North

OBSERVE REGNAL TITLES

To ensure consistency and clarity the obverse legend is in all cases read starting at seven o'clock. The standard obverse legend reads **BVRGRED REX** and usually commences at 7 o'clock. This core style is supplemented by prefixes and suffixes in the form of various symbols and letters. In some cases it commences at 11 or 12 o'clock, rather than the norm of 7 o'clock, with the legend broken at the base of the bust. A few coins have the Wessex Lunettes form starting at 10 o'clock. Obverse legends are categorised according to these variations, with over 100 styles noted. The obverse legend style is listed for each coin in the Corpus with a letter denoting the legend style and a number the form.

Divided Style – Those where the legend is broken by the base of the bust. Style A

Simple Styles – Those where the legend starts without a cross. Styles B–G

Cross Styles – Those where the legend starts with a cross. Styles H–L

A. Divided by base of bust

- A1 ED REX + BVRGR
- A2 ED REX M + BVRGR
- A3 D REX M- + BVRGRE
- A4 ED REX- M BVRGR bar above M
- A5 REX M- + BVRGRED Wessex style
- A6 RED REX + BVRG
- A7 .ED REX- + BVRGR +
- A8 ED REX- + BVRGR
- A9 ED REX M + BVRGR
- A10 REX M CO + BVRGERD
- A11 trefoil ED REX- + BVRGR
- A12 +REX- O + BVRGRED
- A13 REX M + BVRGRED Wessex style
- A14 RED REX- + BVRG.
- A15 ED REX- + BVRGE +

B. Simple, no prefix or suffix

- B1 BVRGRED REX
- B2 BVRGRED REX X second X is a small X with a pellet on end or each arm
- B3 BVRGRED RE-X bar above between E and X
- B4 BVRGRED REX bar above X
- B5 BVRGRED RE
- B6 BVRGERD RE.X

C. Simple, with suffix of bars, pellets or additional 'X'

- C1 BVRGRED REX-
- C2 BVRGRED REX inverted trefoil
- C3 BVRGRED REX- trefoil
- C4 BVRGRED REX / trefoil
- C5 BVRGRED REX /
- C6 BVRGRED REX\ quatrefoil of four pellets
- C7 BVRGRED REX - quatrefoil of four pellets
- C8 BVRGRED REX-∴
- C9 BVRGRED REX I
- C10 BVRGRED REX-X bar above both Xs
- C11 Column of three pellets BVRGRED REX column of three pellets
- C12 BVRGRED REX \
- C13 BVRGRED REX X bar above last X
- C14 BVRGROED REX- O containing a pellet
- C15 BVRGR + ED REXX-
- C16 BVRGRED REX-X bar separating Xs
- C17 BVRGRED REX-∴
- C18 BVRGRED REI
- C19 BVRGRED REX- arms of X each ending with a pellet
- C20 BVRGRED REX bar part above X and extending beyond
- C21 BVRGRED RE +- -
- C22 BVRGRED REX X second X lower than first and with bar above
- C23 BVRGO ∴∴ ED REX-
- C24 BVRGRED REX-∴ two pellets, left higher than right, beneath bar

D. Simple, with cross suffix

- D1 BVRGRED RE +
- D2 BVRGRED RE- +
- D3 BVRGRED REX- + bar linking X and +
- D4 BVRGRED REX +
- D5 BVRGRED RE-X + bar linking E and X
- D6 BVRGRED RE∴
- D7 BVRGRED RE +-+ bar linking + and +
- D8 BVRGRED REX-+ bar separating X and +
- D9 BVRGRED REX M + M with bar above
- D10 BVRGRED RE M +
- D11 BVRGR + D REX + bar above X
- D12 BVRGRED REX- + pellet above and below X
- D13 BVRGRED RE + - + wedge below -
- D14 BVRGRED REX +, pellet in each angle of + (imitative)

E. Simple with M suffix

- E1 BVRGRED REX M
- E2 BVRGRED RE + M
- E3 BVRGRED REX M bar above M
- E4 BVRGRED REX M-
- E5 BVRGRED RE-X M
- E6 BVRGRED RE M
- E7 BVRGRED RE M-
- E8 BVRGRED REX M/
- E9 BVRGRED REX- M

F. Simple with **ᛞ** suffix

- F1 BVRGRED RE **ᛞ**.
- F2 BVRGRED REX **ᛞ** bar above **ᛞ**
- F3 BVRGRED REX **ᛞ**
- F4 BVRGRED RX / **ᛞ**
- F5 BVRGRED RE + **ᛞ**
- F6 BVRGRED RE +- **ᛞ**
- F7 BVRGRED REX - **ᛞ**
- F8 BVRGRED REX / **ᛞ**
- F9 BVRGRED REX-**ᛞ** bar linking **X** and **ᛞ**
- F10 BVRGRED RE **ᛞ**
- F11 BVRGRED RE **ᛞ** bar above **ᛞ**
- F12 BVRGRED REX **ᛞ** pellet at tip of each outer arm of **ᛞ**
- F13 BVRGRED REX **ᛞ** bar above **X**
- F14 BVRGRED REX **ᛞ** bar above linking **X** and **ᛞ**

G. Simple name broken with + or **ᛞ**

- G1 BVRGR + ED REX * star shape after REX
- G2 BVR **ᛞ** ED REX- **ᛞ**

H. Cross prefix, no suffix

- H1 + BVRGRED REX
- H2 + BVRGRED RE
- H3 **X** BVRGRED REX
- H4 + BVRGRED REX curvilinear **X** with pellet on tips

I. Cross prefix, cross or symbol suffix

- I1 + BVRGRED RE +
- I2 + BVRGRED REX-
- I3 + BVRGRED REX
- I4 + BVRGRED REX- +
- I5 column of four pellets + BVRGRED RE + column of four pellets
- I6 + BVRGRED RE + ::
- I7 + BVRGRED REX-.
- I8 + BVRGRED RE +\
- I9 + BVRGRED RE+-
- I10 + BVRGRED RE + **ᛞ** + **ᛞ** with bar above

J. Cross prefix, M, I or other letter suffix

- J1 + BVRGRED RE I
- J2 + BVRGRED REX M-
- J3 + BVRGRED REX I
- J4 + BVRGRED REX M

K. Cross prefix, **ᛞ** suffix

- K1 + BVRGRED REX **ᛞ** bar above **ᛞ**
- K2 + BVRGRED RE + **ᛞ** bar above **ᛞ**
- K3 + BVRGRED REX **ᛞ**
- K4 + BVRGRED RE **ᛞ**
- K5 + BVRGRED RE **ᛞ** + bar above **ᛞ**
- K6 + BVRGRED REX **ᛞ** -

L. Cross prefix, name broken by uncial **ᛞ** above bust

- L1 + BVRGR **ᛞ** ED REX
- L2 + BVRGR **ᛞ** ED REX.
- L3 + BVRGR **ᛞ** ED REX -
- L4 + BVRGR **ᛞ** ED REX /
- L5 + BVRGR **ᛞ** ED REX four pellets saltire

BL. Blundered legend (imitative)

BL1 BVF reversed GFED FEX- (C1 var.)

REVERSE LEGENDS

To ensure consistency in transcription and clarity in listing, all reverse legends are read and listed as they appear on the coin, starting at the upper left and ending at the lower right. Line breaks within the legend are noted with a single space gap (e.g., **MON +DVDDA ETA**). In some instances a letter of the moneyer's name may wrap around into the first or third line of the inscription, as for example with **+DVDECIL MONETA**, where the **N** of **DVDECIL** precedes **MON**. This is transcribed as it reads on the coin (i.e. **LMON +DVDECI ETA**). Ligated letters are shown underlined.

REVERSE SYMBOLS

Many Lunettes pennies have symbols, usually formed of pellets, in the lunette quarters. Over forty combinations are noted, each expressed as a chain of numbers equivalent to the symbols in each lunette angle.

Plain (i.e. no symbols)	noted as 0
Single pellet	noted as 1
Pair of pellets	noted as 2
Trefoils	noted as 3
Pellet clusters in third quarter	noted as 6 or 8
Crescents	noted as ‘(’’.

The most frequently found forms are 0/0/0/0, 3/3/3/3 (this mostly on obverse variety V5), 0/0/0/3 and 1/1/1/1. These account for around three-quarters of all coins recorded.

DIE ANALYSIS

Obverse and reverse die-pairings between coins have been noted where the match is established with confidence. Die-pairings are noted for each moneyer in the order of obverse varieties, with the obverse die-number first and the reverse second (e.g. O2/R1: obverse die 1, reverse die 2). A few coins have been noted as mules, when a reverse die die is paired with obverse dies of more than one obverse variety.

COIN WEIGHTS

Weights are noted in grams (g), either from catalogue listings or from measurements by the author. In cases where the weight was neither listed nor able to be measured the phrase ‘wnr’ (weight not recorded) appears.

METALLURGY

The silver content for coins tested by Metcalf and Northover and published in their 1985 study are noted according to the number allocated to the coin in their listing. Two coins listed by them have not been seen so are not included in the Corpus (Metcalf and Northover nos 59 and 60). One coin from the Severn Stoke hoard was subjected to metallurgical analysis by BMRL and the silver content for this is noted.

MONEYERS' NAMES

All moneyers' names are listed in the format used by North or as spelt on the coin. The following names are the same on philological grounds and therefore have been treated as the work of the same individual.

Dudda, Duda Dudd, Dudh	Moneyer listed as Dudda
Beranh, Bearne, Berheah, Berneah, Bervni	Moneyer listed as Berneah
Dealge, Dela, Dealle	Moneyer listed as Dela

COIN REFERENCES AND PROVENANCES

Coins are assigned references usually according to the collection where they currently reside. An exception to this are the coins in the Mack collection, which are noted by their references in *SCBI* 20. Earlier or subsequent provenances are noted where these are proven. British Museum (BM) coins are listed according to the BM accession number primarily, with the *BMC* or *BMA* reference also noted.

Coins sold at auction or in dealers' lists are noted: the lists searched are principally those of the major London dealers after 1990, along with the lists issued by Patrick Finn between 1994 and 2000. The coverage of auctions

since 2001 includes UK, European and US auctions as listed on the Coin Archives website (<http://www.coinarchives.com/>). Auctions before 2001 include major collection sales and Spink auctions. Sales and list references give the sale name, with a collection named where applicable, and date with the lot or line number noted as a number, e.g. Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 79. Any coins published or presented at auction after 1 June 2014 are not included in the Corpus.

AUCTIONS, DEALERS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS REPRESENTED IN THE CORPUS

For auctions only includes ‘named’ sales; general sales at Glendining, Sotheby etc. are referred to by date only in the Corpus and elsewhere.

- Abdy, Sir R. (1841): Sotheby, 14 June 1841
 Addington, S. (1883): collection bought by Montagu, 1883
 Allen, W. (1898): Sotheby, 14 Mar. 1898
 Andrew, W.J. (1934): Sotheby, 30 Apr. 1934
 Argyll, Duke of: collection of 10th Duke (d.1949) bought by Spink 1949
 Arnot, Capt. A.J. (1995): Dix Noonan Webb, 21 Mar. 1995
 Ashe, R.C. (1958): donor to the British Museum, 1958
 Astronomer (F. McClean) (1906): Sotheby, 11 June 1906
 Babington, Rev. C. (1866): donation to the Fitzwilliam Museum
 Bagnall, A.E.: collection acquired by Spink 1964
 Ballard, G. (1755): bequest to the Bodleian, now Ashmolean Museum
 Baldwin, A.H.: current London dealer and auctioneer; from 2014 part of Stanley Gibbons
 Bank of England (1877): Sotheby, 13 July 1877
 Banks, Sophia: collection left to her brother Sir J. Banks, who bequeathed it the British Museum, 1818, which passed a portion to the Royal Mint collection
 Bareford, H.S. (1985): Stack’s, New York, 23 Oct. 1985
 Barnett, T.G. (1935): portion of collection bequeathed to the British Museum, 1935
 Bergne, J.B. (1873): Sotheby, 20 May 1873
 Bird, Dr B. (1974): Glendining, 20 Nov. 1974
 Blunt, C.E. (1990): most of collection, including Anglo-Saxon coins, acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1990
 Boyd, W.C. (2005): collection formed in late nineteenth century, sold by Baldwin, 26 Sept. 2005
 Brand, V.M.: collection dispersed variously from 1932
 Briggs, A. (1893): Sotheby, 22–23 March 1893
 Bruun-Rasmussen: current auctioneer based in Copenhagen, Denmark
 CNG Inc: Classical Numismatic Group, current auctioneer and dealer, Lancaster PA, USA, incorporating Seaby, London
 Cahn, A.E.: late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Frankfurt am Main coin dealer
 Carlyon Britton, P.W.P. (1913): Sotheby, 17 Nov. 1913, first portion
 Carlyon Britton, P.W.P. (1916): Sotheby, 20 Nov. 1916, second portion
 Carlyon Britton, P.W.P. (1918): Sotheby, 11 Nov. 1918, third portion
 Carlyon Britton, R. (d.1960): portions of collection dispersed through Seaby, c.1950 and c.1960
 Christie: international auction house, coin auctions until 2002, from 1993 to 2002 owners of Spink and Son, which incorporated Christie coin auctions
 Clonterbrook Trust (1974): Glendining, 7 June 1974
 Coats (1924): Thomas Coats of Ferguslie, Collection formed c.1871–82, presented to the University of Glasgow, 1924. Many coins acquired through Edward Burns acting as agent to Coats, 1876–82
 Cotton (d.1702): collection in British Museum
 Cuff, J.D. (1854): Sotheby, 8 June 1854
 Cureton, H.O.: mid-nineteenth-century London coin dealer (d.1858)
 DNW: Dix, Noonan Webb, active London auctioneer
 Daniels, J.H.: Brighton coin dealer, ceased 1936
 Danson, E. (2005): Dix Noonan Webb, 12 Dec. 2005
 Dawson, B.: north of England dealer, active late twentieth to early twenty-first century
 ‘Demarete’ (Elvira Clain Stefanelli): Stack’s, Bowers, Ponterio, California, 20 Aug. 2013
 Dickie, D.P. (1967): donor to the American Numismatic Society
 Drabble, G.C. (1939): Glendining, 4 July 1939
 Dresser, J.L. (1995): Stack’s, New York, 4 May 1995
 Duncanson, T.J.G. (1930): bequest to Fitzwilliam Museum, 1930
 Durkee, J. (d.1898): bequest to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1899
 Elmore Jones, F. (1971): Glendining, 12 May 1971
 Evans, Sir A.J. (1908): collection purchased by Spink c.1908 and much of it purchased by Morgan (1915)
 Eyre, W. (d.1764): collection donated to Winchester Cathedral, later Leeds City Museum
 Fabricius, Professor K.F.: donor to Copenhagen Royal Collection

- Feltrin-Fagan, Maj. C.S. (1933): collection donated to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1933
- Finn, P.: (d.2000) coin dealer based in Kendal from 1994
- Forrer, L.S. (1948): Christie's, 25 Oct. 1948
- Fox, G. (1838): owner of a parcel of coins from Gravesend hoard, acquired by the British Museum, 1838
- Gambier-Parry T.R.: bequest to the Ashmolean Museum, 1935
- Gansauge, Lt. Gen. H. von (d.1871): collection acquired 1873, now State Museum, Berlin
- Garrett, J.W.: collection loaned to John Hopkins University, later dispersed
- Gartz, C. (1901): Stockholm, 26 Nov. 1901
- Gemini: current auctioneer, a part of Harlan J. Berk, Chicago, Ill., USA dealer
- Gerhardt, Commander R (2012): Spink auction 215, 4 Dec. 2012
- Glendining: London auctioneer, c. 1930–90, incorporated into Bonhams, c. 1995
- Goldberg: Larry and Ira, current auctioneer, Los Angeles, CA, USA
- Grantley, 5th Baron (1944): Glendining, 22 Mar. 1944
- Griffith, Mrs. F.L.: donation to the Ashmolean Museum, 1920–21
- Hall, J. (2006): Dix Noonan Webb, 28 Sept. 2006
- Hasluck, F.W.: bequests to the Fitzwilliam Museum and British Museum, 1920
- Hauberg, P.C.: deputy keeper, 1887, keeper 1898–1920, Copenhagen Royal collection, and donor to collection
- Heritage Auctions: Texas based auctioneer operating Heritage Numismatic auctions
- Herriot, C.I.B. (2004): Dix Noonan Webb, 30 June 2004
- Hoffman, H.: mid-nineteenth-century Paris coin dealer
- Hunter, Dr W. (d.1783): collection bequeathed to Glasgow University, 1783
- Kenny, J.F. (2006): Spink auction 180, 30 Mar. 2006
- King, H.: donation to the British Museum, 1975
- Kunker, F.R.: current auctioneer, Osnabruck, Germany
- LaRiviere, L. (2002): Spink auction 160, 9–10 Oct. 2002
- Larsen, L.V. (1972): Glendining, 1 Nov. 1972
- Lawrence L.A.: collection of Anglo-Saxon coins sold by private treaty by L.A. Lawrence to Lord Grantley in 1903
- Layton, T. (1944): donor to Brentford public Library (1911), coins later to the Museum of London, 1944
- Lewis, Rev. S.S. (1891): bequest to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1891, now on loan to Fitzwilliam Museum
- Lincoln, W.S.: London coin dealer, ceased trading 1930
- Lindsay, J. (1867): Sotheby, 14 Aug. 1867
- Lockett, R.C. (1955): Glendining, 6–9 June 1955, English Part I, lots 1–1222
- Lockett, R.C. (1958): Glendining, 4–6 Nov. 1958, English Part III, lots 2628–3545
- Lockett, R.C. (1960): Glendining, 26–27 Apr. 1960, English Part IV, lots 3546–4249
- Lyon, Dr C.S.S.: UK private collection held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- Lyons, Maj. Gen. A.W.: UK private collection, Burgred holding dispersed, Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013
- Mack, Commander R.P. (1975): Glendining, 18 Nov. 1975
- Mack, Commander R.P. (1977): Glendining, 23 Mar. 1977
- MacKay, W.A.: UK private collection, collection held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- Magdalen College, Oxford (1936): collection held at the Ashmolean Museum since 1936
- Maples, A. (d.1950), donor to Spalding Gentlemen's Society Museum
- Marjoribanks, C. (1904): Sotheby, 28 Apr. 1904
- 'Marshall' (2004): Spink Auction 167, 31 Mar. 2004
- Minns, P.: York dealer c.1975–85
- Montagu, H. (1895): Sotheby, 18 Nov. 1895
- Morgan, J.P. (1915): dispersed to British Museum and others, including Lockett, c.1915
- Morrison, Dr A.W.: UK private collection formed c.1960–2000, now held by his family
- Morton and Eden: current London auctioneer from 2001
- Norris, T. (1890): d.1910, donor to the Somerset County Museum, 1890
- Norweb, Mrs W.M.H. (1985): Norweb I, Spink auction 45, 13 June 1985
- Norweb, Mrs W.M.H. (1986): Norweb III, Spink auction 56, 19 Nov. 1986
- Oldroyd, E.F. and M.A. (1946): collection acquired by the British Museum, 1946
- Parsons, H.A. (1954): Sotheby, 11 May 1954
- Peace, M.W. (1894): Sotheby, 15 June 1894
- Pegg, H. (1980): Spink auction 11, 8 Oct. 1980
- Perceval, S.G. (1922): donor to Fitzwilliam Museum, 1922
- Perley-Storer, J. (1995), Spink auction 111, 21 Nov. 1995
- Pheatt, H. (1995): Dix Noonan Webb, 21 Mar. 1995
- Queens College, Cambridge: collection held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- Rashleigh, J. (1909): Sotheby, 21 June 1909
- Rasmussen, Mark: current UK dealer
- Rees-Jones, Dr D. (1996): Spink auction 117, 19 Nov. 1996
- Reichel, J.J. (d.1856): collection bought by Hermitage Museum 1858
- 'Ridgemount' (1989): Spink auction 69, 20 Apr. 1989

Rogasner, J.D. (d.1969): benefactor of the ANS
 Rollin and Feuardent: nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Paris and London coin dealer
 Seaby: London dealer and publisher of *SCMB* from 1926 to 1991, when sold to CNG Inc
 Serrure, R.: numismatist and dealer in Paris, mid-nineteenth century
 Shand, F.J. (1949): Glendining, 8 Mar. 1949
 Silbury Coins: current UK dealer
 Smalley, F. (2013): collection part of Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sep. 2013
 Sotheby: international auctioneer, coin auctions until 2001
 Southgate, Rev R. (1795): collection bought by Tyssen before intended Sotheby sale of 1 July 1795
 Spink and Sons: London, current London numismatic auctioneer since 1978, coin dealer since late eighteenth century and publisher of *NCirc* from 1892
 St. James's auctions: current London auctioneer
 Stack's: New York auctioneer and dealer now operating auctions as part of Stack's, Bowers and Ponterio grouping
 Stack, L.R. (1999): Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999
 Stanley Gibbons: London dealer in stamps, periodically dealt in coins, notably late 1970s to early 1980s
 Stroganov: Counts Stroganov, collection taken into Hermitage collection, 1925
 Talbot Ready, J. (1920): Sotheby, 15 Nov. 1920
 Turner, Dr J. (2008): Goldberg, Los Angeles, 26 May 2008
 Thomsen, C.J. (d.1865): collection bequeathed to National Museum, Copenhagen
 Timpe, C.T.: mid-nineteenth-century Berlin coin dealer
 Townshend, C.H. (1868): collection donated to the Wisbech Museum
 Trinity College, Cambridge (1937): collection on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum
 Tyssen, S. (1802): Sotheby, 12 Apr. and 6 Dec. 1802
 UBS: Union Bank of Switzerland, Zurich, auctioneers, now operate as Sincona AG
 Vieweg: London dealer active late nineteenth century, acquired portion of 1884 Waterloo Bridge hoard
 'Viking' (2001): Spink auction 150, 14 Mar. 2001
 Walker, H (1942): Glendining, 17 June 1942
 Walters, F.A. (1913): Sotheby, 26 May 1913
 Watters, C.A. (1917): Glendining, 21–25 May 1917
 York coins; current New York dealer
 Young, A.W. (1936): collection donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum
 Weber, Sir H.D. (1885): Sotheby, 16 June 1885
 Willis, B. (1742–46 and ?1760): donation to Bodleian Library, now Ashmolean Museum. Oxford
 Willoughby Gardner: collection, portion acquired by Chester Grosvenor Museum, 1952, and further portion donated, 1963
 Zimmerman, W.J.: US collector

PLATE IMAGE ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum: nos. 2, 4, 6–11, 13–17, 20–21, 25, 27–32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 42–44, 46, 48–49, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61–62, 66–67, 69, 71, 74–85, 88–90, 92–96, 101, 103–17, 120–22, 125–34, 136–37, 140–48, 150, 152–64, 166–68, 170–71, 173–82, 185–86.
 By permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: nos. 123, 188.
 National Museum of Denmark: nos. 189–91.
 By permission of the National Museum of Wales: no. 184.
 By permission of the Worcestershire County Museum: nos. 33, 41, 86, 124, 169.
 Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: nos. 1, 5, 12, 19, 23–24, 37, 50, 51, 65, 70, 72, 91, 97–99, 102, 135, 138–39, 149, 151, 165, 172, 183.
 Dr Stewart Lyon: nos. 18, 35, 38, 47, 60.
 Mr William MacKay: nos. 22, 26, 45, 54, 57, 63, 68, 73, 87, 100, 118–19, 187.
 Private collectors (anonymous): nos. 3, 52, 64.

CORPUS OF COINS

PRELIMINARY LUNETTES GROUP

OBVERSE VARIETY P1 – Preliminary A

Phase Ia

Reverse mix proportions % A/B/C/D/E;	A 100%
Metallurgy; silver %	93/71/69/69 (4)
Recorded moneyers	Dudecil, Tatel
Number of recorded moneyers	2

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudecil			
P1.1 O1/R1	Obv. J4 Rev. A, L MON † DVDECI ETA , lozenge O, Latin cross, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 344, Somerset County Museum, ex Norris, 1890	1.22 chipped
P1.2 O2/R2	Obv. J4 Rev. A, M ON † DVDECIL ETA , lozenge letter O, 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 250, ex Cotton 170. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 25, 71.1% <i>AR</i>	1.35 pierced
P1.3 O3/R3	Obv. A2 Rev. A, pelleted lines, M ON † DVDECIL ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, Latin cross before DVDECIL, 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,24, <i>BMC</i> 251, ex Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 24, 69.3% <i>AR</i> , Pl. 1, 2	1.41
P1.4 O4/R4	Obv. A1, double diadem, inverted crescents Rev. A, L MON † DVDECI ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	UK private collection, ex <i>SCMB</i> Jan. 1966, 3159, Pl. 1, 3	1.36
P1.5 O5/R5	Obv. A1, inverted crescents Rev. A, L MON † DVDECI ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	St James's auction, Sept. 2006, 3, ex Lockett I (1955), 394a	wnr
P1.6 O6/R6	Obv. H4, double diadem, three panels, vertical bar and pellets in central panel, bars Rev. A, L MON † DVDEC ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/1/1	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 324	1.44
Tatel			
P1.7 O1/R1	Obv. J2, pelleted diadem, bars Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	UK private collection, ex L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 325	1.28 chipped
P1.8, var. P1a O2 (P1a)/R1 (P1)	Obv. E4 Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i> <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	<i>BMC</i> 387, ex Tyssen, 1802, ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8, 17. Metcalf and Northover 1985. 23, 69.3% <i>AR</i> , Pl. 1, 4	1.37
P1.9var. P1a, O2/R2	Obv. E4 Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 21,960, Leeds City Museum, ex Winchester Cathedral Collection, ex Eyre (d.1764), Pl. 1, 5	1.36
P1.10 O3/R3	Obv. E4 Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA , 0/0/1/1, lozenge O, long lower arm of cross divides two small pellets <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 386, acquired before 1838, possibly ex Dorking 1817. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 22, 93.1% <i>AR</i>	1.33 minor edge loss
P1.11 O4/R3	Obv. E1 Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA , cross with long stem dividing two pellets, lozenge O, 0/0/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as previous coin</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.202-1990, Blunt, ex Lockett I (1955), 396c, Drabble (1939), 388b, Montagu (1895), 280e, Addington, 1883	1.21
P1.12 O5/R4	Obv. A10 Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA , 0/0/3/0, initial cross within four pellets, lozenge O with wedge on each angle	BM, 1955,0708,19, ex Lockett I (1955), 397b, ex Grantley (1944), 869e, P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 290, Peace (1894)	1.16
P1.13 O6/R5	Obv. A9 Rev. A, M ON † TATEL ETA , Lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	BM, 1915,0507,692, <i>BMA</i> 151, ex Evans, ex Lindsay, see Lindsay, 1860, pl. 2, 7. Tunic with distinctive pattern found on some coins of Berhtwulf, Pl. 1, 6	1.39

OBVERSE VARIETY P2 – Preliminary B

Phase Ib

Reverse mix proportions % A/B/C/D/E 38/12/27/23/0
 Metallurgy; silver % 69/68/68/56/46 (5)
 Number of recorded moneyers 6
 Recorded moneyers Dudda, Dudecil, Eanred, Ethelwulf, Tata, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda	Dudda, Dudda		
P2.1 O1/R1	Obv. A8, Rev. A, MON DVDA ETA, V inverted, 0/0/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as next two coins</i>	<i>BMC</i> 247, ex. Tyssen (1802), ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8, 16; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 31, 68.4% <i>AR</i> , Pl. 1, 7	1.36
P2.2 O1/R2	Obv. A8 Rev. A, MON +DVDA ETA, A inverted, 0/0/3/0 <i>Same obv. die as last and next; same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,120, <i>BMC</i> 248, Gravesend 1838. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 30, 68.9% <i>AR</i>	1.29
P2.3 O1/R2	Obv. A8 Rev. A, MON +DVDA ETA , inverted V in DVDA , 0/0/3/0 <i>Same obv. die as last two; same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 614, ex Lockett I (1955), 393b; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> April 1982, 2841	1.30
P2.4 O2/R3	Obv. H1 Rev. A, MON DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BM</i> 1915,050,690, <i>BMA</i> 141, Morgan. (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 25; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 23, Pl. 1, 8	1.28
P2.5 O3/R4	Obv. A8, double diadem, line of five pellets at base of bust Rev. A, MON +DVDA ETA , inverted V , pellet within O , 3/0/0/0	P. Finn list 12, 1998, 58	1.19 chipped
P2.6 O4/R5	Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. C, MON DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Elmore Jones, Glendining, 12 May 1971, 33	1.26
P2.7 O5/R6	Obv. H1, no side panels Rev. D, MON DVDDA ETA , DVDDA inverted, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 241 acquired before 1838	1.22 cracked
P2.8 O6/R7	Obv. H1, lips omitted Rev. D, MON DVDDA ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 633, ex Spink 1950; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> June 1983, 3901 and L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 329	1.41
Dudecil			
P2.9 O1/R1	Obv. A1 Rev. C, MONL +DVDECI ETA , inverted L after MON , DVDECI retrograde, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 375, ex Coats 1924, same rev. die, possibly the same coin, as Fountaine 1705, pl. III, 6	1.41
P2.10 O2/R2	Obv. H1 Rev. C, ILMO +DVDEC NETA 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 423 (<i>MEC</i> 1318), ex Young 1936 and Weber 1885, 5. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 33, 67.66% <i>AR</i>	1.36
P2.11 O3/R3	Obv. H1, no side panels Rev. D, LMON +DVDEC ETA , 0/0/0/1	<i>BM</i> 1840,0314,54, <i>BMC</i> 256, Gravesend 1838	1.40
P2.12 O4/R4	Obv. I1, no side panels Rev. D, ILMO +DVDEC NETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 254, ex Tyssen (1802), ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 7, 3, Pl. 1, 9	1.45
P2.13 O4/R4	Obv. I1, no side panels Rev. D, ILMO +DVDEC NETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.215-1990, Blunt, ex Lockett I (1955), 403c and Argyll	1.49

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Eanred			
P2.14 O1/R1	Obv. A1, no side panels Rev. A, DMON EANRE ETA , lozenge O with spikes on angles, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,137, <i>BMC</i> 281, Gravesend 1838, Metcalf and Northover 1985, 61, 45.6% <i>AR</i> , Pl. 1, 10	1.39
P2.15 O2/R2	Obv. A1, no side panels Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , lozenge O , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 283, ex Tyssen (1802). Metcalf and Northover 1985, 38, 55.75% <i>AR</i>	1.26
P2.16 O3/R3	Obv. A1, double diadem Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , lozenge O , 0/0/0/0	Elmore Jones, Glendining 12 May 1971, 26, ex Lockett I (1955), 394c, P.W.P. Carlyon- Britton (1913), 288 (illus.)	1.31
Ethelwulf			
P2.17 O1/R1	Obv. C2, triangular tunic with three panels Rev. C, FMON EDELAFL ETA , inverted V , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/1/3	BM 1840,0314,28, <i>BMC</i> 297, Gravesend, 1838, Pl. 1, 11	0.86
P2.18 O2/R2	Obv. A8, double diadem Rev. C, LFMO +EDELV NETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>NCirc</i> Jul. 1992, 4160, ex Pegg, Spink auction 11, 8 Oct. 1980, 9, and Shand, Glendining, 8 Mar. 1949, 293	1.18
Tata			
P2.19 O1/R1	Obv. A8 Rev. A, MON TA.TA. ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 622, ex. Lockett I (1955), 396b and Glendining, 17–18 June 1936, 419 (part), subsequently <i>NCirc</i> June 1983, 3902, Pl. 1, 12	1.54
P2.20 O2/R2	Obv. A8 Rev. A, MON +TATA ETA , 3/0/0/0	<i>NCirc</i> May 1994, 3200	1.10
Wine			
P2.21 O1/R1	Obv. A8, no side panels, long cross in legend, double diadem, central panel with three vertical bars dividing a row of three pellets above and four below Rev. C, MON VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0, lunettes poorly cut, so almost looks like a type A <i>Same obv. die as next coin</i>	BM 1935,1117,325, <i>BMA</i> 325, Barnett bequest, 1935, ill. Heywood 1906, 59, no. 21, ex Waterloo Bridge 1884, Pl. 1, 13	1.25
P2.22 O1/R2	Obv. A8, no side panels, long cross in legend, double diadem, central panel with three vertical bars dividing a row of three pellets above and four below Rev. C, MON VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Lyon 596, ex Lockett IV (1960), 3600c, bt. Baldwin	1.40
P2.23 O2/R3	Obv. A8, no side panels Rev. B, MON VVINE ETA , lozenge O , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1925,0202,16, Beeston Tor 1924	1.39
P2.24 O2/R4	Obv. A8, no side panels Rev. B, NOM VVINE ETA , lozenge O , MON retrograde, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as previous coin</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 624, ex Lockett III (1958), 2668, Grantley (1944), 873 (part); now US private collection	1.26
P2.25 O3/R5	Obv. A8, double diadem, with side panels Rev. B, MON VVINE ETA , lozenge O , 0/0/0/0	Lockett IV (1960), 3600a	wnr
P2.26 O4/R6	Obv. A11, no side panels Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA , lozenge O with spikes on angles, 0/0/1/0	<i>BMC</i> 391, ex Tyssen (1802), ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 7, 4	1.37

OBVERSE VARIETY P3 – Preliminary C

Phase Ib

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E	50/0/40/10/0
Metallurgy; silver %	66/53/45/ (3)
Number of recorded moneyers	4
Recorded moneyers	Dudda, Dudecil, Eanred, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda			
P3.1	Obv. I2, double diadem	BM 1840,0314,51, <i>BMC</i> 242, Gravesend	1.42
O1/R1	Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , V an inverted A, 1/1/1/1	1838, Pl. 1, 14	
Dudecil			
P3.2	Obv. H1, double diadem	EMC 2011.0290, found Aylesford, Kent	wnr, slight
O1/R1	Rev. A, MON DVDECIL ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, column of three pellets before DVDECIL , 0/0/0/0		edge chips
P3.3	Obv. A6	BM 1840,0314,27, <i>BMC</i> 252, Gravesend 1838.	1.44
O2/R2	Rev. C, LMON +DVDECI ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	Metcalf and Northover 1985, 50, 53.0% <i>AR</i> , Pl. 1, 15	
P3.4	Obv. A8	<i>BMC</i> 253, Tyssen (1802). Metcalf and	1.43
O3/R3	Rev. C, ILMO +DVDEC NETA , 0/0/0/0	Northover 1985, 51, 45.3% <i>AR</i>	
P3.5	Obv. A3	BM 1935,1117,323, <i>BMA</i> 323, Barnett	1.16
O4/R4	Rev. C, ILMO +DVDEC NETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	bequest	
Eanred			
P3.6	Obv. A3	BM 1838,1222,26, <i>BMC</i> 280, Fox, 1838,	1.42
O1/R1	Rev. A, DMON +EANRE ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	Gravesend, 1838; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 40, 65.9% <i>AR</i>	
P3.7	Obv. A1	BM 1840,0314,139, <i>BMC</i> 282, Gravesend	1.16
O2/R2	Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , lozenge O, narrow panel, 0/0/0/0	1838, Pl. 1, 16	chipped
P3.8	Obv. A1, double diadem,	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 665, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.96
O3/R3	row of pellets at base of central panel Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0		
P3.9	Obv. A1, double diadem	Elmore Jones, Glendining, 12 May 1971, 27	1.24
O4/R4	Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0		
Wine			
P3.10	Obv. A8	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 628, P.W.P. Carlyon Britton	1.24
O1/R1	Rev. C, MON VVINE ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	(1913), 291a, ill. Heywood 1906, 12, Waterloo Bridge 1884; subsequently, <i>NCirc</i> , Feb. 1986, 214 and CNG 66, 19 May 2004, 1969	

OBVERSE VARIETY P4 – Preliminary D

Phase Ib

Reverse type proportions A/B/C/D/E	35/0/18/47/0
Metallurgy, silver %;	70/68/63/63/49 (5)
Number of recorded moneyers	5
Recorded moneyers	Dudda, Dudecil, Eanred, Tata, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda (Duda, Dada)			
P4.1	Obv. A8, central panel with cross above three pellets, tunic with double outer lines	Lockett III (1958), 2670a, same dies and possibly same coin as Fountaine, 1705, pl. III, 17	wnr
O1/R1	Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , 3/0/0/0		
P4.2	Obv. A8, cross in central panel	<i>BMC</i> 249, acquired before 1838; Metcalf and	1.24
O2/R2	Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , 3/0/0/0	Northover 1985, 32, 48.8% <i>AR</i> , Pl. 1, 17	

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda cont.			
P4.3 O3/R3	Obv. A14, very crude Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , uncial M, 0/0/1/0	<i>SCBI</i> 21, 963, Leeds City Museum, ex Winchester Cathedral collection, ex Eyre (d.1764) 1764	1.23
P4.4 O4/R4	Obv. A8, cross above row of three pellets in central panel Rev. D, MON DVDA ETA , 3/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.214-1990, Blunt, Argyll ex Seaby	1.32
P4.5 O5/R5	Obv. A8, central panel with central pellet with crescents around Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , 3/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 50,113, ex Reichel 1848	1.26
P4.6 O6/R6	Obv. A8, central panel with cross above three pellets, tunic with double outer lines Rev. A, MON +DADA ETA , first A of DADA an inverted V, 3/0/0/0	Lockett III (1958), 2666e, subsequently Glendining, 9 Sept. 1987, 404; ex Evans, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 124, 18	1.24
Dudecil			
P4.7 O1/R1	Obv. A15, double lines forming outer sides of tunic with a small crescent at the base, annulet in central panel of tunic Rev. C, IMONI +DVDECI ETA , 0/0/3/0 <i>Same rev. die as next.</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.209-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, bt Seaby; Blunt and Dolley, 1958-59, 26	1.04
P4.8 O2/R1	Obv. A15, double line forming outer side of tunic with a small crescent at base; quatrefoil of four pellets in tunic central panel Rev. C, IMONI +DVDECI ETA , 0/0/3/0 <i>Same rev. die as last.</i>	Bird, Glendining, 20 Nov. 1974, 36, ex Lockett I (1955), 400a, <i>NCirc</i> October 1911, 91983, Evans, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 125, 26	1.21
Eanred			
P4.9 O1/R1	Obv. A8 Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , EANRED inverted, reversed E in ETA , 0/1/0/0	BM 1840,0314,141, <i>BMC</i> 284, Gravesend, 1838, ill. Hawkins 1841, 25; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 34, 70.1% <i>AR</i>	1.30
P4.10 O2/R2	Obv. A8, cross in central panel Rev. A, MON EANRED MON , EANRED inverted, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,142, <i>BMC</i> 285, Gravesend 1838; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 35, 68.4% <i>AR</i>	1.35
P4.11 O3/R3	Obv. A1, cross in central panel Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , EANRED retrograde, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 286, Tyssen (1802), Metcalf and Northover 1985, 37, 63.0% <i>AR</i>	1.14 chipped
P4.12 O3/R3	Obv. A8, cross in central panel, line of four pellets below Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , EANRED retrograde, 0/1/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 29, acquired by Bodleian Library before 1750, Metcalf and Northover 1985, 36, 62.6% <i>AR</i>	0.94 chipped
P4.13 O4/R4	Obv. A8, cross above row of three pellets in central panel Rev. A, MON EANRED ETA , EANRED retrograde, 0/0/0/0	Lyon 593, ex Lockett IV (1960), 3599b, Pl. 1, 18	1.43
Tata			
P4.14 O1/R1	Obv. A8 Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , uncial M, 0/0/3/0	<i>BMC</i> 385, Tyssen, 1802, ill. Ruding 1840, III, 7, 1	1.32 chipped
P4.15 O2/R2	Obv. A8, cross in central panel above row of three pellets Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , column of three pellets after TATA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 2 379, ex Dr Hunter (d.1783), Pl. 1, 19	1.40

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Tata cont.			
P4.16 O3/R3	Obv. A8, cross above row of three crescents in central panel Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , three pellets one below and two to right of cross, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 50,119	1.19
Wine			
P4.17 O1/R1	Obv. A7 Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,40, <i>BMC</i> 390, Gravesend 1838, Pl. 1, 20	1.28
P4.18 O2/R2	Obv. A8, central panel with cross above four pellets Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett 406a, ex Grantley (1944), 876 (part), from L.A. Lawrence 1903	wnr

STANDARD LUNETTES GROUPS H AND V

Phase II–III

PHASE IIa

OBSERVE VARIETY H1 –Early Horizontal A.

Phase IIa

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E	9/0/37/54/0
Metallurgy % silver	No data
Number of recorded moneyers	8
Recorded moneyers	Cenred, Ciallaf, Dudda, Dudecil, Dudeman, Eanred, Ethelwulf, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cenred			
H1.1 O1/R1	Obv. I1 Rev. C, +MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/0, bold pellet on end of each lunette	BM 1840,0314,13, <i>BMC</i> 180, Gravesend 1838, Pl. 1, 21	1.31
H1.2 O2/R2	Obv. I1 Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 625, ex Spink, 1961, Lockett I, (1955), 399a, likely <i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1911, 91984, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1982, 8743	1.15
H1.3 O3/R3	Obv. I6, bust without side panels Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 181, acquired before 1838	1.24
H1.4 O4/R4	Obv. I1 Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	MacKay 12/06, bt privately 2012, ex Morrison, possibly ex Grantley (1944), 874a, Pl. 1, 22	1.37
Ciallaf			
H1.5 O1/R1	Obv. A8 Rev. C, FMON +CIALLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 189, Bank of England, 1877, ex Austen	1.30
H1.6 O2/R2	Obv. H1 Rev. C, FMON +CIALLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,16, <i>BMC</i> 190, Gravesend 1838	1.23
H1.7 O3/R3	Obv. I1, without lips, bars Rev. A, FMON +CIALLA ETA , inverted F, 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 392e	wnr
H1.8 O4/R4	Obv. I1 Rev. D, FMON +CIALLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 631, ex P.W.P Carlyon Britton (1918), 1613d, Lockett I (1955), 402d; ill. Heywood, 1906, 2, Waterloo Bridge 1884; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Mar. 1983, 1037 and Oct. 1988, 6305, Gemini LLC IX, 9 Jan. 2012, 555, Pl. 1, 23	1.30
H1.9 O5/R5	Obv. I1 Rev. D, FMON +CIALLA ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 83, acquired 1870	1.29

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Ciallaf <i>cont.</i>			
H1.10 O6/R6	Obv. I1, Rev. D, FMON +CIALLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.212-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll. ex Seaby	1.34
Dudda			
H1.11 O1/R1	Dudda, Dudda Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. C, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 69, Serrure 1857, 657	1.45
H1.12 O2/R2	Obv. I1, lips omitted, double diadem Rev. C, MON +DVDDA ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.208-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, L.S. Forrer (1948), P.W.P. Carlyon Britton, (1913), 287d; ill. Heywood 1906, 10, Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.32
H1.13 O3/R3	Obv. A8, lips omitted Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 16 (Norweb), 104, Norweb III, Spink auction 56, 19 Nov. 1986, 766, ex Brand, P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 287c, subsequently Kunker 205, 12 Mar. 2012, 2477	1.16
H1.14 O4/R4	Obv. A8, lips omitted Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lyon 598 ex Glendining, Nov. 1968, Lockett IV (1960), 3601d, noted by Lockett as ex Talbot Ready (1920), 37h	1.58
H1.15 O4/R5	<i>Same obv. die as next</i> Obv. A8, lips omitted Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	EMC 2005.0121, found Springhead Quarter, Kent, <i>BNJ</i> 76, 2006, Coin Register, 194	0.90 chipped
H1.16 O5/R6	<i>Same obv. die as last</i> Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/3/0	Kunker 137, 11 Mar. 2008, 3042, previously <i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1971, 4291	1.19
H1.17 O6/R7	Obv. I1 Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA , O with pellets cruciform, 0/0/0/0	Spink auction 168, 15 Apr. 2004, 209, <i>NCirc</i> Nov 1974, 9047	1.19
Dudecil			
H1.18 O1/R1	Obv. I1, tunic omits right side panel Rev. C, ILMO +DVDEC NETA , O with cruciform pellets, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 16 Norweb, 103, ex Baldwin, 1963; subsequently Norweb I, Spink auction 45, 13 June 1985, 27	1.46
H1.19 O1/R2	<i>Same obv. die as next</i> Obv. I1, tunic omits right side panel Rev. D, ILMO +DVDEC NETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 660, Museum of London, ex Layton	1.14 chipped
Dudeman			
H1.20 O1/R1	Obv. I1, central panel with bar dividing four pellets Rev. D, NMON DVDEMA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,55, <i>BMC</i> 257, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 25	1.46
H1.21 O1/R2	<i>Same obv. die as next</i> Obv. I1, central panel with bar dividing four pellets Rev. D, NMON DVDEMA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett 403d, ex P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1918), 1613 (part), ill. Heywood 1906, 4, Waterloo Bridge 1884; subsequently St James auction 5, 27 Sept. 2006, 4	wnr minor edge perfora-
H1.22 O2/R3	<i>Same obv. die as last</i> Obv. H1 Rev. D, MNON DVDEMA ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>BMC</i> 258, acquired before 1838; Dolley and Strudwick 1955–57, wrongly attributed to Gravesend 1838	1.37
H1.23 O3/R4	Obv. A8 Rev. D, NMON DVDEMA ETA , 0/0/0/0	MacKay 10/03, bt. Rasmusen list 19, July 2 2010, 6, previously <i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 632, bt by Mack from Spink, 1950. Pl. 2, 26	1.17
H1.24 O4/R5	Obv. I1 Rev. D, MHON DVDEMA ETA , 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Dix Noonan Webb, 8 Oct. 2002, 1015	1.34

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudeman <i>cont.</i> H1.25, var. O5/R6	Obv. A12, single banded diadem, wild shock of hair before, prominent nose neat legend Rev. C, NMON DVDEMA ETA, 0/0/0/0	SCBI 2, 376, Hunter before 1783. Pl. 1, 24	1.40
Eanred H1.26 O1/R1	Obv. I1 Rev. A, MON +EANRED ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/1/0/1	BM 1840,0314,138, BMC 279, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 27	1.37
H1.27 O2/R2	Obv. I1, bars, central panel with vertical bar dividing two pellets, inverted C shape above Rev. A, MON +EANRED ETA, 0/0/0/0	Spink auction, 208, 23 Mar. 2011, 20, previously Pegg, Spink auction 11, 8 Oct. 1980, 866	1.37
H1.28 O3/R3	Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. C, MON EANRED ETA, 0/0/0/0	SCBI 20 (Mack), 626, now US private collection, ex NCirc Nov. 1985, 7929, Lockett I (1955) 400b; Lower Dunsforth 1861	1.14
Ethelwulf H1.29 O1/R1	Obv. H1, Rev. C, FMON +EDELVL ETA, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,31, BMC 294, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 28	1.42
H1.30 O2/R2	Obv. I1 Rev. D, FMON +EDELVL ETA, 0/0/0/0	BMC 298, acquired before 1838	1.42
Wine H1.31 O1/R1	Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next two, same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,42, BMC 389, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 29	1.32
H1.32 O1/R1	Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev dies as last; same obv. die as next</i>	SCBI 4, 8, Serrure 1857, 669	1.38
H1.33 O1/R2	Obv. I1, lips omitted Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as previous two</i>	SCBI 20 (Mack), 629, ex Lockett I (1955), 401c, probably 'Astronomer' (1906), 104	1.24
H1.34 O2/R3	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA, 0/0/0/0	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 April 1999, 331	1.19
H1.35 O3/R4	Obv. I1, multiple bars in outer panels Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Bruun Rasmussen, auction 764, 11 Dec. 2006, 5419	1.29

OBVERSE VARIETY H2, Early Horizontal B

Phase IIa

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E	25/0/15/60/0
Metallurgy % silver	No data
Number of recorded moneyers	15
Recorded moneyers	Berneah, Cenred, Ciallaf, Cunehelm, Dudda, Dudecil, Dudeman, Ethelwulf, Herefreth, Hugerred, Liafman, Ludig, Osmund, Wine, Wulfheard

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah H2.1 O1/R1	Beranah, Berneah, Bevrni Obv. D1, double struck Rev. A, HMON +BERANH ETA, 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,88, BMC 167, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 30	1.37

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah <i>cont.</i>			
H2/V1 mule	<i>Same rev. die as BMC 166 (V1.1) and MacKay 13/03 (V1.2)</i>		
H2.2, var. O2/R2	Obv. I2, unusual style, double diadem Rev. A, HMON +BERNEA ETA, 0/0/2/2	BM 1935, 11–17, <i>BMA</i> 317, Barnett bequest 1935	wnr edge chip
H2.3 O3/R3	Obv. I1, Rev. A, MON +BEVRNI ETA, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 168, ex Tyssen (1802), Southgate (1795)	1.26
H2.4 O3/R3	Obv. I1 Rev. A, MON +BEVRNI ETA, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	P. Finn list 11, 1997, 78	0.87 porous
H2.5 O4/R4	Obv. I1 Rev. A, MON +BERANH ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 1/1/1/1	EMC 1995.0138, from jewellery, found Brandon, Suffolk, noted <i>BNJ</i> 65 1995, Coin Register, 138	1.14 pierced and gilded
Cenred			
H2.6 O1/R1	Obv. H1, Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,43, <i>BMC</i> 182, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 31	1.28
Ciallaf			
H2.7 O1/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem, five pelleted in dice format below neck Rev. C, FMON CIALLAF ETA, inverted F, 0/0/0/0	<i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1994, 7882, later, Spink auction 128, 8 Oct. 1998, 313	1.31
Cunehelm			
H2.8 O1/R1	Obv. I2, pelleted diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, MON CVHELM ETA, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	National Museum of Wales 79.91H/2, ex Seaby, <i>SCMB</i> Nov. 1979, E514	1.37
H2.9 O1/R2	Obv. I2, pelleted diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, MON CVNEHLM ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	J. Perley Storer, Spink auction 111, 21 Nov. 1995, 56	1.28
Dudda			
H2.10 O1/R1	Dudda, Dudda Obv. H1, central panel with two crescents Rev. C, MON +DVDA ETA, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,24, <i>BMC</i> 239; Gravesend 1838	1.34
H2.11 O2/R2	Obv. A5, double diadem Rev. C, MON +DVDDA ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,26, <i>BMC</i> 236, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 32	1.48
H2.12 O2/R2	Obv. A5, bars, double diadem Rev. C, MON +DVDDA ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as BM 1840,0314,26, BMC 236</i>	Lockett I (1955), 399c, ex Baldwin	wnr chipped
H2.13 O3/R3	Obv. A8, crescents, obverse corrosion Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA, lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,53, <i>BMC</i> 243, Gravesend 1838	1.24
H2.14 O3/R4	Obv. A1, Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA, 0/0/3/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	BM 1838,1222,1, <i>BMC</i> 244, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838,	1.30

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda cont.			
H2.15 O4/R5	Obv. H1, bars Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/3/0	National Museum of Wales 79.86H/2, ex Spink auction 10–11 Oct. 1979, 264	1.28
H2.16 O5/R6	Obv. H1, bars Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	Worcestershire County Museum, 3738-08, Severn Stoke 1994–95. Pl. 2, 33	wnr chipped
H2.17, var. O6/R7	Obv. I1 with elements of the central panel similar to that on the Wessex Inscribed Cross types Rev. A, MON DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 613, ex Lockett I (1955), 393c, Glendining 17–18 June 1936, 419 (part), subsequently <i>SCMB</i> July 1977, E386. Pl. 2, 37	1.40
Dudecil			
H2.18 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted i.c. and single diadem, crescent, two trefoils in central panel Rev. D, LMON +DVDECI ETA , 0/0/0/1	BM 1838,1222,2, <i>BMC</i> 255, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.38
Dudeman			
H2.19 O1/R1	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, NMON DVDEMA ETA , pelleted crooks, 0/1/0/0	EMC 2007.0232, found Sedgeford, Norfolk, <i>BNJ</i> 78, 2008, Coin Register, 232	1.17
Ethelwulf			
H2.20 O1/R1	Obv. H1, double diadem, bars, inverted trefoil at base of neck Rev. D, FMON +EDELVL ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0, double struck	Elmore Jones, 12 May 1971, 35	1.30
Hereferth			
H2.21 O1/R1	Obv. I1 Rev. D, DMON HEREFE ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 326, acquired before 1838. Pl. 2, 34	1.22
Hugered			
H2.22 O1/R1	Obv. H2, bars Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Goldberg auction 75, 24 Sept. 2013, 4290	wnr
Liafman			
H2.23 O1/R1	Obv. H1, double diadem, bars Rev. D, NMON +LIAFMA ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Lyon 597, bt. Spink, Feb. 1951. Pl. 2, 35	1.26
Ludig			
H2.24 O1/R1	Obv. I1, round eye, crescents Rev. D, MON +LVDIG ETA , 0/0/0/0	Worcestershire County Museum, 3738-09, Severn Stoke 1994–95.	wnr chipped
Osmund			
H2.25 O1/R1	Obv. I1 Rev. D, MON OSMIIND ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,71, <i>BMC</i> 371, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 36	1.46
Wine			
H2.26 O1/R1	Obv. I1, double diadem, crescents Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	Spink auction 104, 6 July 1994, 219	wnr
Wulfear			
H2.27 O1/R1	Obv. H1 Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , each V with pellet at base, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 401, ex Sloane, 1753, Cotton 1702.	1.16
H2.28 O1/R1	Obv. H1 Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 120, Stroganov, 1925	1.35

OBSERVE VARIETY H3 – Floreate Horizontal A

Phase IIa

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E

12/0/72/16/0

Metallurgy silver %

78/74/64/57/55 (5)

Number of recorded moneyers

11

Recorded moneyers

Berneah, Cenred, Cethelwulf, Cethliaf, Ciallaf, Cunehelm, Dudda, Eanred, Ethelwulf, Liafman, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah			
H3.1	Obv. K3, pelleted double diadem	BM 1840,0314,87, <i>BMC</i> 154, Gravesend	1.32
O1/R1	Rev. A, MON BEARHE ETA, 0/0/0/0	1838. Pl. 2, 39	
Cenred			
H3.2	Obv. J2, pelleted double diadem	BM 1840,0314.14, <i>BMC</i> 178, Gravesend	1.33
O1/R1	Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA, 0/0/0/0	1838. Pl. 2, 40	
	<i>Same obv. and rev. dies die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 63, Hauberg 1935	1.30
H3.3	Obv. J2, pelleted double diadem		
O1/R1	Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA, 0/0/0/0		
	<i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>		
H3.4	Obv. J4	BM 1840,0314,15, <i>BMC</i> 179, Gravesend 1838	1.18
O2/R2	Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0		
H3.5	Obv. E1, double diadem	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 422, ex Young, 1936, P.W.P. Carlyon	1.22
O3/R3	Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA, 0/0/0/0	Britton (1913), 286c, ill. Heywood 1906, 9, Waterloo Bridge 1884. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 27, 74.04% <i>AR</i>	
H3.6	Obv. K6, bars, double diadem	National Museum of Wales 79.86H/1, ex	1.38
O4/R4	pelleted i.c., two rows of three pellets at base of neck	Spink auction 6, 10–11 Oct. 1979, 263.	possibly repaired
	Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA, 0/0/0/0	Metcalf and Northover 1985, 28, 55.44% <i>AR</i>	
H3.7	Obv. J2, pelleted double diadem,	Worcestershire County Museum, 3738-05,	wnr
O5/R5	bars, two rows of three pellets at base of neck	Severn Stoke, 1994–95; BMRL – Cowell, 57% <i>AR</i> . Pl. 2, 41	chipped
	Rev. C, MON +CENRED ETA, 0/0/0/0		
Cethelwulf			
H3.8	Obv. J2	BM 1838,1222,9, <i>BMC</i> 187, Fox, 1838,	1.41
O1/R1	Rev. C, LFMO +CE-DELLV ETA, 0/0/0/0	probably ex Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 42	
	<i>Same obv. die as next</i>		
H3.9	Obv. J2	BM 1935,1117, <i>BMA</i> 320, Barnett bequest,	1.25
O1/R2	Rev. C, FMO +CE-DELV HETA, 0/0/0/0	1935	
	<i>Same obv. die as last</i>		
Cethliaf			
H3.10	Obv. K1, angular nose	BM 1840,0314,12, <i>BMC</i> 188, Gravesend	1.55
O1/R1	Rev. C, MON +CE-ELIAF ETA, 1/1/1/1	1838. Pl. 2, 43	
Ciallaf			
H3.11	Obv. H1, single diadem,	<i>BMC</i> 191, Tyssen, 1802	1.20
O1/R1	rather coarse		
	Rev. D, FMON +CIALLA ETA, 0/0/0/0		
Cunehelm			
H3.12	Obv. A4- incorrectly stated in	BM 1840,0314,22, <i>BMC</i> 203, Gravesend	1.34
O1/R1	<i>BMC</i>	1838. Pl. 2, 44	
	Rev. C, MON CVNEHLM ETA, lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0		

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda			
H3.13 O1/R1	Obv. J2, two rows of three pellets at base of neck Rev. C, MON +DVDA ETA , 0/0/3/0	Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, pl. XVI, 21, coin now lost; Cheltenham find 1924	wnr
H3.14 O2/R2	Obv. K1, pelleted double diadem, two rows of three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. C, MON +DVDA ETA , 0/0/2/0	MacKay 13/08, ‘Demarete’ colln. (Clain-Stefanelli), Stack’s, Bowers and Ponterio auction 177, 20 Aug. 2013, 34764. Pl. 2, 45	1.39
H3.15 O3/R3	Obv. J2, two rows of three pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 238, acquired before 1838	1.16 chipped
Eanred			
H3.16 O1/R1	Obv. K1, large diagonal eye, angular nose Rev. A, MON +EANRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,140, <i>BMC</i> 278, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 2, 46	1.44
H3.17 O2/R2	Obv. K1, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON +EANRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 41, ex Young 1936, Weber 1885, Metcalf and Northover 1985, 29, 64.39% <i>AR</i>	1.28
Ethelwulf			
H3.18 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem, with pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON +EDELVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 634, ex Lockett I (1955), 401d; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> July 1987, 4362 and Mar. 1988, 1139	1.07
H3.19 O2/R2	Obv. H1, bars, pelleted i.c., line of four pellets at base of central panel divided by two horizontal bars from two pellets below neck Rev. D, FMON EDELVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.216-1990, Blunt, ex Lockett I (1955), 404a	1.43
Liafman			
H3.20 O1/R1	Obv. I2, double diadem, bars, double struck Rev. C, NMON +LIAFMA ETA , O with central pellet and cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,36, <i>BMC</i> 357, Gravesend 1838	1.24
H3.21 O1/R2	Obv. I2, double diadem, bars Rev. C, NMON +LIAFMA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Lockett I (1955), 401b	wnr
Wine			
H3.22 O1/R1	Obv. K2, bar lips, pelleted outer panels Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,41, <i>BMC</i> 388, Gravesend 1838	1.30
H3.23 O2/R2	Obv. K3 Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 424 (<i>MEC</i> 1 1321), ex Young 1936 and Weber (1885). Metcalf and Northover 1985, 26, 78.07% <i>AR</i>	1.11
H3.24 O3/R3	Obv. K1, pelleted double diadem Rev. C, MON +VVHNE ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 377, Dr Hunter before 1783, ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8,10	1.40
H3.25 O4/R4	Obv. K1, double diadem, bars Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lyon 595, bt <i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1971, 4290 (J.D.A. Thompson collection), ex Parsons (1954), 199. Pl. 2, 47	1.27

OBSERVE VARIETY H4 – Floreate Horizontal B

Phase IIa

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E 0/0/100/0/0
 Metallurgy silver %; No data
 Number of recorded moneyers 2
 Recorded moneyers Framric, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Framric			
H4.1 01/R1	Obv. A5, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. C, CMON +FRAMRI ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 300, acquired before 1838. Pl. 3, 49	1.24
H4.2 01/R1	Obv. A5, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. C, CMON +FRAMRI ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 627, ex <i>NCirc</i> 1924, 28867, Lower Dunsforth 1861; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Mar. 1983, 1036 and Oct. 1989, 5344. Pl. 3, 50	1.34
H4.3 02/R2	Obv. A5, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. C, CMON +FRAMRI ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 11, 10, possibly Bergne (1873), 76, ex Cuff (1854), 312c, lot bt by Bergne	1.39
Wine			
H4.4 01/R1	Obv. A5, double diadem, bars Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett IV (1960), 3600d, ex Glendining, 17–18 June 1936, 419e, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1992, 5935	1.30

OBSERVE VARIETY H5 – Floreate Horizontal C

Phase IIa

Reverse type proportions % A//B/C/D/E 30/0/70/0/0
 Metallurgy silver %; no data
 Number of recorded moneyers 5
 Recorded moneyers Berneah, Dudda (Duda), Eanred, Tata, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah			
H5.1 01/R1	Obv. D9, double diadem, six pellets at base of neck and pellets below bust, dividing vertical bars in tunic Rev. A, MON +BEARNE ETA , 1/1/1/1	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 608, ex Baldwin, 1964, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Mar. 1983, 1035. Pl. 3, 51	1.13 chipped
H5.2 02/R2	Obv. L1, pelleted double diadem and outer tunic panel lines, pellets at base of bust Rev. A, MON +BEARNE ETA , 1/1/1/1	<i>SCBI</i> 65, 27	1.36 broken and mended
Dudda			
H5.3 01/R1	Obv. K5 Rev. C, MON +DVDA ETA , 2/0/0/0	UK private collection. Pl. 3, 52	1.02 edge chip
H5.4 02/R2	Obv. K3, double diadem, tunic with five panels, bars in outer panels, vertical bar and pellets in inner panels Rev. C, MON DVDA ETA , 3/0/0/0	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 326 (stated as ex Lockett, but this is incorrect) ex Glendining, 5 Oct. 1987, 406	1.28
Eanred			
H5.5 01/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem, lips omitted, six pellets at base of neck and pellets below bust Rev. A, MON +EANRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 664, Wisbech and Fenland Museum, ex Townsend 1868	1.21

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Tata			
H5.6 O1/R1	Obv. K1 Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,39, <i>BMC</i> 374, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 3, 53	1.34
H5.7 O1/R2	Obv. K1 Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>BMC</i> 375, Tyssen 1802, ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8, 11	1.35
Wine			
H5.8 O1/R1	Obv. F2, small old perforation at nose Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA, 0/0/0/0	MacKay, 10/02, bt Rasmussen, list 19, July 2010, 5, ex Morton and Eden, 29 Nov. 2007, 109, Lockett III (1958), 2669c. Pl. 3, 54	1.38
H5.9 O2/R2	Obv. K1, double diadem, no pellets at base of bust Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 425 (<i>MEC</i> I, 1317, listed as Cenred) ex Young 1936 and Weber 1885	0.96
H5.10 O3/R3	Obv. I10, double diadem, lozenge pellets at base of bust, occlusions by lips Rev. C, MON +VVINE ETA, 0/0/0/0	Lockett III (1958), 2669b, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Feb. 1992, 135	1.28

OBVERSE VARIETY V1 – Early Vertical

Phase IIa

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E	28/0/56/16/0
Metallurgy silver %	92/61/59/48 (4)
Number of recorded moneyers	5
Recorded moneyers	Berneah, Ciallaf, Dudda, Liafman, Tata

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah	Beranh, Berheah		
V1.1 O1/R1	Obv. C22, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, HMON +BERAN ETA, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as next and BMC</i> <i>167 (H2.1)</i>	<i>BMC</i> 166, acquired before 1838, Metcalf and Northover 1985, 42, <i>61.4% AR</i> .	1.33
V1/H2 rev. mule			
V1.2 O2/R1	Obv. L2, pelleted double diadem, pelleted semi-circle around back of head, crescents Rev. A, hMON +BERAN ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. die as next; same rev.</i> <i>die as last and BMC 167 (H2.1)</i>	MacKay 13/03, bt from Lyons, June 2013, ex Baldwin, 2000. Pl. 3, 57	1.09
V1/H2 rev. mule			
V1.3 O2/R2	Obv. L2, double diadem, pelleted line around hair, large pellet in annulet eye Rev. A, MON +BERANh ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	BM 1840,0314,89, <i>BMC</i> 165, Gravesend 1838, Metcalf and Northover 1985, 43, <i>59.5% AR. Pl. 3, 56</i>	1.34
V1.4 O3/R3	Obv. F7, pelleted double diadem, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	<i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1992, 5934	1.19
V1.5 O4/R4	Obv. G2, double diadem Rev. A, MON +BERANh ETA, cross formed of four wedges, 1/1/1/1	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 202, Rogasner 1970	1.33
Ciallaf			
V1.6 O1/R1	Obv. C1, pellets below neck, pelleted i.c. and diadem Rev. D, MON CIALLAF ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	‘Marshall’, Spink auction, 167, Mar. 2004, 34, ex <i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1942, 16350, subsequently Rasmussen summer list 2005, 11	1.39

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda	Dudda		
V1.7 O1/R1	Obv. L5, double diadem, tunic central panel with vertical bar dividing columns of pellets Rev. C, MON +DVDA ETA , 3/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,25, <i>BMC</i> 240, Gravesend 1838, ill. Hawkins 1841, 19. Pl. 3, 58	1.35
V1.8 O2/R2	Obv. L4, single diadem, large annulet eye, pellets in central panel Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , 0/0/3/?	MacKay 77/01, ex Minns, 1977	1.10 chipped
Liafman			
V1.9 O1/R1	Obv. C17, double diadem Rev. C, NMON +ILAFMA ETA , inverted L, 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.211-1990, Blunt, Argyll, ex Rashleigh (1909), 77b, <i>NC</i> 1868, 144, 22, Trehiddle 1774	1.06 chipped
Tata			
V1.10 O1/R1	Obv. C14, double diadem, central panel with bars and pellets Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 2/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,13, <i>BMC</i> 378, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 3, 59	1.44
V1.11 O2/R2	Obv. I2, crescents, single diadem, straight line side panel sides, pelleted line around hair, three small pellets at base of neck Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1838,1222,14, <i>BMC</i> 376, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.34
V1.12 O2/R3	Obv. I2, crescents, single diadem, straight line panels sides, pelleted line around hair, three small pellets at base of neck Rev. C, MON +TATA:: ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Lyon 594, ex Baldwin, Oct. 2001, Spink auction 63, 28–29 Mar. 1988, 309, Spink auction 31, 12 Oct. 1983, 84, <i>SCMB</i> , July 1961, 6501. Pl. 3, 60	1.23
V1.13 O3/R4	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 2/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 34, Willis before 1760, ill. Fountaine 1705, iii, 4; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 56, 47.78% <i>AR</i>	1.42
V1.14 O4/R4	Obv. C3, double diadem, large annulet eye, central panel with pellets, crescents Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 2/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	BM 1840,0314,38, <i>BMC</i> 379, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 3, 61	1.39
V1.15 O5/R5	Obv. I5, pellets line around hair, pellet in annulet eye, pellets in central panel, crescents Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 0/0/0/0, <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1975, 11-26-7, H.H. King 1975. Pl. 3, 62	1.31
V1.16 O5/R5	Obv. I5, crescents, line of pellets around hair, pellet in annulet eye, pellets in central panel Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	National Museum of Wales 80.61H/2, acquired from London dealer 1980. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 57, 92.23% <i>AR</i>	1.30 chipped
V1.17, var O6/R6	Obv. I2, double diadem in form of a ladder, large annulet eye with central pellets, pellets in central panel, double lines to outer panels Rev. C, MON +TATA ETA , 2/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,12, <i>BMC</i> 377, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.28

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Tata cont.			
V1.18	Obv. C1, crescents	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 212, ex Lockett I (1955), 405d,	1.20
O7/R7	Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1916), 889a, Heywood 1906, 8; Waterloo Bridge 1884	

PHASE IIb STANDARD LUNETTES GROUPS H AND V

OBVERSE VARIETY H6 – Mid Horizontal A

Phase IIb

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E	56/0/22/22/0
Metallurgy silver %	55 (1)
Number of recorded moneyers	4
Recorded moneyers	Cunehelm, Dudda (Dudd), Dudwine, Liafman

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cunehelm			
H6.1	Obv. K3, crescents, central panel	MacKay 08/01, ex York coins, Feb. 2008,	1.15
O1/R1	with crescents with three pellets below Rev. A, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , double struck, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	Bruun-Rasmussen auction 764, 11 Dec. 2006, 5416. Pl. 3, 63	
H6.2	Obv. K3, crescents, central panel	National Museum of Wales 79.10H/5,	0.96
O1/R2	with crescents with three pellets below Rev. A, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , 0/0/3/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	acquired from London dealer 1979; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 47, 54.85% <i>AR</i>	
H6.3	Obv. C1, crescents, pelleted	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 112, ex Reichel 1858	1.07
O2/R3	diadem, bold crescent and pellets at tip, large X Rev. A, MMON CVNEHE ETA , 0/0/3/3		
H6.4	Obv. I2, crescents	Boyd, Baldwin, 26 Sept. 2005, 763, Boyd bt	1.05
O3/R3	Rev. C, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , 0/0/3/0	from Lincoln, 1900	edge splits
H6.5	Obv. F2, row of three pellets	UK private collection, ex Spink auction 219,	1.01
O4/R4	at base of central panel, bars Rev. D, MMON CVNEHE ETA , 0/0/0/0	24–25 Sept. 2013, 81, Lyons, Kunker, 28 Sept. 2009, 1736, Lockett III (1958), 2669a. Pl. 3, 64	
Dudda			
H6.6	Dudda, Dudd Obv. B1, side panels with inverted crescents, central panel with inverted crescent with bar below Rev. A, MON +DVDD ETA , 1/1/1/1	UK private collection, Elmore Jones, Glendining, May 1971, 28	1.43
H6.7	Obv. A13, four neat crescents	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 374, ex Dr Hunter (d.1783), ill.	1.32
O2/R2	in each side panel, legend commencing at 11 o'clock Rev. C, MON +DVDA ETA 0/0/3/0	Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8, 12. Pl. 3, 65	
Dudwine			
H6.8	Obv. B1, central panel with T bar dividing pellets	BM 1840,0314,124, <i>BMC</i> 266, Gravesend	1.33
O1/R1	Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	1838. Pl. 3, 66	
Liafman			
H6.9	Obv. H1, central panel with inverted trefoil above vertical bar, bars Rev. D, NMON +LIAFMA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 210, ex Lockett I (1955), 405b	1.30

OBVERSE VARIETY H7 – Mid Horizontal B

Phase IIb

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E

4/0/4/92/0

Metallurgy silver %

61/46 (2)

Number of recorded moneyers

6

Recorded moneyers

Cenred, Diarwulf, Hugered, Husa, Tata, Wulfheard

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cenred			
H7.1 O1/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON + CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1837,0717,185, <i>BMC</i> 184, acquired from Cureton 1837, noted as Southampton 1837, possibly Hampshire 1, 1836. Pl. 3, 67	1.33
H7.2 O2/R2	Obv. G2, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescent Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,5, <i>BMC</i> 183, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.28
H7.3 O3/R3	Obv. I1, bars, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 35, Waterloo Bridge 1884; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 55, <i>46.06% AR</i>	1.22
H7.4 O4/R4	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem, crescents Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett IV (1960), 3600f, ill. Heywood 1906, 4, likely Waterloo Bridge 1884	wnr
Diarwulf			
H7.5 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. C, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/1	MacKay 11/03, bt. Rasmussen list 21, March 2011, 4, ex Lockett IV (1960), 3600b, Talbot Ready (1920), 47b. Pl. 3, 68	1.23
H7.6 O2/R2	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1837,0717,184, <i>BMC</i> 219, acquired from Cureton 1837, noted as Southampton 1837, possibly Hampshire 1, 1836	1.17 chipped
Hugered			
H7.7 O1/R1	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 92, Nottingham Museum and Art Gallery, ex W.J. Andrew (1934), Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.34
H7.8 O1/R2	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON HVGERED ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last and next</i>	BM 1840,0314,65, <i>BMC</i> 340, Gravesend 1838	1.33
H7.9 O1/R3	Obv. I1, crescents, pelleted i.c. and double diadem Rev. D, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0, <i>Same obv. die as last two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 426, before 1886. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 45, <i>60.85% AR</i>	1.38
H7.10 O2/R2	Obv. J1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next two; same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1838,1222,7, <i>BMC</i> 335, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838.	1.22
H7.11 O2/R2	Obv. J1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last two; same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 635, ex Lockett I (1955), 404d, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Sept. 1983, 5607 and Coin Galleries, Mar. 2008	1.35

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Hugered <i>cont.</i>			
H7.12 O2/R4	Obv. J1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON HVGERED ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last two</i>	BM 1915,0507,691, <i>BMA</i> 147, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 48, Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 69. Pl. 3, 69	1.32
H7.13 O3/R5	Obv. H2, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,63, <i>BMC</i> 338, Gravesend 1838	1.30
Hussa			
H7.14 O1/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 48, 705, Bankfield Museum, Halifax. Pl. 3, 70	wnr
H7.15 O1/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Elmore Jones, Glendining, 12 May 1971, 36	1.25
H7.16 O2/R2	Obv. I1, crescents, pelleted double diadem Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	UK private collection, ex Baldwin 1968	wnr pierced
H7.17 O2/R3	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem, crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 330	1.19
Tata			
H7.18 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , trefoil of three small pellets after TATA , 0/0/0/0	EMC 1996.0184, found Middleton, near King's Lynn, Norfolk, <i>BNJ</i> 66, 1996 Coin Register, 184, previously listed as EMC 1989.5001, 'found North West of Lincoln,' but this is clearly the same coin; later P. Finn list 14, 1998, 84	1.15
Wulfheard			
H7.19 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,76, <i>BMC</i> 400, Gravesend 1838	1.30
H7.20 O2/R2	Obv. I1, pelleted i.c. and double diadem, crescents, Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON VVLFEARD ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 398, acquired before 1838, noted as 'William ?Courlen, 1702'	1.02 chipped
H7.21 O2/R3	Obv. I1, pelleted i.c., pelleted double diadem, crescents, Rev. D, pelleted lines MON PLFEARD ETA , inverted L, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	BM 1840,0314,78, <i>BMC</i> 402, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 3, 71	1.37
H7.22 O3/R4	Obv. H2, double diadem, crescents Rev. D, MON PLFEARD ETA , inverted L, 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 637, ex Lockett I (1955), 406b, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1982, 8745,	1.24
H7.23 O4/R5	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem, crescents Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/3	Kunker 137, 11 Mar. 2008, 3043, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> June 2008, HS3377	1.27

OBVERSE VARIETY H8 – Mid Horizontal C

Phase IIb

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E

100/0/0/0/0

Metallurgy silver %

No data

Number of recorded moneyers

5

Recorded moneyers

Berneah, Cenred, Guthhere, Husa, Osmund

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah			
H8.1 O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted i.c. and double diadem, bars Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,92, <i>BMC</i> 164, Gravesend 1838	1.24
H8.2 O2/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, HMON BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 342, Bristol City Museum. Pl. 3, 72	1.43
H8.3 O3/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, large disc shape at base of neck, bars Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	UK private collection	1.23
Cenred			
H8.4 O1/R1	Obv. E2, double diadem, wide tunic curving to neck Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,99, <i>BMC</i> 172, Gravesend 1838	1.28
H8.5 O2/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, large disc shape at base of neck, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , O with cruciform spikes, (/)/(/)	BM 1840,0314,97, <i>BMC</i> 176, Gravesend 1838, ill. Hawkins, 1841, 19	1.20
H8.6 O3/R3	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , O with cruciform spikes, (/)/(/)	MacKay 13/09, bt CNG, September 2013, ex Smalley, Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 113, Smalley bt from B. Dawson, 1971. Pl. 4, 73	1.26
H8.7 O4/R4	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	Lockett I (1955), 392d	wnr
Guthhere			
H8.8 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 3/3/3/3, <i>Same obv. and rev. dies next two; same rev. die as UK private collection and BM 1925,0202,10</i>	BM 1840,0314,149, <i>BMC</i> 305, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 74	1.36
H8.9 O1/R1	Obv. B1, bars, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last and next; same rev. die as last and next three</i>	Royal Mint, Hocking, 1906, 22, ex Sophia Banks bequest, Oct. 1818	1.31
H8.10 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last two; same rev. die as last two and next two</i>	P. Finn list 12, 1998, 60	1.29
H8.11 O2/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, large annulet eye, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as next two; same rev. die as last three and next</i>	BM 1925,0202,10, Beeston Tor 1924	1.37

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Guthhere <i>cont.</i> H8.12 O2/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last and next; same rev. die as last four</i>	UK private collection, ex Baldwin, 1964	1.28
H8.13 O2/R2	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last two</i>	Lockett I (1955), 395b	wnr
Hussa H8.14 O1/R1	Obv. F3, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,164, <i>BMC</i> 343, Gravesend 1840. Pl. 4, 75	1.22
Osmund H8.15 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON OSMVIID ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,168, <i>BMC</i> 366, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 76	1.37

OBVERSE VARIETY V2 – Mid Vertical A

Phase IIb

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E	27/2/7/64/0
Metallurgy silver %	29 (1)
Number of recorded moneyer	15
Recorded moneyers	Berneah, Beagstan, Cunchelm, Diarwulf, Diga, Dudda, Dudeman, Dudwine, Ethelwulf, Heawulf, Husa, Liafman, Osmund, Tata, Wine

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan V2.1 O1/R1	Obv. D8, crescents, pellets outer tunic lines Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 607, ex Baldwin 1963, later Mack (1975), 88	1.37
V2.2 O2/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 86, Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, ex Marsham Rudland (1932)	1.31
V2.3 O3/R3	Obv. F9, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Zimmerman, <i>SCBI</i> 30, 201, ex Lockett III (1958), 2666a, incorrectly stated as Lockett 392e in <i>SCBI</i> 30	1.20
Berneah V2.4 O1/R1	Obv. C7, two rows of pellets at base of neck, one with two the other three pellets, crescents Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,93, <i>BMC</i> 160, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 77	1.43
V2.5 O2/R2	Obv. C1, pelleted diadem, row of three pellets at base of neck Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	MacKay 07/02, bt Spink 2007	1.14 chipped
V2.6 O3/R3	Obv. C1, two rows of pellets at base of neck, one with two the other with four pellets, crescents Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	Gerhardt, Spink auction 215, 4–5 Dec. 2012, 52, ex Spink c.1960	1.34 small chip
V2.7 O4/R4	Obv. C1, five pellets in two rows at base of neck, crescents Rev. A, HMON +BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 332	1.34

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneath <i>cont.</i> V2.8 (var.) O5/R5	Obv. B1, bars, diagonal of five hairs at nape of neck, without pellets at base of neck, row of four pellets along base of central tunic panel Rev. A, HMON +BERNEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	<i>NCirc</i> Oct. 2003, HS1354, previously <i>NCirc</i> 1976, 4766	1.40
Cunehelm V2.9 O1/R2	Obv. C1, two rows of pellets at base of neck, one of two, the other three pellets, crescents Rev. D, MMON CVNEHEL ETA, 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,4, <i>BMC</i> 205, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 78	1.25
V2.10 O2/R2	Obv. C1, crescents, three pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON CVNEHLM ETA, lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 83, bt Timpe, 1869	1.41
Diarwulf V2.11 O1/R1	Obv. B2, crescents Rev. B, FMON DIARVL ETA, 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 420, <i>MEC</i> I, 1331, ex Young 1936, P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 286d, Evans; Croydon, 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 20; noted Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 59; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 46, 29.37% <i>AR</i>	1.30
V2.12 O2/R2	Obv. C1, decorated central panel with pellets, crescents Rev. D, MON DIARVLF ETA, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,49, <i>BMC</i> 220, Gravesend 1838	1.38
V2.13 O3/R3	Obv. C1, two rows of pellets at base of neck, one with two the other three pellets, crescents Rev. D, MON DIARVLF ETA, 0/0/0/0	BM 1915,0507,693, <i>BMA</i> 140, Morgan (Evans), 1915, noted on Evans's ticket as 'Bury St Edmunds', possibly a single find. Pl. 4, 79	0.91 chipped
Diga V2.14 O1/R1	Obv. C1, pelleted diadem, trefoil of three pellets at base of neck, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIA ETA, five pellets in dice style after DIA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1958 06-5-1, Ashe 1958	1.28
Duda V2.15 O1/R1	Duda Obv. C5, pelleted i.c., three rows of three pellets below neck, crescents below and in side panels Rev. D, line of pellets at inside of each crook, MON +DVDA ETA, 3/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,50, <i>BMC</i> 246, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 80	1.25
V2.16 O2/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Seaby, July 1982, Bird, Glendining, 20 Nov. 1974, 57	1.02
Dudeman V2.17 O1/R1	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., two rows of three pellets at base of neck, crescents Rev. D, NMON DVDEMA ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Baldwin auction 77, 27 Sept. 2012, 2528	0.84 flan edge perforation
Dudwine V2.18 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA, 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.190-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.29

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudwine cont.			
V2.19 O2/R2	Obv. F14, crescents, left hand tunic line pelleted Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.191-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.27
V2.20 O3/R3	Obv. C1, two rows of three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON DVDPINE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 1/1/1/3	BM 1840,0314,56, <i>BMC</i> 267, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 81	1.25
V2.21 O4/R4	Obv. C1, two rows of pellets one with two the other three pellets, crescents Rev. D, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>BMC</i> 268, acquired before 1838	1.24
Ethelwulf			
V2.22 O1/R1	Obv. G1, BVRGR+ED REX , X over vertical bar so appears as an asterisk, pelleted i.c., six pellets at top of central panel, crescents Rev. C, FMON +E-DELVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,29, <i>BMC</i> 296, Gravesend 1838	1.31
V2.23 O2/R2	Obv. F2, pelleted i.c., cluster of ten pellets in three uneven rows below neck, crescents Rev. C, MON +E-DELVF ETA , O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,30, <i>BMC</i> 295, Gravesend 1838	1.26
V2.24 O3/R3.	Obv. F2, pelleted i.c., six pellets at base of neck in two untidy rows of three, crescents Rev. D, FMON E-DELVLL ETA , Ls inverted, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/3	BM 1920,0907,1084, <i>BMA</i> 144, Hasluck 1920	1.38
Heawulf			
V2.25 O1/R1	Obv. C1, two rows of pellets at base of neck, one with two pellets, one with three, crescents Rev. D, FMON HEAVVL ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	Bruun Rasmussen, 820, 13 May 2011, 5262. From the same obv. die as a fragmentary coin, rev. type D, not listed in Corpus but photographed for Blunt when in the possession of the late A.H.F. Baldwin	1.39
Hussa			
V2.26 O1/R1	Obv. C3, additional beaded circle within i.c., cross with pellets in each angle above crescents in central panel, pelleted diadem, Rev. C, pelleted lines, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,35, <i>BMC</i> 346, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 82	1.34
V2.27 O2/R2	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., curving arc of pellets behind head, two rows of three pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,67, <i>BMC</i> 351, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 83	1.33
V2.28 O3/R3	Obv. I4, two rows of three pellets below neck, crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,68, <i>BMC</i> 347, Gravesend 1838	1.31
V2.29 O3/R4	<i>Same obv. die as next</i> Obv. I4, pellets below neck, crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 52, 4	1.28 chipped, surface porosity

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Hussa cont.			
V2.30 O4/R5	Obv. C1, central panel with row of three pellets above three crescents, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,69, <i>BMC</i> 348, Gravesend 1838	1.34
Liafman			
V2.31 O1/R1	Obv. C1, row of three pellets below neck, crescents Rev. D, NMON +LIAFMA ETA , 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, bt Oct. 1974, ex Lockett IV (1960), 3601b, Rashleigh (1909), 69b, NC 1868, 143, 10, Trewiddle 1774	1.21
Osmund			
V2.32 O1/R1	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., two rows of three pellets at base of neck, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON OSMNND ETA , first N abnormal, 0/0/0/3	BM 1838,1222,8, <i>BMC</i> 370, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 84	1.49
V2.33 O2/R2	Obv. C12, two rows of three pellets at base of neck, crescents, pelleted diadem Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , H inverted, 0/0/0/3	UKDFD 37838, found Middlesex, June 2012	Stated as 1.0 g
V2.34 O3/R3	Obv. C1, two rows of pellets at base of neck, one with two, the other with three pellets, crescents Rev. D, MON OSMhHD ETA , h inverted, 0/0/0/3	Goldberg, 59, May 2010, 3804	wnr
V2.35 O4/R4	Obv. C1, two rows of three pellets at base of neck, crescents, pelleted diadem Rev. D, MON OSMhHD ETA , inverted h, 0/0/0/3	<i>NCirc</i> Oct. 2001	1.30
V2.36 O5/R5	Obv. C1, row of three pellets at base of neck, crescents Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , O in MON with cruciform spikes, h inverted, 0/0/0/3	<i>NCirc</i> Nov. 1998	1.24
Tata			
V2.37 O1/R1	Obv. C6, untidy cluster of pellets at base of neck above three crescents, bars Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , inverted trefoil after TATA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,74, <i>BMC</i> 380, Gravesend 1838	1.39
V2.38 O2/R2	Obv. C24, pelleted i.c., double diadem, six pellets in two rows of three below neck Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>BMC</i> 383, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 85	1.30
V2.39 O3/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Worcestershire County Museum, 3738-10, Severn Stoke, 1994-95, reported 1993, EMC 1993.0200. Pl. 4, 86	1.30 chipped
Wine			
V2.40 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents, two rows of three pellets at base of neck, pelleted diadem Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA , 1/0/0/0	Spink auction 219, 24-25 Sept. 2013, 83, Lyons, bt June 2011	1.06 chipped
V2.41 O2/R2	Obv. F3, two rows of three pellets at base of neck Obv. D, MON +VVINE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett 2670c	wnr

OBVERSE VARIETY V3 – Mid Vertical – Double Inner /Circle

Phase IIb

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E	18/0/9/73/0
Metallurgy silver %	No data
Number of recorded moneyers	8
Recorded moneyers	Beagstan, Cunehelm, Diarwulf, Dudda, Ealdulf, Hugerred, Hussa, Liafman,

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan			
V3.1	Obv. C1, crescents	BM 1935,11-17, <i>BMA</i> 316, Barnett bequest,	0.94
O1/R1	Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA, 1/1/3/3	1935, Lindsay 1867, Hampshire 1, 1836, ill. Lindsay 1842, pl. 2, 47. Pl. 4, 88	
Cunehelm			
V3.2	Obv. C3, crescents, pelleted	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 372, Dr Hunter (d.1783), ill. Ruding	1.13
O1/R1	outer i.c. Rev. C, MON CVNENM ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	1840, III, pl. 8, 13	
V3.3	Obv. C4, cross in central	BM 1840,0314,47, <i>BMC</i> 208, Gravesend 1838,	1.34
O1/R2	panel, crescents Rev. D, line of added pellets on outer edge of upper crook, MON CYNEHLM ETA, ?0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	ill. Hawkins, 1841, p.19	
Diarwulf			
V3.4	Obv. C1, crescents	Lockett IV (1960), 3601e	wnr
O1/R1	Rev. D, MON DIAVLf ETA, 0/0/0/0		
Dudda			
V3.5	Dudda, Duda Obv. C1, pelleted outer i.c., two rows of three pellets below neck, crescents	BM 1935,11-17, <i>BMA</i> 322, Barnett bequest,	1.14
O1/R1	Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA, 0/0/0/0	1935. Pl. 4, 89	
V3.6	Obv. C1, two rows of three	Lockett IV (1960), 3601c, ex Baldwin,	1.34
O2/R2	pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA, line of pellets above and below DVDA , 3/0/0/0	subsequently L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 328 and <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 2000, HS0002	
Ealdulf			
V3.7	Obv. E3, crescents	Lockett III (1958), 2667c, ex Evans 1908,	1.22
O1/R1	Rev. A, MON EALDVLF ETA, 3/3/3/3	Corbett Anderson 1877, 32, Croydon 1862; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Sept. 1993, 6133; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 31	
Hugerred			
V3.8	Obv. C3, pelleted outer i.c.,	BM 1840,0314,64, <i>BMC</i> 339, Gravesend	1.41
O1/R1	cross above three crescents in central panel, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON HVGERED ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/3	1838. Pl. 4, 90	
V3.9	Obv. C1, pelleted outer i.c.,	UK private collection, Spink auction 175,	1.33
O2/R2	crescents, central panel with ?quadrilateral above crescent Rev. D, MON HYGERED ETA, pelleted lines, square O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/3	28–29 Sept. 2005, 1310, previously Rashleigh (1909), 71d, bt Watters, later Watters (1917), 33; <i>NC</i> 1868, 143, 15, Trewiddle 1774	
Hussa			
V3.10	Obv. C1, central panel with	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 209; ex Lockett 405a; <i>NCirc</i> 1928,	1.22
O1/R1	three crescents in trefoil format, pelleted outer i.c. Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA, row of pellets along outer sides of each crook, 0/0/0/0	83254, 1927 65684; Heywood 1906, 6, most likely Waterloo Bridge 1884. Pl. 4, 91	

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Liafman			
V3.11 O1/R1	Obv. C5, pelleted inner circle, two rows of three pellets at base of neck, crescents Rev. D, <u>NMON</u> +LIAFMA ETA, 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Turner collection, Goldberg 46, 26 May 2008, 193, ex Bagnall, colln, acquired by Spink, 1964, P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1918), 1613b, ill. Heywood 1906, 7, ex Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.36
OBERVERSE VARIETY V4 – Mid Vertical C		Phase IIb	
Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E		94/0/3/3/0	
Metallurgy silver %		46 (1)	
Number of recorded moneyers		6	
Recorded moneyers		Beagstan, Cunehelm, Diga, Dudwine, Heawulf, Osmund	
<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan			
V4.1 O1/R1	Obv. D3, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZTA ETA, 0/0/1/3	BM 1840,0314,83, <i>BMC</i> 146, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 92	1.33
V4.2 O2/R2	Obv. D2, crescents Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZTA ETA, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,80, <i>BMC</i> 145, Gravesend 1838	1.32
V4.3 O3/R3	Obv. D3, pelleted lines to outer panels, crescents Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZSTA ETA, 0/0/1/3	MacKay 06/06, ex Dix Noonan Webb, 26 Sept. 2006, 531	0.88 chipped
V4.4 O4/R4	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZTA ETA, 0/0/1/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 408, <i>MEC</i> 1, 1325; Duncanson 1930, ex Smart, d.1913; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 62, 46.36% AR	1.26
V4.5 O5/R5	Obv. C13 Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZTA ETA, 0/?/0/3 uncertain	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 649, Museum of London, Wandsworth, before 1913, ill. Stott 1991, app. 4.2b, 4	0.72 chipped and corroded wnr
V4.6 O6/R6	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZTA ETA, 0/1/0/3	Worcesterhire County Museum, 3737-01, Severn Stoke 1994-95	
V4.7 O7/R7	Obv. C13, crescents Rev. A, <u>NMON</u> BEAGZTA ETA, 0/0/1/2	Lockett IV (1960), 3598a, ex Baldwin, later Clonterbrook Trust, Glendining, 7 June 1974, 11	1.34
Cunehelm			
V4.8 O1/R1	Obv. C1, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, <u>MMON</u> CVNEHL ETA, 0/0/3/uncertain elongated symbol <i>Same obv. die as next two; same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,106, <i>BMC</i> 198, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 93	1.28
V4.9 O1/R1	Obv. C20, crescents, cross in central panel Rev. A, <u>MMON</u> CVNEHL ETA, 0/0/3/uncertain elongated symbol <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 610, ex Spink 1961, previously Lockett I (1955), 393a, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> 1985, 7928	1.08
V4.10 O1/R2	Obv. C1, crescents, cross in central panel Rev. A, <u>MMON</u> CVNEHL ETA, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 66	1.30
V4.11 O2/R3	Obv. D8, crescents, cross in central panel Rev. C, <u>MMON</u> CVNEHL ETA, 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.207-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, ex Baldwin	1.29

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Diga			
V4.12 O1/R1	Obv. C10, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 228, Cotton (1702). Pl. 4, 94	1.30
V4.13 O1/R1	Obv. C10, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 77, Lyons, ex Dix Noonan Webb, 24 Sept. 2008, 3409	1.10
V4.14 O2/R2	Obv. C10, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 76, Gansauge, 1873	1.35
V4.15 O3/R3	Obv. C10, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of six pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 333	1.23
V4.16 O4/R4	Obv. C22, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	Munzen und Medaillen, 9 Oct. 2001, 1222	1.42
V4.17 O5/R5	Obv. C13, crescents, cross in central panel Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	Spink auction 155, 3 Oct. 2001, 384	1.06
Dudwine			
V4.18 O1/R1	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	Lockett I (1955), 394b	wnr
V4.19 O2/R2	Rev. F3, crescents Obv. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	Lockett III (1958), 2667a, later CNG Triton XVIII, 6–7 Jan. 2015, 1705	1.42
V4.20 O3/R3	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>NCirc</i> Sept. 1993, 6132	1.38
Heawulf			
V4.21 O1/R1	Obv. F9, pelleted i.c., and outer panel lines Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,154, <i>BMC</i> 315, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 95	1.32
V4.22 O1/R1	Obv. F9, pelleted i.c. and outer tunic panel lines Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.196-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.15
V4.23 O2/R2	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 205, Smithsonian, US Mint catalogue (1914), 442, 3	1.28
V4.24 O3/R3	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVL F ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 206, Dickie 1967	1.19

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Heawulf cont.			
V4.25 O4/R3	Obv. F7, pelleted i.c. and outer tunic lines Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 672, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.92 chipped
V4.26 O5/R4	Obv. F3, pelleted i.c. and outer tunic lines, crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/3	Torksey, Blackburn, 2011b, app. 1, pl. 1, 10	1.16
V4.27 O6/R5	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , small F, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.197-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.10
V4.28 O6/R5	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , small F, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	BM 1840,0314,156, <i>BMC</i> 314, Gravesend 1838	1.37
V4.29 O7/R6	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 311, acquired before 1838	1.32
V4.30 O7/R6	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	UK private collection, ex Baldwin, 1974	1.03 chipped
V4.31 O8/R7	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. D, FMON HEAVVL ETA , inverted F and L, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 404b, ex P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, (1913), 288d; ill. Heywood 1906, 5, Waterloo Bridge, 1884	wnr
V4.32 O9/R8	Obv. B4, bars Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	Lockett III (1958), 2667e, ex Evans; <i>NCirc</i> 1911, 91978, Corbett Anderson 1877, 42, Croydon 1862; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 43	wnr
Osmund			
V4.33 O1/R1	Obv. F9, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON OIIHHD ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,169, <i>BMC</i> 369, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 4, 96	1.32
V4.34 O2/R2	Obv. F3, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON OZMhND ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 371, Coats 1924	1.31
V4.35 O3/R3	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, MON OZMhND ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/0/0	EMC 2010.0250, found Pyrton, Oxon, recorded PAS: SUR-45348	1.10 small edge chip
V4.36 O4/R4	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, MON OZMhND ETA , 0/0/0/0	UK private collection, ex CNG 78, 14 May 2008, 2126, Lockett I (1955), 396a, ex Glendining, Walker (1942), 63	1.25

PHASE III STANDARD LUNETTES GROUP – H AND V SERIES

OBSERVE VARIETY H9 – Late Horizontal A

Phase III

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E	88/0/12/0/0
Metallurgy silver %	43/31 (2)
Number of recorded moneyers	4
Recorded moneyers	Cunehelm, Eadnoth, Ethelwulf, Lulla

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cunehelm			
H9.1 O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 25, acquired Feltrin Fagan, 1933. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 68, 43.03% AR. Pl. 5, 97	1.25

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cunehelm cont.			
H9.2 O2/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem Rev. A, MON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 65, ex Serrure 1857, 654	1.20
H9.3 O3/R3	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. C, MON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 79, previously Lyons ex Davisson's auction, 10 June 2004, 80	1.29
Eadnoth			
H9.4 O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 616, subsequently Mack (1977), 67	1.24
H9.5 O2/R2	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3	Lockett III (1958), 2667b, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Feb. 1974, 1274 (illus.)	<i>wnr</i>
H9.6 O3/R3	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>NCirc</i> Oct. 2006, HS2570	1.30
Ethelwulf			
H9.7 O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EDELVLV ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 79, acquired from Cahn, 1890. Pl. 5, 98	1.29
Lulla			
H9.8 O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +LVLLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 32, acquired from Feltrin-Fagan, 1933. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 70, 30.76% <i>AR</i> . Pl. 5, 99	1.42

OBVERSE VARIETY H10 – Late Horizontal B

Phase III

Reverse type proportion % A/B/C/D/E	51/1/11/35/2
Metallurgy silver %	60/49/24/23 (4)
Number of recorded moneyers	20
Recorded moneyers	Beagstan, Berneah, Cenred, Cunehelm, Cuthberht, Diarwulf, Dudwine, Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ethelwulf, Guthhere, Heawulf, Hereferth, Hugerred, Hussa, Huthhere, Lulla, Osmund, Tata, Tidhelm

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan			
H10.1 O1/R1	Obv. F5, row of three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTAN ETA , 1/1/1/3	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 339, Bristol City Museum	1.25
H10.2 O2/R2	Obv. B5, double diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents, two pellets at base of neck Rev. Eii, NM ON BEA .JZTA ET A , 0/0/0/0/	BM 2008,4199,7, North Yorkshire find, 2003, Williams, 2008, 3	0.85 pierced. obscuring eye and chipped
Berneah			
H10.3 O1/R1	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. Eii, NM ON BER .JEA ET A , 0/0/0/0/	BM 2008,4199,8, North Yorkshire find 2003, Williams, 2008, 4	1.37 pierced obscuring eye
Cenred			
H10.4 O1/R1	Obv. F3, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,98, <i>BMC</i> 171, Gravesend 1838	1.17 chipped

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cenred cont.			
H10.5 O2/R2	Obv. C9, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , O with four pellets saltire, 0/3/3/3	MacKay, 99/06, ex Granta coins, Cambridge, July 1999, said to have been found near Cambridge, c.1998. Pl. 5, 100	1.19
H10.6 O3/R3	Obv. C12, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> (Mack) 20, 609, ex Spink 1949, subsequently Spink auction 188, 29 Mar. 2007, 358, now UK private collection	1.38
H10.7 O4/R4	Obv. F2, double diadem, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 88, Northampton Museum and Art Gallery	1.14 chipped
H10.8 O5/R5	Obv. C9, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , O with four pellets cruciform, 3/3/[?]/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 655, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.94 chipped
H10.9 O6/R6	Obv. D1, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 203, ANS, previously Metropolitan Museum of Art 1903, and Durkee 1899	1.31
H10.10 O7/R7	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, (/)/(/)	National Museum of Wales 78.28H/1, ex Spink, 1978, Lockett III (1958), 2666c, Evans, 1908, Croydon 1862; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 7, Corbett Anderson, 1877, 8; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 54, 49.40% <i>AR</i>	1.23 minor chipping
H10.11 O8/R8	Obv. C5, pelleted diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , (/)/(/)	BM, North Yorkshire find 2003	wnr
H10.12 O9/R9	Obv. H1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., two small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON +CENRED ETA , 0/0/0/1	<i>BMC</i> 185, Southgate (1795)	1.34
H10.13 O10/R10	Obv. B1, pelleted single diadem and i.c., bars, two small pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, (/)/(/) <i>Same obv. die as SCBI 21, 962</i>	BM 1840,314,44, <i>BMC</i> 186, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 101	1.03
H10.14 O10/R12	Obv. B1, pelleted diadem and i.c., two small pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, (/)/(/) <i>Same obv. die as BMC 186</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 21, 962, Leeds City Museum, Winchester Cathedral collection, ex Eyre (d.1764)	1.14
H10.15 O11/R11	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem, and i.c., bars Rev. D, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 21, 961, Leeds City Museum, Winchester Cathedral collection, ex Eyre (d.1764)	1.10 chipped and broken
H10.16 O12/R13	Obv. uncertain, [..]REX M, bars, most likely H10 Rev. D, [..] / NRE [..] / ETA , most likely Cenred, pellets uncertain	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1767-2008; Torksey, Blackburn, 2011b, app. 1, pl. 1, 8	0.42 fragment
H10.17 O13/R14	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars, two rows of three pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON +CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Baldwin 1978, previously Lockett IV (1960), 3600e and Talbot Ready (1920)	1.12 chipped
H10.18 O14/R15	Obv. I3, pelleted i.c., double diadem, three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	Elmore Jones, Glendining, 12 May 1971, 34	1.35

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cenred cont.			
H10.19 O15/R16	Obv. C9, pelleted i.c. and double diadem, pellet at base of neck Rev. D, MON CENRED ETA , pelleted lines, (/)/(/)	<i>NCirc</i> Mar. 2010, HS4024	1.11
H10.20 O16/R17	Obv. C9, pelleted diadem and i.c., bars Rev. D, MON CENRED ETA , (/)/(/)	<i>NCirc</i> June 1996, 2680	1.26
Cunehelm			
H10.21 O1/R1	Obv. F2, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MON CVNEHELM ETA , (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 343, Somerset County Museum, first noted 1962, Pagan 1986b, 'possible West Country hoard'	1.19
H10.22 O2/R2	Obv. F3, pelleted i.c. and diadem, flan flaw in fourth angle Rev. A, MMON CVNE[HEL] ETA , 0/0/3/? , <i>Same obv. die as next two; same rev. die as BM 1840,0314,108, BMC 193 – obv. var. H11 (H11.21)</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 363, Coats 1924. Pl. 5, 102	0.85 chipped
H10/H11 mule			
H10.23 O2/R3	Obv. F9, pelleted diadem and i.c., bars, pellet at base of neck Rev. A, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last and next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 48, 699, Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries, acquired 1972, ex P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1918), 1615a, ill. Heywood 1906, 16, Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.30
H10.24 O2/R4	Obv. F9, pelleted diadem and i.c., bars, pellet at base of neck Rev. A, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , column of three pellets after CVNEHEL , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last two</i>	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 76, Lyons ex Boyd, Baldwin, 26 Sept. 2005, 761; Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.21
H10.25 O3/R5	Obv. B1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett IV (1960), 3598d, ex <i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1913, 4087, subsequently Clonterbrook, Glendining, 7 June 1974, 14; Arnot, DNW, 21 Mar. 1995 42	wnr
Cuthberht			
H10.26 O1/R1	Obv. E3, pelleted double diadem, three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, MON CVÐBERH TETA , 3/3/2/6 <i>Same obv. die as next three</i>	BM 1915,0507,689, BMA 138, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 17, Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 15. Pl. 5, 103	1.42
H10.27 O1/R2	Obv. E3, pelleted double diadem, three small pellets at base of neck Rev. A, MON CVÐBERH TETA , 3/3/3/5 <i>Same obv. die as last and next two; same rev. die as next two</i>	BM 1935,1117,321, Barnett bequest, 1935	1.22 chipped
H10.28 O1/R2	Obv. E3, three small pellets at base of neck, diadem and i.c., probably pelleted, some surface corrosion Rev. A, MON CVÐBERH TETA , 3/3/3/5 <i>Same obv. die as last two and next; same rev. die as last and next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 364, Coats 1924	1.23
H10.29 O1/R2	Obv. E3, three small pellets at base of neck, pelleted i.c. and double diadem Rev. A, MON CVÐBERH TETA , 3/3/3/5 <i>Same obv. die as last three; same rev. die and last two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 21, 958, Leeds City Museum, ex Baron (1854)	1.25 chipped

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Diarwulf			
H10.30 O1/R1	Obv. F2, pelleted i.c., two small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3	Dix Noonan Webb, 4 Dec. 2013, 2023, ex Stanley Gibbons, July 1978	1.21
H10.31 O2/R2	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. B, pelleted lines, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 216, Tyssen (1802), ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8, 24	1.30
H10.32 O3/R3	Obv. F2, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. C, pelleted lines, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/1	BM 1838,1222,10, <i>BMC</i> 217, Fox, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 104	1.19
H10.33 O3/R4	<i>Same obv. die as next two</i> Obv. F2, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. C, pelleted lines, MON DIARVL FETA , V an inverted A, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,23, <i>BMC</i> 218, Gravesend 1838	1.24
H10.34 O3/R5	<i>Same obv. die as last and next</i> Obv. F3, row of three pellets at base of neck, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. C, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 373, Dr Hunter before 1783, ill. Ruding (1840), III, pl. 14, 2	1.23
H10.35 O4/R6	<i>Same obv. die as last two</i> Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., inverted trefoil of three pellets at base of neck Rev. C, FMON DIARVL ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>MEC</i> I, 1322, Fitzwilliam Museum, Corpus Christi College, Lewis 1891, bt Tunbridge Wells, 1872, Croydon, 1862; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 60	1.22
H10.36 O5/R7	Obv. D1, two pellets at neck, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. C, FMON DIARVL ETA , inverted F, O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 67, ex Serrure 1857, 655	1.43
H10.37 O6/R8	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. D, MON DIARVLF ETA , pellets uncertain	<i>BMC</i> 222, acquired before 1838, surface corrosion	1.33
H10.38 O6/R9	<i>Same obv. die as next</i> Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., trefoil of three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, FMON DIARVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,48, <i>BMC</i> 223 (<i>BMC</i> lists legend incorrectly), Gravesend 1838	1.46
H10.39 O7/R10	<i>Same obv. die as last</i> Obv. I1, double diadem, three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/4	<i>BMC</i> 221, acquired before 1838	1.30
H10.40 O8/R11	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. D, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0	Boyd, Baldwin, 26 Sept. 2005, 764, Boyd vt Vieweg, 1889	1.35
Dudwine			
H10.41 O1/R1	Obv. C9, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/2	BM 1840,0314,128, <i>BMC</i> 263, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 105	1.27

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudwine cont.			
H10.42 O2/R2	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars, coarse style Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3	Jean Elsen, auction 88, 10 June 2006, 651, Danson, DNW, 12 Dec. 2005, 156, Danson bt from <i>SCMB</i> Nov. 1950, 8076	1.29
Eadnoth			
H10.43 O1/R1	Obv. E3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , O in MON with spike above and below, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,129, <i>BMC</i> 269, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 106	1.50
H10.44 O1/R2	Obv. E3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Lockett IV (1960), 3598f, subsequently Clonterbrook, Glendining, 7 June 1974, 16	wnr
H10.45 O2/R3	Obv. C12, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/8 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 27, Allen (1898), 183c, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 29; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 28. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 74, 23.40% <i>AR</i>	1.12
H10.46 O2/R3	Obv. C12, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/8 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	National Museum of Wales 79.10H/4; Elmore Jones (1971), 30, probably <i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1911, 91972, Evans 1908, Croydon 1862; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 27. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 75, 23.64% <i>AR</i>	1.01 chipped, surface cracks
Eadwulf			
H10.47 O1/R1	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 345, Somerset County Museum, Cheddar palace excavation, 1960–62	wnr chipped, corroded
H10.48 O2/R2	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 2000, 1451	1.29
Ethelwulf			
H10.49 O1/R1	Obv. F2, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EÐELLAF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,143, <i>BMC</i> 292, Gravesend 1838. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 39 (where listed as Eanred, but <i>BMC</i> 292 is this coin), 60.30% <i>AR</i>	1.22
H10.50 O2/R2	Obv. C9, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,145, <i>BMC</i> 289, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 107	1.12
Guthhere			
H10.51 O1/R1	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON GVÐHERE ETA , 3/3/3/6	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 89, Nottingham Museum and Art Gallery, Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.34 chipped
Heawulf			
H10.52 O1/R1	Obv. F2, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 416 (<i>MEC</i> I, 1334), Hasluck 1920	1.14
H10.53 O2/R2	Obv. E8, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 90, Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, found Kirby Bellars churchyard, Leics, 1965	0.97
H10.54 O2/R3	Obv. E8, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 3/0/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Lockett I (1955), 395c	wnr

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Heawulf cont.			
H10.55 O3/R4	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two rows of three small pellets at base of neck, bars, Rev. C, pelleted lines, MON HEAVVLF ETA, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as BMC 320</i>	BM 1838,1222,11, <i>BMC</i> 318, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 108	1.29
H10.56 O3/R5	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two rows of three small pellets at base of neck, bars, Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON HEVVLF ETA. 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as BMC 318</i>	BM 1840,0314,50, <i>BMC</i> 320, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 109	1.30
H10.57 O4/R6	Obv. I3, three pellets at base of neck, double diadem, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. D, FMON HEAVV ETA, 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.220-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, Grantley (1944), 875a	1.32
H10.58 O5/R7	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, FMON HEAVVL ETA, 0/0/0/1	BM 1840,0314,59, <i>BMC</i> 319, Gravesend 1838	1.37
Hereferth			
H10.59 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HEREFER ETA, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,61, <i>BMC</i> 325, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 110	1.16
Hugered			
H10.60 O1/R1	Obv. C9, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next two</i>	<i>BMC</i> 329, Tyssen (1802), ill. Ruding, 1840, III, pl. 8,19	1.15
H10.61 O1/R2	Obv. C9, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars, Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last and next</i>	BM 1840,0314,159, <i>BMC</i> 330, Gravesend 1838	1.18
H10.62 O1/R5	Obv. C9, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars, Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last two</i>	BM 1840,0314,66, <i>BMC</i> 337, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 111	1.26
H10.63 O2/R3	Obv. D1, bars Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	UK private collection, ex Baldwin, 1976, previously Lockett IV (1960), 3599f	1.09
H10.64 O3/R4	Obv. F8, row of three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA, 0/0/0/0	Bowes Museum, noted by Lean and Pagan, <i>NCirc</i> 1999, 143	1.26
H10.65 O4/R6	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., bars, three small pellets at base of neck Rev. D, DMON HVGERE ETA, 0/0/0/2	<i>BMC</i> 336, ex Tyssen (1802)	1.09
Hussa			
H10.66 O1/R1	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem, two rows of two pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. C, MON +HVSSA ETA, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 April 1999, 327	1.28

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Hussa cont. 1.28			
H10.67 O2/R2	Obv. C12, pelleted double diadem and i.c., three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 350, acquired before 1838	1.30
H10.68 O3/R3	Obv. I3, pelleted double diadem, two rows of three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1915,0507,707, <i>BMA</i> 148, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862 – noted on Evans's ticket	1.35
H10.69 O4/R4	Obv. H1, pelleted diadem and i.c., bars, row of three pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 636, bt 1950, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> 1989, 2499	1.28
H10.70 O4/R5	Obv. C12, single diadem, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MON HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	BM 1925,0202,13, Beeston Tor 1924	1.45
Huthhere H10.71 O1/R1	Obv. J3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two rows of three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. C, MON HV-ÐERE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,34, <i>BMC</i> 354, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 112	1.41
H10.72 O1/R2	Obv. J3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two rows of three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. C, MON HV-ÐERE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 11, 11, ex Stenton, Baldwin	1.31
Lulla H10.73 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., three pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, MON +LVLA ETA , 0/0/0/0, coarse style, ?locally cut die	UK private collection, ex Elmore Jones, Glendining, 12 May 1971, 32	1.15
Osmund H10.74 O1/R1	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON OZMVND ETA , O with pellets saltire, 0/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 76, Hoffman 1858	1.40
H10.75 O2/R2	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON OSMhND ETA , inverted h, O in MON with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 373, acquired before 1838. Pl. 5, 113	1.34
H10.76 O3/R3	Obv. C12, pelleted diadem and i.c., row of three pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , inverted h, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 673, Hastings Museum and Art Gallery, donated c.1890	1.21

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Osmund <i>cont.</i>			
H10.77 O4/R4	Obv. I3, pelleted i.c. and diadem, trefoil below neck, bars Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , inverted h , 0/0/0/0	Boyd, Baldwin, 26 Sept. 2005, 765, ex Marjoribanks, Sotheby (1904), 225 (part)	1.17
H10.78 O5/R5	Obv. C12, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , inverted h , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as NCirc May 1900, 2477</i>	<i>NCirc</i> Nov. 1997, 5483	1.25
H10.79 O5/R6	Obv. C12, pelleted double diadem and i.c., two pellets at base of neck Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , inverted h , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as NCirc Nov. 1997, 5483</i>	<i>NCirc</i> May 1990, 2477	1.18
Tata			
H10.80 O1/R1	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., row of three small pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. D, pelleted lines, MON +TATA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1925,0202,14, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 5, 114	1.32
Tidhelm			
H10.81 O1/R1	Obv. uncertain, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, MON TIDELM ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 338, found Stoke Gifford, Gloucs.	1.23 corroded, chipped

OBVERSE VARIETY H11 – Late Horizontal C

Phase III

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E
Metallurgy silver %;
Number of recorded moneyers
Recorded moneyers

45/7/9/36/3
56/54/53/50/16 (5)
27
Beagstan, Berthelm, Bernred, Burghelm, Cenred,
Cunehelm, Diarwulf, Diga, Dudda, Dudecil, Dudwine,
Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ethelwulf, Guthhere, Hereferth,
Heawulf, Hugerred, Hussa, Huthhere, Ludig, Liafwald,
Lulla, Osmund, Tata, Wine, Wulfheard,

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan			
H11.1 O1/R1	Obv. F7, double diadem, bars, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, NMON BEAGSTA ETA , 0/0/1/1	BM 1840,0314,79, <i>BMC</i> 144, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 5, 117	1.37
H11.2 O2/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1925,0202,2, Beeston Tor 1924	1.12
H11.3 O3/R3	Obv. F11, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Kunker, 205, 12 Mar. 2012, 2478	1.05
Bernred			
H11.4 O1/R1	Obv. B1, coarse style Rev. D, DMON BERNRE ETA , 0/0/1/3	MacKay 09/01, bt Jan. 2009, see MacKay, 2009, 50. Pl. 5, 118	1.14 chipped
Berthelm			
H11.5 O1/R1	Obv. F1, bars Rev. A, NMON BERTHEL ETA , lozenge O over cruciform pellets, 0/0/0/0	MacKay 09/04, ex Spink 2009, <i>SCMB</i> Jan. 1975, H5406; Rashleigh (1909), 76b, <i>NC</i> 1868, 144, 29, Trewiddle 1774. Pl. 5, 119	1.12

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berhthelm cont.			
H11.6 02/R2	Obv. F1, bars Rev. A, <u>MMON BERHTHEL</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	UK private collection, ex Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 74, previously Lyons and Rasmussen summer list 2009	0.74 chipped
H11.7 03/R3	Obv. F2, bars Rev. A, <u>MMON BERHTHE</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 392b, subsequently CNG 94, 18 Sept. 2013, 1917	1.26
H11.8 04/R4	Obv. F1, bars Rev. D, <u>MMON BERHTHEL</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 402b, ex Talbot Ready (1920), 37c; later <i>SCMB</i> Apr. 1971, H768	wnr
Burghelm			
H11.9 01/R1	Obv. B1, single diadem, bars Rev. D, <u>MON BIIRGHLM</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	BM 1915,0507,688, <i>BMA</i> 137, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 64, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 7. Pl. 5, 120	1.40
Cenred			
H11.10 01/R1	Obv. D6, bars, single pelleted diadem, pelleted i.c. and central panel lines, trefoil at neck Rev. A, <u>MON CENRED</u> ETA, (/)/(/)	BM 1840,0314,100, <i>BMC</i> 174, Gravesend 1838	1.35
H11.11 02/R2	Obv. B1, crescents, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, <u>MON CENRED</u> ETA, 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,102, <i>BMC</i> 173, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 121	1.43
H11.12 03/R3	Obv. H2, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, <u>MON</u> +CENRED ETA, lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/1	BM 1935,1117, 319, Barnett bequest 1935	1.05
H11.13 04/R4	Obv. B1, bars Rev. D, <u>MON CENRED</u> ETA, (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 630, ex Lockett I (1955), 402a, Mack II, Glendining, 23 Mar. 1977, 70, now US private collection	1.15
H11.14 05/R5	Obv. B1, bars Rev. D, <u>MON CENRED</u> ETA, (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> 48, 704, Rotunda Museum, Scarborough, acquired 1954	1.26
H11.15 06/R6	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, <u>MON +CENRED</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 80, previously Lyons	1.17
H11.16 07/R7	Obv. B1, bars Rev. D, <u>MON CENRED</u> ETA, (/)/(/)	Worcestershire County Museum, 3738-04, Severn Stoke 1994–95, EMC 1993.0199, <i>BNJ</i> 62, 1993, Coin Register, 199	1.49 minor chips
H11.17 08/R8	Obv. H2, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. Ei, <u>M ON CENRED</u> ET A, 0/0/0/0	BM 1962,1118,1, Blunt 1958–59, 16; Williams, 2008, 225, 1e	1.13 chipped
H11.18 09/R9	Obv. H2, crescents, single diadem Rev. Ei, <u>M ON CENRED</u> ET A, 1/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.224-1990, Blunt, ex R. Carlyon Britton	1.10 chipped
Cunehelm			
H11.19 01/R1	Obv. F3, single diadem, bars Rev. A, <u>MMON CVNEHL</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,17, <i>BMC</i> 197, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.11
H11.20 02/R2 (H10, Cunehelm R2 same die)	Obv. F3, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. A, pelleted lines, <u>MMON</u> <u>CVNEHE</u> ETA, 0/0/3/0, flan flaw in fourth angle	BM 1840,0314,108, <i>BMC</i> 193, Gravesend 1838	1.20
H11/H10 mule	<i>Same rev. die as SCBI 2, 363 (H10.22)</i>		
H11.21 03/R2	Obv. I1, single pelleted diadem, beaded i.c., bars Rev. A, <u>MMON CVNEHEL</u> ETA, 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 195, acquired before 1838	1.30

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cunehelm cont.			
H11.22 O4/R3	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem and tunic lines, bars Rev. C, MON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,19, <i>BMC</i> 204, Gravesend 1838	1.38
H11.23 O5/R4	Obv. legend not noted, crescents Rev. A, MON CVHEHL ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM, North Yorkshire find 2003	wnr
H11.24 O6/R5	Obv. F1, bars Rev. C, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 208, J.W. Garrett loan to John Hopkins University, bt from Elder 1922, Garrett later dispersed	1.38
H11.25 O7/R6	Obv. K2, double diadem Rev. D, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/1	BM 1840,0314,46, <i>BMC</i> 206, Gravesend 1838	1.36
<i>Same rev. die as next</i>			
H11.26 O8/R6	Obv. I1, single diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/1	BM 1840,0314,45, <i>BMC</i> 207, Gravesend 1838	1.35
<i>Same rev. die as last</i>			
H11.27 O9/R7	Obv. B2, X with a pellet on tip of each arm Rev. D, pelleted lines, MMON CVNEHEL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 36, Gambier Parry 1935; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 48, 56.385% <i>AR</i>	1.32
H11.28 O10/R8	Obv. H1, incurving lines on central panel, crescents Rev. D, LMON CVNEHE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 402e, ex Talbot Ready (1920)	wnr chipped
Diarwulf			
H11.29 O1/R1	Obv. F1, single diadem, crescents Rev. A, LMON DIARVF ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,111, <i>BMC</i> 214, Gravesend 1838	1.35
H11.30 O2/R2	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c. and single diadem, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, MON DIARVLF ETA , inverted M, lozenge O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,112, <i>BMC</i> 213, Gravesend 1838	1.41
H11.31 O3/R3	Obv. F4, crescents Rev. B, pellets in lunette breaks, pelleted lines, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,3, <i>BMC</i> 215, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 122	1.38
H11.32 O4/R4	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. C, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 399b, ex Baldwin	wnr
H11.33 O5/R5	Obv. B1, bars Rev. D, FMON DIARVL ETA , 0/0/0/3	EMC 1986.0338, found York, Skeldergate, Pirie, 1986, 38	0.74 chipped and corroded
H11.34 O6/R6 (also Diarwulf V5.84, rev. die R7)	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, IMON DIARVLF ETA , O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same rev. die as BMC 224 (obv. var. V5, noted as die 7)</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.213-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, Grantley (1944), 875a, Briggs (1893). Pl. 6, 123	1.32
H11/V5 mule H11.35 O7/R7	Obv. C1, pelleted diadem and i.c., untidy group of five pellets below neck Rev. D, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3	Worcesterhire County Museum, 3738-07, Severn Stoke 1994-95. Pl. 6, 124	wnr chipped
H11.36 O8/R8	Obv. K4, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. D, MON DIARVLF ETA , inverted L, 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 403a	wnr

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Diarwulf <i>cont.</i>			
H11.37 O9/R9	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, FMON DIARVL ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 64, 18, Willoughby Gardner, 1963, ex Baldwin	1.03
Diga			
H11.38 O1/R1	Obv. F1, single diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , O within four spikes cruciform, two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 1/1/1/1	BM 1838,1222,21, <i>BMC</i> 227, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 125	1.37
H11.39 O2/R2	Obv. I1, four pellets in two rows of two at base of neck, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , trefoil after DIGA , 0/1/0/1	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 365, Hunter, before 1783, ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8, 22	1.35
H11.40 O3/R3	Obv. I1, pelleted i.c. and central panel lines, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , 0/0/0/0	UK private collection, <i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 612, later Mack I, Glendining, 18 Nov. 1975, 89, previously Lockett I (1955), 393e	1.21
Dudda			
H11.41 O1/R1	(Dudda, Duda, Dudhh) Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,22, <i>BMC</i> 234, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 126	1.27
H11.42 O2/R2	Obv. F3, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/3, pelleted bars	BM 1838,1222,23, <i>BMC</i> 231, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.29
H11.43 O3/R3	Obv. D1, single diadem, pelleted i.c., trefoil at base of neck, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,121, <i>BMC</i> 233, Gravesend 1838	1.25
H11.44 O4/R4	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,122, <i>BMC</i> 232, Gravesend 1838	1.30
H11.45 O5/R5	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 114	1.20
H11.46 O6/R6	Obv. B1, crescents, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Royal Mint, Hocking, 1906, 24, likely acquired in late nineteenth century	1.31
H11.47 O7/R7	Obv. D1, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.189-1990, Blunt, ex Baldwin, ex Argyll	1.22
H11.48 O8/R8	Obv. C18, bars, coarse style, ?locally cut die Rev. A, IION DVDDA ETA , 1/3/0/3	UK private collection, ex Baldwin, 1966	1.05
H11.49 O9/R9	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
H11.50 O10/R10	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON DVDHH ETA , 3/3/3/3	Repton 1, 1982, 3650, Biddle 1986, 2 Metcalf and Northover 1985, 80, 15.80% AR	0.75 corroded
H11.51 O11/R11	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 334	1.14
H11.52 O12/R12	Obv. B1, double diadem, crescents Rev. B, trefoil in lunette breaks, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,4, <i>BMC</i> 235, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 127	1.40

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda cont.			
H11.53 O13/R13	Obv. B1, single diadem, bars, no lips Rev. C, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 237, acquired before 1838	1.37
H11.54 O14/R14	Obv. H1, single diadem Rev. D, MON +DVDA ETA , lozenge O, 0/0/3/0	BM 1840,0314,52, <i>BMC</i> 245, Gravesend 1838	1.21
H11.55 O15/R15	Obv. H2, double diadem, bars Rev. D, MON DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
H11.56 O16/R16	Obv. H1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett 403b, ill. Heywood 1906, 3, ex Waterloo Bridge, 1884	wnr
Dudwine			
H11.57 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double part pelleted diadem, curving shoulders, bars Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1840,0314, 127, <i>BMC</i> 265, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 128	1.37
H11.58 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double part pelleted diadem, curving shoulders, bars Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 2000, 1857	wnr
Eadnoth			
H11.59 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 1/1/3/1	BM 1840,0314,130, <i>BMC</i> 270, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 129	1.35
H11.60 O2/R2	Obv. B1, bars, coarse style Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 661, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968, now Verulamium Museum	0.89 chipped
H11.61 O3/R3	Obv. B5, single diadem, crescents Rev. Eii, MO N EADNOÐ ET A , 0/0/0/0	BM 1969,0506,1, Barker 1969, Williams 2008, 225, 1d. Pl. 6, 130	1.07 broken chipped, corroded
Eadwulf			
H11.62 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	UBS auction 58, 27 Jan. 2004, 2115	1.37
Ethelwulf			
H11.63 O1/R1	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. C, FMON E-ÐELVF ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>MEC</i> I, 1320, Fitzwilliam Museum, Corpus Christi College, Lewis, 1891, bt Tunbridge Wells, 1872, Croydon 1862; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 63	1.21
H11.64 O2/R2	Obv. I1, single diadem, crescents Rev. D, FMON +E-ÐELVL ETA , 0/0/0/1 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,57, <i>BMC</i> 299, Gravesend 1838	1.38
H11.65 O2/R3	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, FMON +E-ÐELVL ETA , O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	UK private collection, ex Baldwin 1964	1.19
H11.66 O3/R4	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, FMON +E-ÐELVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 71, Serrure, 1857, 659	1.14
H11.67 O4/R5	Obv. I1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. D, FMON +E-ÐELVL ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.217-1990, Blunt ex Argyll	1.34

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Ethelwulf cont.			
H11.68 O5/R6	Obv. I1, single diadem, pelleted i.c. Rev. D, FMON HE DELVL ETA, O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/1	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.218-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, Grantley (1944), Grantley acquired from L.A. Lawrence, 1903	1.27
H11.69 O6/R7	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, FMON HE DELVL ETA, 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Baldwin 1964	1.21
Guthhere			
H11.70 O1/R1	Obv. F10, single diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,151, BMC 302, Gravesend 1838	1.33
H11.71 O2/R2	Obv. B1, single diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,148, BMC 304, Gravesend 1838	1.20
H11.72 O3/R3	Obv. F1, single diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, irregular lozenge shaped O, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,147, BMC 301, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 131	1.28
H11.73 O4/R4	Obv. C16, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, inverted G, 0/0/0/0/	SCBI 6, 62, Talnotrie, 1912	0.79 cracked and chipped
H11.74 O5/R5	Obv. D1, bars, two pellets at base of neck Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	SCBI 30, 204, Bareford, Stacks, 23 Oct. 1985, 441, ex Seaby, 1949, W. Allen (1898), Croydon 1862, illus. Corbett Anderson 1877, 27	1.26
H11.75 O6/R6	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 0/0/0/0	National Museum of Wales 77.16H/2, acquired from London dealer, 1977. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 53, 50.00% AR	1.42
H11.76 O7/R7	Obv. B1, pelleted diadem and i.c., bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHER ETA, lozenge O with cruciform pellets, 0/0/0/3	Dix Noonan Webb, 8 Oct. 2002, 1014, incorrectly listed as rev. C in 2002 sale	1.22
H11.77 O8/R8	Obv. B1, pelleted i.c, double pelleted diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 0/0/0/3	BMC 303, acquired before 1838	1.34
H11.78 O9/R9	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1946,1004,192, Oldroyd 1946	1.13
H11.79 O10/R10	Obv. B1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, G inverted, 0/0/0/0	BM 1925,0202, 10, Beeston Tor 1924	1.37
H11.80 O11/R11	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐERE ETA, O within four pellets saltire, 3/3/3/3	Lyon 599, ex Baldwin, 1968	1.24
H11.81 O12/R12	Obv. B1, bars, pelleted diadem Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, inverted G, 0/0/0/0	EMC 2005.0065, found Kent, BNJ 76, 2006, Coin Register, 192	1.12
H11.82 O13/R13	Obv. F1, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHER ETA, 0/0/0/0	Silbury coins list May 2013	1.23
H11.83 O14/R14	Obv. D1, two pellets at base of neck Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Lockett IV (1960), 3599c, acquired from Grant Francis	wnr

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Ethelwulf cont.			
H11.84 O15/R15	Obv. C12, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , 0/0/0/3	CNG mail bid 69, 8 June 2005, 2106	1.32
H11.85 O16/R16	Obv. B1, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. C, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/1	BM 1840,0314,18, <i>BMC</i> 309, Gravesend 1838	1.14
H11.86 O17/R17	Obv. D2, pelleted double diadem Rev. C, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,17, <i>BMC</i> 310, Gravesend 1838	1.22
H11.87 O18/R18	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem and i.c. Rev. C, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , broken lozenge O with cruciform spikes, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3	Dix Noonan Webb, 16 June 2010, 900	1.17
Heawulf			
H11.88 O1/R1	Obv. B1, single diadem, bars, no lips Rev. A, MON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,152, <i>BMC</i> 317, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 132	1.32
Hereferth			
H11.89 O1/R1	Obv. H1, single diadem, uncertain panels Rev. A, pelleted lines, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1838,1222,29, <i>BMC</i> 322, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.18
H11.90 O2/R2	Obv. F2, double diadem, bars Rev. A, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/1/0/0	BM 1915,0507,698, <i>BMA</i> 146, Morgan (Evans), 1915, Croydon 1862; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59	1.13
H11.91 O3/R3	Obv. F11, double diadem, crescents Rev. D, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,60, <i>BMC</i> 323, Gravesend 1838	1.26
H11.92 O4/R4	Obv. B2, single diadem. crescents, X with pellet on tip of each arm Rev. D, pelleted lines, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,62, <i>BMC</i> 324, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 133	1.36
H11.93 O5/R5	Obv. K4, pelleted diadem, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , O with saltire pellets, 0/0/0/0	BM 1841,0703,50, <i>BMC</i> 327, ex Sir R. Abdy (d.1748), Sotheby (1841), 85a	1.31 porous
H11.94 O6/R6	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , lozenge O, pellets at centre and above and below, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	Lockett I (1955), 404c, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> , 1971, 7558 and Dr Rees-Jones, Spink auction 117, 19 Nov. 1996, 307	1.16
H11.95 O6/R7	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	P. Finn list 15, 1998, 77	1.28
Hugered			
H11.96 O1/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. A, ÐMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/1	BM 1840,0314,161, <i>BMC</i> 331, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 134	1.32
H11.97 O2/R2	Obv. F3, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. A, ÐMON HVGERE ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	UK private collection, acquired 1983	wnr

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Hugered cont.			
H11.98 O3/R3	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Lockett I (1955), 395e	wnr
H11.99 O4/R4	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 2012, HS4743	1.37
H11.100 O5/R5	Obv. I1, single pelleted diadem, pelleted i.c., crescent Rev. C, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/1 <i>Same obv. die as BMC 333</i>	BM 1840,0314,32, <i>BMC</i> 332, Gravesend 1838	1.28
H11.101 O5/R6	Obv. I1, single pelleted diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. C, pelleted lines, MON HVGERED ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as BMC 332</i>	BM 1840,0314,33, <i>BMC</i> 333, Gravesend 1840	1.39
H11.102 O6/R7	Obv. D1, crescents, pelleted i.c. and diadem Rev. C, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.210-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.16
H11.103 O6/R7	Obv. D1, crescents, pelleted i.c. and diadem Rev. C, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>NCirc</i> June 1996, 2679, ex Lockett I (1955), 400c; P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 289b, ill. Heywood 1906, 11, likely Waterloo Bridge, 1884	1.22
H11.104 O7/R8	Obv. F1, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1838,1222,6, <i>BMC</i> 334, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.30
H11.105 O7/R8	Obv. F1, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Lockett I (1955), 404e	wnr
H11.106 O8/R9	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, DMON HVGERE ETA , inverted G, 0/0/0/1	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 74, Gartz (1901), 906	1.36
H11.107 O9/R10	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, DMON HVGERE ETA , inverted G, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 11, 12, ex Stanton, ex Baldwin	1.16
H11.108 O10/R11	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, DMON HVGERE ETA , inverted G, 0/0/0/3	Dix Noonan Webb, 17 Nov. 2011, 3	1.34
H11.109 O11/R12	Obv. F1, crescents Rev. D, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	LaRiviere, Spink auction 160, 9–10 Oct. 2002, 978	1.11
Hussa			
H11.110 O1/R1	Obv. B1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON +HVZZA ETA , inverted V, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as next two</i>	BM 1840,0314,162, <i>BMC</i> 345, Gravesend 1838	1.15
H11.111 O2/R1	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON +HVZZA ETA , inverted V, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as last and next</i>	BM 1838,1222,28, <i>BMC</i> 341, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.24
H11.112 O3/R1	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, MON +HVZZA ETA , inverted V, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same rev. die as last two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 48, 702, Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, found Tullie House excavations 1989	0.48 chipped, corroded
H11.113 O4/R2	Obv. F11, single diadem, bars Rev. A, MON HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 344, possibly Gravesend 1838	1.25

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Hussa cont.			
H11.114 O5/R3	Obv. C5, double diadem, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MON +HVZZA ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,163, <i>BMC</i> 342, Gravesend 1838	1.37
H11.115 O6/R4	Obv. B1, crescents, pelleted i.c. and double diadem Rev. A, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 618, ex Spink, 1960. Pl. 6, 135	1.29
H11.116 O7/R5	Obv. D1, bars, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, MON +HYZZA ETA , pelleted panel lines, 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.199-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.33
H11.117 O8/R6	Obv. F1, bars Rev. A, MON HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 335, subsequently, Spink auction 207, 23–24 Mar. 2011, 21; previously <i>SCMB</i> Sept. 1982, E582	1.26
H11.118 O9/R7	Obv. I1, pelleted diadem and i.c., crescents Rev. C, MON +HVSSA ETA , 0/1/0/1	Lockett 401a	wnr
H11.119 O10/R8	Obv. B1, bars Rev. D, MON HVSSA ETA , 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.221-1990, Blunt, ex Lockett III (1958), 2670b, where incorrectly listed as rev. type C	1.23
H11.120 O11/R9	Obv. H3, crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	Lockett IV (1960), 3601a, subsequently Arnot, DNW 21 Mar. 1995, 43	1.40
Huthhere			
H11.121 O1/R1	Obv. F1, single diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON HV-ÐHERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,30, <i>BMC</i> 352, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.26
H11.122 O2/R2	Obv. B2, pelleted single diadem, bars, two pellets at base of neck, X with pellet on tip of each arm Rev. A, MON HV-ÐHERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,165, <i>BMC</i> 353, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 136	1.35
Liafwald			
H11.123 Var. O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem and i.c., crescents, three horizontal bars in central panel Rev. A, DMON ILAFVAL ETA , inverted L, 0/0/0/0	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
Ludig			
H11.124 O1/R1	Obv. I1, pelleted double diadem, i.c. and panels, crescents Rev. D, MON +LVDIG ETA , 0/0/0/1	BM 1840,0314,37, <i>BMC</i> 357, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 137	1.34
Lulla			
H11.125 O1/R1	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON +LVLLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 362, Tyssen 1802, ill. Ruding, 1840, III, pl. 8, 21	1.34
H11.126 O2/R2	Obv. F5, single diadem, crescents, pelleted i.c. Rev. B, MON +LVLLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 623, ex Lockett III (1958), 2668, Talbot Ready (1920); subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1985, 6852	1.29
H11.127 O2/R2	<i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next two</i> Obv. F5, pelleted i.c. Rev. B, MON +LVLLA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last and next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 117, ex Reichel 1858. Pl. 6, 138	1.28
H11.128 O2/R2	Obv. F5, single diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents, coarse style, corroded Rev. B, MON +LVLLA ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last two</i>	BM 1840,0314,6, <i>BMC</i> 363, Gravesend 1838	1.24

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Osmund			
H11.129 O1/R1	Obv. I8, single tunic panel within which a cross Rev. A, MON OSMhND ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 418, Babington (1866); also <i>MEC</i> 1336. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 49, 54.35% <i>AR</i> . Pl. 6, 139	1.25
H11.130 O1/R2	Obv. I9, without side panels, central panel contains a cross only, pelleted diadem Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , inverted h, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.222-1990, Blunt, ex P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 289d	1.19
H11.131 O2/R3	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON OZMhND ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3	UK private collection, ex Allen, (1898), 183b, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 52 (now chipped); Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 55	1.12 chipped
H11.132 O3/R4	Obv. D1, crescents Rev. A, MON OZMVND ETA , 0/0/0/3	Lockett IV (1960), 3599e	wnr
H11.133 O4/R5	Obv. I1, single diadem, crescents Rev. D, MON OSMhHD ETA , O pellet at centre, four pellets saltire around, 0/0/0/0	BM 1838,1222,3, <i>BMC</i> 372, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 140	1.46
H11.134 O5/R6	Obv. I1, single pelleted diadem, crescents Rev. D, MON OSMhHD ETA , lozenge O with cruciform pellet on two angles, h inverted, 0/0/0/0	BM 1935,1117,324, <i>BMA</i> 324, Barnett bequest, 1935	1.37
H11.135 O6/R7	Obv. I1, bars Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , line of pellets above and below moneyers name, pelleted crooks, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 378, Dr Hunter, before 1783, ill. Ruding, 1840, III, pl. 8, 8	1.34
H11.136 O7/R8	Obv. I1, crescent Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 211, Lockett I (1955), 405c	1.05
H11.137 O8/R8	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, MON OSMhND ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.223-1990, Blunt	1.30
Tata			
H11.138 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, three horizontal bars in central panel Rev. A, MON +TATA ETA , 1/1/1/1	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
H11.139 O2/R2	Obv. H2, double diadem, bars Rev. Eii, M ON TATA ET A , 0/0/0/0	BM 2008,4199,9, North Yorkshire find, 2003, Williams, 2008, 6	1.26, pierced
Wine			
H11.140 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. D, MON +VVINE ETA , O with cruciform spikes, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,75, <i>BMC</i> 392, Gravesend 1838	1.35
Wulfheard			
H11.141 O1/R1	Obv. uncertain, BVR [...], bars Rev. A, RDMO [.] / VVLFE [.. / ..], 0/[/ /]	Blackburn 2011b, Torksey, app 1, pl. 1, 12; <i>BNJ</i> 82 2012, Coin Register, 192	wnr, 30% fragment
H11.142 O2/R2	Obv. F1, pelleted double diadem, crescents Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,77, <i>BMC</i> 399, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 141	1.36
H11.143 O3/R3	Obv. I1, single diadem, crescents Rev. D, pelleted lines, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1935, 1117,326, <i>BMA</i> 326, Barnett bequest, 1935	1.02

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Wulfheard <i>cont.</i>			
H11.144 O3/R4	Obv. I1, pelleted single diadem, crescents Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Lockett I (1955), 406c	wnr
H11.145 O4/R5	Obv. F11, crescents Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 380, Coats 1924	1.25
H11.146 O5/R5	Obv. F11, crescents Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 427, Young 1936, ex P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 291c. <i>MEC</i> 1324. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 52, 52.76% <i>AR</i>	1.38
H11.147 O6/R6	Obv. B1, lips omitted, bars Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 80, possibly Serrure 1857, 670	1.54
H11.148 O7/R7	Obv. F10, bars Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 64, 19, Willoughby Gardner 1963, ex <i>NCirc</i> Sept.–Oct. 1929, 85566, Montagu (1895), 276, possibly ex Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.31
H11.149 O8/R8	Obv. I1, side panels omitted Rev. D, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3	Lockett III (1958), 2670d	wnr chipped

OBVERSE VARIETY H12 – Late Horizontal D

Phase III

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E	100/0/0/0/0
Metallurgy silver %	66/23 (2)
Number of recorded moneyers	16
Recorded moneyers	Berneah, Cenred, Cuthwulf, Diarwulf, Dela, Eadwulf, Ethelheah, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf, Ethelred, Guthhere, Guthmund, Lefle, Liafwald, Ludig, Wulfheard,

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah			
H12.1 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, HMON BEARHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,86, <i>BMC</i> 162, Gravesend 1838	1.37
Cenred			
H12.2 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CEINRED ETA , 3/3/3/6 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next two</i>	BM 1840,0314,101, <i>BMC</i> 177, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 6, 144	1.41
H12.3 O1/R1	Obv. D1, bars, double diadem Rev. A, MON CEINRED ETA , 3/3/3/6 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last and next</i>	Lockett IV (1960), 3598c, ex <i>NCirc</i> , May–June 1918, 62669, subsequently, Clonterbrook, Glendining, 7 June 1974, 13, <i>NCirc</i> Sept. 2009, HS3888 and St James's auction 18, 27 Sept. 2011, 3	1.24 slight edge loss
H12.4 O1/R1	Obv. D1, bars, double diadem Rev. A, MON CEINRED ETA , 3/[]/3/6 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last two</i>	Spink Auction 150, 'Viking', 14 Mar. 2001, 1068 b	wnr chipped
H12.5 O2/R2	Obv. C12, double diadem, bars left side only, no panel right side Rev. A, MON CEHRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 175, Tyssen 1802	1.28
H12.6 O3/R3	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars, outer panel lines angled towards neck, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 1/3/3/3	BM 1975,1126,5, King 1973	1.26, chipped

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cenred cont.			
H12.7 O4/R4	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/6	Spink auction 216, 26–27 Mar. 2013, 501	0.90, chipped
H12.8 O5/R5	Obv. Uncertain, probably B1 Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/6	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 656, Museum of London, found Wandsworth before 1913, ill. Stott 1991, app. 4.2b, 1	0.88 cracked and corroded 1.30
H12.9 O6/R6	Obv. D2, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , (/)/(/)	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 360, Coats 1924	1.23
H12.10 O7/R7	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 361, Coats 1924	1.23
H12.11 O8/R8	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 412 (<i>MEC</i> I, 1329), Young 1936, ex P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 286b, possibly Waterloo Bridge 1884. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 41, 65.90% <i>AR</i>	1.10
H12.12 O9/R9	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/6	MacKay 15/01, bt Jan. 2015, ex Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 75, found Essex, EMC 2003.0228 and <i>BNJ</i> 73, 2003, Coin Register, 152, later acq. Lyons	1.01
H12.13 O10/R10	Obv. D1, bars, straight sides to tunic outer panels, double diadem Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/6	Royal Mint, Hocking, 1906, 23, most likely acquired late nineteenth century	1.31
H12.14 O11/R11	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/6	Repton 2, 1985, find 6292, Biddle <i>et al.</i> 1987, coin 1, noted as similar dies to <i>BMC</i> 174	0.50 chipped
H12.15 O12/R12	Obv. D1, pelleted diadem, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	Spink auction 175, 28–29 Sept. 2005, 1308, later <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 2005, HS2214	1.31
Cuthwulf			
H12.16 O1/R1	Obv. D4, pelleted double diadem and i.c Rev. A, MON CVÐVLF ETA , 3/3/3/6	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 658, Museum of London, found Wandsworth before 1913, ill. Stott, 1991, app. 4.2b, 2.	1.03 chipped and corroded
Diarwulf			
H12.17 O1/R1	Obv. B1, bars, double diadem, straight line for outer tunic panel lines Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , pellets not known	Gemini VIII, 14 Apr. 2011, 539	1.28
Dela			
H12.18 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON DEALGE ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,109, <i>BMC</i> 209, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 145	1.33
Eadwulf			
H12.19 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after F, 3/3/3/6	BM 1839,0506,6, <i>BMC</i> 275, Cuff sold to BM, 1839. Pl. 7, 146	1.28
H12.20 O2/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EALDVLF ETA , 3/1/3/3, <i>same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1925,0202,6, Beeston Tor 1924	1.19
H12.21 O2/R3	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EALDVLF ETA , 3/3/3/6 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	Repton 2, 1985, find 6273, Biddle <i>et al.</i> 1987, coin 2	0.46 chipped

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Eadwulf <i>cont.</i>			
H12.22 O3/R4	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after EADVLF , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 28, Waterloo Bridge 1884. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 77, 22.78% <i>AR</i>	1.06 chipped
H12.23 O3/R4	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after EADVLF , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Lockett IV (1960), 3599a, subsequently Gemini auction VI, 10 Jan. 2010, 934	1.29
H12.24 O4/R5	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 663, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	1.05 chipped
Ethelheah			
H12.25 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, outer panel line angled towards neck, bars Rev. A, HMON EÐELHEA ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 287, acquired before 1838	1.33 corroded
Ethelstan			
H12.26 O1/R1	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, straight outer panel lines, bars Rev. A, MON EÐLZTAN ETA , 3/3/3/6	BM 1925,0202,7, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 7, 147	1.34
H12.27 O2/R2	Obv. B1, double diadem, straight outer panel lines, bars Rev. A, NMON EDELZTA ETA , 0/0/0/6	BM 1925,0202,8, Beeston Tor 1924	1.26
Ethelwulf			
H12.28 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, straight sided outer panel lines, bars, Rev. A, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/6, <i>same obv. die as next</i>	<i>BMC</i> 290, acquired before 1838	1.21
H12.29 O1/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, straight sided outer panel lines, bars, Rev. A, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/6, <i>same obv. die as last</i> ; <i>same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1925,0202,9, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 7 148	1.40
H12.30 O2/R2	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/6 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 11, 9, Stenton, ex Baldwin	1.18
H12.31 O3/R3	Obv. E2, double diadem, straight sided outer panels lines, bars Rev. A, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/6	<i>BMC</i> 288, acquired before 1838	1.13 chipped and corroded
Ethelred			
H12.32 O1/R1	Obv. D1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON EÐERED ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 667, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.87 corroded
Guthhere			
H12.33 O1/R1	Obv. C11, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GVÐHERE ETA , 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,150, <i>BMC</i> 306, Gravesend 1838	1.33
H12.34 O2/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, straight sided outer panels, bars Rev. A, MON GVÐHERE ETA , 3/3/3/6	BM 1915,0507,697, <i>BMA</i> 145, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 39, Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 40	1.36

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Guthhere cont.			
H12.35 O3/R3	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GVÐHERE ETA, O with saltire spikes, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 669, Verulamium Museum, St. Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.74, porous surfaces 1.24
H12.36 O4/R4	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GVÐERE ETA, 1/1/1/3	John F. Kenny, Spink auction 180, 30 Mar. 2006, 1, previously LaRiviere, Spink auction 160, 9–10 Oct. 2002, 977	1.17
H12.37 O5/R5	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GVÐERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	Dix Noonan Webb, 4 Dec. 2013, 2151	1.17
Guthmund			
H12.38 O1/R1	Obv. uncertain, BVRGRED [...], double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GVDHV[.], 3/3/[/]	MacKay 13/04, previously Lyons, from Suffolk find, 2008	0.78 50% fragment
Lefle			
H12.39 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON ðLEFLE ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,166, <i>BMC</i> 356, Gravesend 1838.	1.26
Liafwald			
H12.40 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, straight sided outer panels, bars Rev. A, DMON LIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6 <i>Same rev. die as next two</i>	BM 1915,0507,654, <i>BMA</i> 149, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 52. Pl. 7, 150	1.07
H12.41 O2/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, straight sided outer panels Rev. A, DMON ðLIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6 <i>Same rev. die as last and next</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.201-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.17
H12.42 O3/R1	Obv. E2, double diadem, straight sided outer panels, bars Rev. A, DMON LIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6 <i>Same rev. die as last two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 93, Northampton Museum and Art Gallery	1.20
H12.43 O4/R2	Obv. E1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, DMON LIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 64, Fabricius 1936	1.06 chipped
H12.44 O5/R3	Obv. D1, double diadem, straight sided outer panels, bars Rev. A, DMON LIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
H12.45 O6/R4	Obv. D1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, DMON LIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6	Lincolnshire find, 1985, now Usher Gallery, Lincoln	0.57 chipped, porous
H12.46, var. O7/R5	Obv. B1, double diadem, continuous line around back of head to form a ‘bonnet’ as on of Wessex Mercian-style lunettes, Æthelred I var. vi, Alfred var. III, bars Rev. A, DMON LIAFVAL ETA, 0/0/0/6	MacKay 15/04, bt Spink auction 228, 26–27 Mar. 2015, 519, ex <i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 620, Spink 1949. Pl. 7, 149	1.34
Ludig			
H12.47 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON ðLVDE ETA, column of three pellets after LVDE, 3/3/3/6 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1838,1222,18, <i>BMC</i> 358, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.37
H12.48 O1/R2	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON ðELVD ETA, column of three pellets after ELVD, 3/3/3/6 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	UK private collection, ex Baldwin 1963	0.94 chipped

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Wulfear			
H12.49 O1/R1	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/6 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 79, Thomsen 1868, noted Thomsen (1875), 1448. Pl. 7, 151	1.27
H12.50 O1/R3	Obv. D1, double diadem, bars Rev. A, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/6 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>MEC</i> I 1338, Fitzwilliam Museum, Queen's College	1.19
H12.51 O2/R2	Obv. uncertain, double diadem, bars Rev. A, DMON VVLFEAR [..]A , 0/0/[.]/6	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 346, Corinium Museum, Cirencester	0.93 large chip
H12.52 O3/R4	Obv. D1, two rows of two pellets at base of neck, bars Rev. A, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/3/6	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 678, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.86 corroded
H12.53 O4/R5	Obv. D1, bars Rev. A, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.204-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, Grantley (1944), 870 and Westminster Bridge 1895	1.04 chipped, corroded
H12.54 O5/R6	Obv. B1, bars, double diadem Rev. A, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/8	Lockett 396d	wnr

OBVERSE VARIETY V5 – Late Vertical

Phase IIIa

Reverse type proportions % A/B/C/D/E

89/5/2/4/0

Metallurgy silver %

61/49/44/42/33/28/23/24/24/24 (10)

Number of recorded moneyers

36

Recorded moneyers

Beagstan, Berthelm, Berneah, Biornoth, Burgnoth,
Cunehelm, Dagele, Dealinc, Dela, Denewald, Diarwulf,
Diga, Dudda, Dudwine, Eadnoth, Eadwulf, Ecgwulf,
Ethelheah, Ethelred, Ethelstan, Ethelwulf (incl. Ethellaf),
Guthhere, Guthmund, Heawulf, Hereferth, Hussa, Lefle,
Liafwald, Ludig, Lulla, Osmund, Tata, Tidhelm, Wulfear,
Wulferth, Wulfred

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan			
V5.1 O1/R1	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/6	BM 1840,0314,1, <i>BMC</i> 152, Gravesend 1838	1.25
V5.2 O2/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , lozenge O with cruciform spikes, 1/3/1/1	BM 1840,0314,81, <i>BMC</i> 151, Gravesend 1838	1.37
V5.3 O3/R3	Obv. F7, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,82, <i>BMC</i> 143, Gravesend 1838	1.36
V5.4 O4/R4	Obv. C13, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/0/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 148, acquired before 1838	1.35
V5.5 O5/R5	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/1/3/3 <i>Same rev. die as SCBI 42, 651</i>	<i>BMC</i> 150, acquired before 1838	1.26
V5.6 O6/R6	Obv. D2, cross above two crescents in central panel, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,84, <i>BMC</i> 147, Gravesend 1838	1.29

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan cont.			
V5.7 O7/R7	Obv. D4, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 1/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,85, <i>BMC</i> 149, Gravesend 1838	1.10 chipped
V5.8 O8/R8	Obv. D13, crescents, X of REX over R Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1925,0202,1, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 7, 154	1.26
V5.9 O9/R9	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 409, also <i>MEC</i> I, 1326, Young 1936, P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 286a, ill. Heywood 1906, 13, Waterloo Bridge 1884; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 63, 42.24% <i>AR</i> <i>SCBI</i> 36, 75, Gansauge 1873	1.33
V5.10 O10/R10	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/3		1.15
V5.11 O11/R11	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/?/3/?	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 648, Museum of London, bt 1913, from Wandsworth hoard.	0.86 chipped, corroded
V5.12 O12/R12	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 650, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.58 corroded
V5.13 O13/R13	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 110	1.07
V5.14 O14/R5	Obv. uncertain Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/1/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 651, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.92 chipped
V5.15 O15/R14	<i>Same rev. die as BMC 150</i> Obv. uncertain [..]ED REX M , probably V5 Rev. A, NMOM [..]EAGZTA [///]	Torksey, Blackburn, 2011, Torksey, app. 1, pl. 1, 7	0.54 fragment
V5.16 O16/R15	Obv. B3, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/0/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.183-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.25
V5.17 O17/R16	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.184-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll and Dr Gibson	1.08
V5.18 O18/R17	Obv. D2, crescents, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.185-1990, Blunt	1.38
V5.19 O19/R18	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 73, ex Lyons, Lockett I (1955), 392a	1.32
V5.20 O20/R19	Obv. C1, crescents, cross below neck in central panel Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 2002, HS1030	1.60
V5.21 O21/R20	Obv. D4, crescents Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1994, 7881	1.04
V5.22 O22/R21	Obv. D2, crescents Rev. B, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/3/3	BM 1838,1222,15, <i>BMC</i> 153, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838, ill. Hawkins 1841, 22	1.18
Berhthelm			
V5.23 O2/R1	Obv. C1, bars, wide tunic Rev. A, MON BERLM ETA , two columns of three pellets after BERLM , 1/1/1/1	<i>BMC</i> 169, Cotton 1702, from collection of Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631), listed in contemporary inventory. Pl. 7, 155	1.33
Berneah			
V5.24 O1/R1	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, HMON BERHEA ETA , 1/1/1/1	<i>BMC</i> 155, acquired before 1838	1.24

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah cont.			
V5.25 O2/R2	Obv. D3, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/3	BM 1840,0314,91, <i>BMC</i> 158, Gravesend 1838	1.35
V5.26 O3/R3	Obv. D5, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON BERHEA ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,90, <i>BMC</i> 159, Gravesend 1838	1.37
V5.27 O4/R4	Obv. C1, elongated X, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,94, <i>BMC</i> 161, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 156	1.43
V5.28 O5/R5	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, cross formed of four wedges, O with saltire spikes 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next two</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 24, 341, Somerset County Museum, Norris 1890	1.38
V5.29 O5/R5	Obv. D12, crescents, pellet above and below X in REX Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. die as last and next; same rev. die as last and next two</i>	Lockett IV (1960), 3598b, ex <i>NCirc</i> Sept.–Oct. 1915, 34437, subsequently Clonterbrook, Glendining, 7 June 1974, 12	1.28
V5.30 O5/R5	Obv. D3, crescents, Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, O with saltire spikes, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. die as last two and next; same rev. die as SCBI 24, 341</i>	<i>BMC</i> 156, acquired before 1838, ill. <i>BNJ</i> 34, 1965, pl. 1, 13; Metcalf and r Northove 1985, 44, 61.1% <i>AR</i>	1.32
V5.31 O5/R6	Obv. D3, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, O with saltire spikes, 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. die as last three</i>	BM 1840,0314,96, <i>BMC</i> 157, Gravesend 1838	1.38
V5.32 O6/R7	Obv. D1, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON BERHEA ETA, 3/1/3/3	BM 1838,1222,16, <i>BMC</i> 163, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.15
V5.33 O7/R8	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	BM 1915,0507,687, <i>BMA</i> 136, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, Blunt and Dolley 1961, 4	1.12
V5.34 O8/R9	Obv. D7, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	BM 1935,1117, <i>BMA</i> 318, Barnett bequest 1935	1.26
V5.35 O9/R10	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	BM 1972,0710,1, bt Glendining, 17 Nov. 1971, 93, with ticket noting ' <i>said to have been found with 15 others under Masonic Hall, Gt. Queen St. High Holborn, 1931.</i> ' <i>SCBI</i> 1, 411, also <i>MEC</i> I, 1328, Perceval 1922	1.24 1.02
V5.36 O10/R11	Obv. D4, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON BERHEA ETA, 3/1/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	Spink auction 203, 24 June 2010, 5	1.35
V5.37 O10/R11	Obv. D4, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON BERHEA ETA, 3/1/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>		
V5.38 O11/R12	Obv. D8 Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	Hess, Frankfurt am Main, 19 Oct. 1891, 594, <i>SCBI</i> 4, 62	1.17
V5.39 O12/R13	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, <u>[H]</u> MON <u>[B]</u> ERHEA ETA, [?]/1/1/1	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 23, Gravesend 1838, Metcalf and Northover 1985, 72, 24.41% <i>AR</i>	0.86 chipped
V5.40 O13/R14	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> M[ON] BERHEA ETA, 1/[]/1/1	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 24, Griffith, 1921. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 73, 24.04% <i>AR</i>	0.76 chipped
V5.41 O14/R15	Obv. D4, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON BERHEA ETA, 1/1/1/1	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 87, Nottingham Museum and Art Gallery, Waterloo Bridge 1884	1.23 chipped

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Berneah cont.			
V5.42 O15/R16	Obv. C1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	SCBI 21, 957, Leeds City Museum, ex Winchester Cathedral collection, ex Eyre (d.1764)	1.19 cracked, crease, chipped
V5.43 O16/R17	Obv. uncertain Rev. A, [<u>H</u> MON] BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, ?/?/1/1	SCBI 24, 340, Somerset County Museum, Cheddar Place excavations 1960–62	1.04 chipped
V5.44 O17/R18	Obv. C15 Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, O with saltire spikes, 1/1/1/1	SCBI 1, 410, also MEC I, 1327, Perceval 1922	1.17
V5.45 O18/R19	Obv. C10, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, cross formed of four wedges, 1/1/1/1	SCBI 27, 1623, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Maples, bt c.1920	1.30
V5.46 O19/R20	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/?	SCBI 42, 653, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.84 chipped
V5.47 O20/R21	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c. and diadem, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.186-1990, Blunt, ex Sotheby 17 July 1959, 127 (part)	1.30
V5.48 O21/R22	Obv. C19, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	UK private collection, ex Baldwin	wnr chipped
V5.49 O22/R23	Obv. D4, bars Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
V5.50 O23/R24	Obv. C1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	Lockett III (1958), 2666b	wnr
V5.51 O24/R25	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, HMON BEAR <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	NCirc May 2010, HS4066	1.05 small chip
V5.52 O25/R26	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, <u>H</u> MON <u>+</u> BER <u>H</u> EA ETA, 1/1/1/1	NCirc Feb. 1994, 185	1.32
Biornoth			
V5.53 O1/R1	Obv. E1, bars Rev. A, MON BIORNO-Ð ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,96, BMC 170, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 157	1.12
V5.54 O2/R2	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON BIORNO-Ð ETA, 3/3/3/3	Lockett I (1955), 392c, ill. Heywood, <i>BNJ</i> 4, 1906, 14, ex Waterloo Bridge 1884	wnr
Burgnoth			
V5.55 O1/R2	Obv. uncertain Rev. A, MON BVRGNO-Ð ETA, 3/3/3/3	SCBI 42, 654, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	1.0 cracked and corroded
Cunehelm			
V5.56 O1/R1	Obv. F8, pelleted i.c. and outer panel lines Rev. A, pelleted lines, <u>M</u> MON CVNEHEL ETA, 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,103, BMC 192, Gravesend 1838	1.30
V5.57 O1/R2	Obv. F8, pelleted i.c. and outer panel lines of tunic, crescents Rev. A, <u>M</u> MON CVNEHEL ETA, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	BM 1925,0202,3, Beeston Tor 1924	1.35
V5.58 O2/R3	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, <u>M</u> MON CVNEHL ETA, 3/3/3/3, square pellets, <i>same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,104, BMC 196, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 158	1.26

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Cunehelm cont.			
V5.59 O2/R3	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 3/3/3/3 square pellets, <i>same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 413, also <i>MEC</i> I, 1330; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 69, 32.89% <i>AR</i>	1.28
V5.60 O3/R4	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MMON CYNEHL ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,105, <i>BMC</i> 199, Gravesend 1838	1.21
V5.61 O4/R5	Obv. I2, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,107, <i>BMC</i> 194, Gravesend 1838	1.36
V5.62 O5/R6	Obv. B1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 362, Coats 1924	1.35
V5.63 O7/R7	Obv. C1, elongated X, pelleted i.c., crescents, three small pellets at base of neck Rev. A, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next (rev. die of this type C – so this is unusually an obv. die paired with a different reverse type die)</i>	Lyon 600, ex Baldwin, A.W. Morrison, Lockett III (1958), 2666d	1.17
V5.64 O7/R8	Obv. C1, elongated X, pelleted i.c. crescents, three small pellets at base of neck Rev. C, MON CVNEHLM ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same obv. die as last (rev. die of this type A – an obv. die paired with different reverse type die)</i>	BM 1975,11-26-6, King 1975, probably Beeston Tor 1924	1.01 chipped
V5.65 O8/R9	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. B, MMON CYNEHL ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,2, <i>BMC</i> 200, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 159	1.34
V5.66 O9/R10	Obv. F3, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. C, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,20, <i>BMC</i> 201, Gravesend 1838	1.21
V5.67 O10/R11	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. C, MON CVNEHLM ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,21, <i>BMC</i> 202, Gravesend 1838	1.28
V5.68 O11/R12	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. D, MMON CVNEHL ETA , 0/0/0/0	<i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1997, 4946	1.40
Dagelte			
V5.69 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DAGELTE ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1955,0708,18, ex Lockett I (1955), 397a, Grantley (1944), 869C, Grantley bt privately from L.A. Lawrence 1903. Pl. 7, 160	1.20
V5.70 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DAGELTE ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Lyon 601, ex Seaby May 1964	0.88 chipped and corroded
Dealinc			
V5.71 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DEALINC ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1915,0507,699, <i>BMA</i> 139, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 19; Blunt and Dolley 1958–59, 17. Pl. 7, 161	1.22
V5.72 O2/R2	Obv. B4, crescents Rev. A, MON DEALINC ETA , 3/1/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 611, Mack bt <i>NCirc</i> 1924, 28866, Lower Dunsforth, 1861, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1982, 8742	0.98
V5.73 O3/R3	Obv. B4, crescents Rev. B, MON DEALINC ETA , 3/3/3/3	Torksey, Blackburn, 2011b, app. 1, pl. 1, 9	1.28 small chip

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dealinc cont.			
V5.74 O3/R4	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. D, MON DELING ETA , 1/1/[?]/1	UK private collection, ex Baldwin, 1973	0.86 chipped
Dela			
V5.75 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DEALLE ETA , 3/1/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 64, 17, Willoughby Gardner, ex Seaby, Grantley (1944), 870; Westminster Bridge 1895	1.06 chipped
V5.76 O2/R2	Obv. B3, double diadem, bars, coarse style Rev. A, MON +DELA ETA , column of three pellets after DELA , 1/1/1/1	BM 1840,0314,110, <i>BMC</i> 210, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 162	1.19
Denewald			
V5.77 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, DMON DENEPAL ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1925,0202,4, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 7, 163	1.25
Diarwulf			
V5.78 O1/R1	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3, <i>Same rev. die as BMC 212</i>	BM 1840,0314,114, <i>BMC</i> 211, Gravesend 1838	1.30
V5.79 O1/R2	Obv. C8, wide tunic, crescents Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same rev. die as BMC 211</i>	BM 1840,0314,113, <i>BMC</i> 212, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 164	1.39
V5.80 O2/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 26, Ballard, 1755; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 76, 23.52% <i>AR</i>	1.32
V5.81 O3/R4	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3	Lockett I (1955), 393d, ex Evans, probably Corbett Anderson, 1877, 21 (not ill.), and Croydon 1862; Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 19; Dr Bird, Glendining, 20 Nov. 1974, 54	wnr 1.26
V5.82 O4/R5	Obv. F13, cross above two halved crescents in central panel, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0		
V5.83 O5/R6	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DIARVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	CNG, 90, 23 May 2012, 2372, previously CNG 29 30 Mar. 1994, 1591	1.34
V5.84 O6/R7	Obv. I7, pelleted i.c., crescents, cross in central panel, coarse style	<i>BMC</i> 224, Tyssen (1802), ill. Ruding 1840, III, pl. 8,6	1.30
V5 obv. /H11 rev. mule	Rev. D, pelleted lines, IMON DIARVLF ETA O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/3 <i>Same reverse die as H11.34 (Fitzwilliam Blunt 213 Diarwulf H11, die noted as R6)</i>		
Diga			
V5.85 O1/R1	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,115, <i>BMC</i> 225, Gravesend 1838	1.30
V5.86 O2/R2	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 3/1/1/3	BM 1840,0314,116, <i>BMC</i> 230, Gravesend 1838	1.35
V5.87 O3/R3	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,117, <i>BMC</i> 226, Gravesend 1838	1.04

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Diga cont.			
V5.88 O4/R4	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,118, <i>BMC</i> 229, Gravesend 1838	1.34
V5.89 O5/R5	Obv. C1, cross in central panel Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/0	MacKay 07/14, bt Spink 2007, later Spink auction 221, 2–3 Dec. 2013, 681	1.15 chipped
V5.90 O6/R6	Obv. D8, crescents Rev. A, MON +D[IGA] ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 6, 60, ex jewellery, pierced twice, with attached added metal, chipped	0.90 pierced
V5.91 O7/R7	Obv. D8, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 16 (Norweb), 102, later Norweb I, Spink auction 45, 13 June 1985, 288, ex Brand and P.W.P. Carlyon Britton (1913), 287b. Pl. 7, 165	1.34
V5.92 O8/R8	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/0	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 68, ex Serrure 1857, 658	1.38
V5.93 O9/R9	Obv. C1, bars Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 2/2/2/2	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 659, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.95 edge loss porous
V5.94 O10/R10	Obv. ?B1, cross in central panel Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , pellets uncertain	<i>SCBI</i> 21, 959, Yorkshire Museum, found Tanner Row, York, 1961, noted EMC 1975.8959	0.98 chipped and repaired
V5.95 O11/R11	Obv. C1, cross in central panel above two half crescents, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , O with saltire spikes, two columns of three square pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	MacKay 13/02, ex Baldwin auction 80, 8 May 2013, 2168, ex Larsen, Glendining, 1 Nov. 1972, 10	1.28
V5.96 O12/R12	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , O with saltire spikes, two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.187-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, Forrer	1.18
V5.97 O13/R13	Obv. D11, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.188-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.15
V5.98 O14/R14	Obv. C13, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 2/2/2/2	UK private collection, ex Clonterbrook, Glendining, 7 June 1974, 15 and Lockett IV (1960), 3598e	0.97 corroded
V5.99 O15/R15	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 2/2/2/2 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
V5.100 O16/R15	Obv. C21, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 2/2/2/2 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	Davissons, 30 Nov. 2012, 156	1.40
V5.101 O17/R16	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, MON +DIGA ETA , two columns of three pellets after DIGA , 2/2/2/2	<i>NCirc</i> June 1996, 2678	1.30

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda	Dudda		
V5.102 O1/R1	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON +DVDA ETA , 1/1/1/1	BM 1925,0202,5, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 7, 166	1.00
Dudwine			
V5.103 O1/R1	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1838,1222,25, <i>BMC</i> 261, Fox, 1838, probably Gravesend 1838	1.36
V5.104 O2/R2	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>BMC</i> 260, ex Cotton, 1702	1.16 chipped
V5.105 O3/R3	Obv. C1, cross above three crescents in central panel, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,123, <i>BMC</i> 264, Gravesend 1838	1.32
V5.106 O4/R4	Obv. F9, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/2	BM 1840,0314,125, <i>BMC</i> 262, Gravesend 1838	1.37
V5.107 O5/R5	Obv. E1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314, 126, <i>BMC</i> 259, Gravesend 1838	1.36
V5.108 O6/R6	Obv. F12, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1915,0507,695, <i>BMA</i> 142, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 28; Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 26. Pl. 7, 167	1.26
V5.109 O7/R7	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 414, <i>MEC</i> I, 1333, King 1876, Trinity College loan; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 58, 48.65% <i>AR</i>	1.37
V5.110 O8/R8	Obv. F7, crescents, pelleted i.c. and left panel side line Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 366, Dr Hunter before 1783	1.29
V5.111 O8/R8	Obv. F7, crescents, pelleted i.c. and left panel side line Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 615, ex Spink 1960	1.39
V5.112 O9/R9	Obv. C1, cross in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 367, Coats 1924	1.35
V5.113 O10/R10	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 77, Gansauge 1877	1.29
V5.114 O11/R11	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 48, 700, Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery, acquired 1954	1.32
V5.115 O12/R12	Obv. F3 Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM, North Yorkshire find 2003	wnr
V5.116 O13/R13	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , O with saltire spikes, 0/0/0/3	Elmore Jones, Glendining 12 May 1971, 29	1.31
V5.117 O14/R14	Obv. C7, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	P. Finn list 12, 1998, 59	1.43
V5.118 O15/R15	Obv. F1, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1991, 1790	1.19

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Dudda cont.			
V5.119 O16/R16	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 65, 28, acquired before 1875	1.29
V5.120 O17/R17	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON DVDPINE ETA , two small crescents each side of base of T in ETA , 3/3/3/3	CNG Coin shop, Jan. 2014, 975490	1.30
V5.121 O18/R18	Obv. C1, cross in central panel, pellet at base of neck, crescents Rev. D, MON DVDPINE ETA , pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3, lozenge pellets	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 82, Lyons, ex St James's 4, 8 May 2006, 27 and Lockett I (1955), 403e	1.32
Eadnoth			
V5.122 O1/R1	Obv. C1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON EADNOÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3	Elmore Jones, Glendining 12 May 1971, 31, Lockett I (1955), 394c	1.01
Eadwulf			
V5.123 O1/R1	Obv. C1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON EADLVF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,131, <i>BMC</i> 277, Gravesend 1838	1.31
V5.124 O2/R2	Obv. F5, crescents Rev. A, MON EADLVF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,132, <i>BMC</i> 273, Gravesend 1838	1.26
V5.125 O3/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EALDVLF ETA , bar below O, 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,133, <i>BMC</i> 276, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 7, 168	1.04
V5.126 O4/R4	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after EADVLF , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,134, <i>BMC</i> 272, incorrectly listed as reading †EADVLF , Gravesend 1838	1.20
V5.127 O5/R5	Obv. E1, double diadem, crescents, coarse Rev. A, MON †EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,135, <i>BMC</i> 271, Gravesend 1838	1.38
V5.128 O6/R6	Obv. C10, crescents Rev. A, MON †EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,136, <i>BMC</i> 274, Gravesend 1838	1.26
V5.129 O7/R7	Obv. uncertain, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVL[F] ETA , 3/3/3/[?]	<i>SCBI</i> 6, 61, published in <i>SCBI</i> 6 from a drawing; incorrectly listed as EADWINE in <i>SCBI</i> but correct on EMC, Talnotrie 1912	0.49 broken and repaired 0.40 fragments
V5.130 O8/R8	Obv. uncertain, BVRGRED RE[] Rev. A, MON EA[.]LF: ETA , probably 3/[3]/3/[3]	<i>SCBI</i> 6, 63	
V5.131 O9/R9	Obv. C1, vertical line between three pellets in central panel, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 662, Brighton Art Gallery and Museums, Tillstone 1899	1.15
V5.132 O10/R10	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 27, 1624, found in a grave at Normanby-le-Wold, Lincs., 1909	1.15 chipped and corroded
V5.133 O11/R11	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after EADVLF , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 78, acquired 1892 ex Thieme	1.36

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Eadwulf <i>cont.</i>			
V5.134 O11/R11	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after EADVLF , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.192-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.16
V5.135 O12/R12	Obv. E6, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , pelleted lines, 3/1/3/3	BM, North Yorkshire find 2003	wnr
V5.136 O13/R13	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON EADLVF ETA , 3/3/3/3, overstruck on lunettes lines	Worcestershire County Museum, 3738-06, Severn Stoke 1994–95. Pl. 8, 169	wnr chipped
V5.137 O14/R14	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , column of three pellets after EADVLF , 3/3/3/3	Lockett 394d	wnr
V5.138 O15/R15	Obv. uncertain, crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 65, 29, acquired before 1875	1.23
V5.139 O16/R16	Obv. E4, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON EADVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	CNG coin shop, Jan. 2014, 973936	1.16
Ecgulf			
V5.140 O1/R1	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON ECGVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1912,0406,2, <i>BMA</i> 143, acquired Sotheby, 19 Dec. 1911, 177. Pl. 8, 170	1.22
Ethelheah			
V5.141 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, HMON EÐELHEA ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 70, Serrure 1857, 658	1.25
Ethelred			
V5.142 O1/R1	Obv. E7, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐERED ETA , 3/3/3/3	Duddington 1994–95	wnr
Ethelstan			
V5.143 O1/R1	Obv. C1, ?crescents Rev. A, MON EÐELZTA NETA , 3/3/3/[?]	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 666, Verulamium Museum, St Albans Abbey Orchard 1968	0.73 chipped, porous
Ethelwulf			
V5.144 O1/R1	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐEVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,144, <i>BMC</i> 291, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 171	1.18
V5.145 O2/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐEVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3 square pellets	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 368, Coats, 1924	1.12
V5.146 O3/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐEVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.194-1990, Blunt, ex Spink, Argyll	1.26
V5.147 O4/R4	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐEVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	Spink auction 219, 24–25 Sept. 2013, 78, previously Lyons	1.26 full coin, flan crack
V5.148 O5/R5	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐEVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	Bruun Rasmussen, auction 764, 11 Dec. 2006, 5414	1.17
V5.149 O6/R6	Obv. C20, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1995, 1816	1.37
V5.150 O7/R7	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON EÐELLAF ETA , 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.193-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll	1.52
V5.151 O8/R8	Obv. B1, double diadem, crescents, pelleted i.c. Rev. B, MON EÐELVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314.5, <i>BMC</i> 293, Gravesend 1838	1.28

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Ethelwulf cont.			
V5.152 O9/R9	Obv. G1, pelleted i.c. and diadem Rev. C, FMON HE DELVF ETA, 0/0/0/1	Dix Noonan Webb, 29 Sept. 2010, 2073, incorrectly noted as rev. type D	0.96 chipped
V5.153 O10/R10	Obv. I1, crescents Rev. D, FMON HE DELVF ETA, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/0	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.219-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll and Grantley (1944), 875 corroded	1.23 lightly
Guthhere			
V5.154 O1/R1	Obv. F9, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,146, <i>BMC</i> 307, Gravesend 1838	1.38
V5.155 O2/R2	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 308, acquired before 1838	1.24
V5.156 O3/R3	Obv. F3, double diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 48, 701, Tolson memorial Museum, Huddersfield, acquired 1959. Pl. 8, 172	1.28
V5.157 O4/R4	Obv. F6, crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, O with saltire spikes, pelleted lines, 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 72, Serrure 1857, 660	1.21
V5.158 O5/R5	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.195-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, bt from Daniels	1.23
V5.159 O6/R6	Obv. ?D3, crescents, off-centre Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>NCirc</i> Oct. 1993, 7116	1.17
V5.160 O7/R7	Obv. F8, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA, 3/3/3/3	Lincolnshire find 1985, now Usher Gallery, Lincoln	0.97 small chip
Guthmund			
V5.161 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, DMON GVDMVN ETA, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1925,0202,12, Beeston Tor 1924. Pl. 8, 173	1.30
V5.162 O1/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, DMON GVDMVN ETA, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	MacKay 07/01, bt Spink 2007; later Spink auction 221, 2–3 Dec. 2013, 682	0.97
V5.163 O2/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, DMON GVDMVN ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 670, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.68 chipped and corroded
V5.164 O3/R3	Obv. C19, crescents Rev. A, DMON GVDMVN ETA, 0/1/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	EMC 2011.0099, Torksey, Lincs, not in Blackburn 2011b, Spink auction 208, 22–23 June 2011, 607, later Dix Noonan Webb, 5 Dec. 2012, 329	0.88
V5.165 O3/R4	Obv. C19, crescents Rev. A, DMON GVDMVN ETA, 0/1/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 115, ex Reichel 1858	1.25
V5.166 O4/R5	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON GVDMVND ETA, inverted M, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	Lyon 602, ex Baldwin, Nov. 1961	1.16
V5.167 O4/R5	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON GVDMVND ETA, inverted M, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Spink auction 101, 24 Nov. 1993, 59	1.34
V5.168 O5/R6	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON GVDMVND ETA, 3/3/3/3	Lockett I (1955) 395a, ex Baldwin; a crude reverse die possibly locally cut	wnr

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Guthmund cont.			
V5.169 O6/R7	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, DMON GVDMMVN ETA , 3/3/3/3	Kunker 227, 11 Mar. 2013, 2338, previously Kunker 137, 11 Mar. 2008, 3041	1.31
Heawulf			
V5.170 O1/R1	Obv. C5, crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,153, <i>BMC</i> 316, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 174	1.31
V5.171 O2/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/0 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 31, acquired before 1894. Metcalf and Northover, 1985, 64, 44.14% <i>AR</i>	0.91 chipped and corroded
V5.172 O3/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,155, <i>BMC</i> 312, Gravesend 1838	1.19
V5.173 O4/R3	Obv. B4, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,157, <i>BMC</i> 313, Gravesend 1838	1.21
V5.174 O4/R4	Obv. B4, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 370, Dr Hunter before 1783	1.33
V5.175 O5/R5	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 417, <i>MEC</i> I, 1335; Perceval 1922; Metcalf and Northover, 1985, 65, 28.47% <i>AR</i>	1.25
V5.176 O6/R6	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 2, 369, Coats 1924	1.54
V5.177 O7/R7	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVPLF ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 30	1.19
V5.178 O7/R8	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVPLF ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 671, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	1.07
V5.179 O8/R9	Obv. F7, pelleted i.c., two half crescents in lower central panel, crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. die as next</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 617, ex Spink, 1914; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Sept. 1985, 5727	1.22
V5.180 O8/R9	Obv. F7, pelleted i.c., two half crescents in lower central panel, crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. die as last</i>	Lockett IV (1960) 3599d	wnr
V5.181 O9/R10	Obv. F5, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 36, 80	1.24
V5.182 O10/R11	Obv. F3, crescents Rev. A, FMON HEAVVL ETA , 0/0/0/3	Lockett III (1958), 2667d, subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Feb. 1974, 1274	wnr
V5.183 O11/R12	Obv. C1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, MON HEAVVLF ETA , 3/3/3/3	Spink auction 128, 7–8 Oct. 1998, 312	wnr

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Hereferth			
V5.184 O1/R1	Obv. F9, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,158, <i>BMC</i> 321, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 175	1.45
V5.185 O2/R2	Obv. F13, crescents Rev. A, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 17, 91, Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, ex Seaby 1957	1.30
V5.186 O3/R3	Obv. F7, crescents, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 73, Serrure, 1857, 667	1.31
V5.187 O4/R4	Obv. F6, crescents Rev. A, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 116, Reichel, 1843, 60	1.25 perforated
V5.188 O5/R5	Obv. F7, crescents, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.198-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, bt from Daniels	1.11
V5.189 O6/R6	Obv. F13, halved crescents in lower central panel, crescents Rev. A, ÐMON HEREFER ETA , 0/0/0/3	Lockett I (1955), 395d, later Spink auction 159, 11–12 July 2002, 11	1.18
Hussa			
V5.190 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. D, MON +HVSSA ETA , pellets uncertain	<i>BMC</i> 349, acquired before 1838	1.29 corroded
Lefe / Lefle			
V5.191 O1/R1	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON +LEFE ETA , column of three pellets after LEFE , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 619, ex Carlyon Britton, 289, ill. Heywood 1906, 19, Waterloo Bridge 1884; subsequently Heritage 3008, 3 Jan. 2010, 21547 and CNG Triton XVIII, 6–7 Jan. 2015, 1703	0.98
V5.192 O2/R2	Obv. B1, crescents, pelleted i.c., three pellets at base of central panel Rev. A, MON +LEFLE ETA , column of three pellets after LEFLE , 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.200-1990, Blunt, ex Baldwin, Argyll	1.23
Liafwald			
V5.193 O1/R1	Obv. B3 Rev. A, MON LFVLAD ETA , 3/3/3/3	Torksey, Blackburn 2011b, app. 1.pl. 1, 20, said to be from small hoard	wnr
Ludig			
V5.194 O1/R1	Obv. C1, crescents, central panel with cross above two half crescents Rev. C, pelleted lines, MON +LVDIG ETA , column of three pellets after LVDIG , 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,70, <i>BMC</i> 360, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 176	1.28
Lulla			
V5.195 O1/R1	Obv. F7, crescents Rev. A, MON +LVLLA ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1848,0726,1, <i>BMC</i> 361, Hook Norton 1848	1.33
V5.196 O2/R2	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON LVLLA ETA , 3/3/3/3/	Baldwin, auction 38, 4 Oct. 2004, 145	1.24 cracked
V5.197 O3/R3	Obv. C1, double diadem, crescents Rev. B, MON +LVLLA ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,7, <i>BMC</i> 364, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 177	1.26
Osmund			
V5.198 O1/R1	Obv. C1, central panel with cross above two half crescents, crescents Rev. A, MON OSMhND ETA , h inverted, 0/0/0/3	BM 1840,0314,170, <i>BMC</i> 367, Gravesend 1838	1.31

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Osmund <i>cont.</i>			
V5.199 O2/R2	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., central panel with cross above two half crescents, crescents Rev. A, MON OSMhND ETA, O with saltire spikes, h inverted, 0/0/0/3	BM 1838,1222,31, <i>BMC</i> 368, Fox 1838, probably Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 178	1.44
V5.200 O3/R3	Obv. E1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON OSMVND ETA, O with saltire pellets, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,167, <i>BMC</i> 365, Gravesend 1838	1.21
V5.201 O3/R3	Obv. E1, double diadem, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON OSMVND ETA, O with saltire pellets, 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 75, ex Thomsen 1868	1.31
V5.202 O4/R4	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON OSMNND ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 674, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.93 corroded
V5.203 O5/R5	Obv. C12, crescents Rev. A, MON OZMhND ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 20 (Mack), 621, Lower Dunsforth 1861; subsequently <i>NCirc</i> Dec. 1985, 8645	1.28
V5.204 O6/R6	Obv. F3, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON OZMhND ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 50, 118	1.32
V5.205 O7/R7	Obv. C1 Rev. A, MON OZMOhD ETA, 3/3/3/3	EMC 2004.0170, found Roxton, Beds., <i>BNJ</i> 75, 2005, Coin Register, 157	0.91 chipped
Tata			
V5.206 O1/R1	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON +TATA ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1915,0507,696, <i>BMA</i> 150, Morgan (Evans) 1915, Croydon 1862, ill. Corbett Anderson 1877, 55 and Blunt and Dolley, 1958–59, 56. Pl. 8, 179	1.05 small flan
V5.207 O2/R2	Obv. C1, central panel with cross above two half crescents, crescents Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 384, acquired before 1838	1.12 chipped
V5.208 O3/R3	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA, 3/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,72, <i>BMC</i> 382, Gravesend 1838	1.46
V5.209 O4/R4	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. D, MON +TATA ETA, 0/0/0/0	<i>BMC</i> 381, acquired before 1838	1.39
Tidhelm			
V5.210 O1/R1	Obv. E6, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDhELM ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 140, acquired before 1838	1.09 chipped
V5.211 O2/R2	Obv. C1, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. A, MON TIDhELM ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>BMC</i> 141, acquired before 1838. Pl. 8, 180	1.47
V5.212 O3/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDhLEM ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,171, <i>BMC</i> 142, Gravesend 1838	1.11 chipped
V5.213 O4/R4	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDMELM ETA, 3/3/3/3	BM 1925,0202,15, Beeston Tor 1924	1.30
V5.214 O5/R5	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDhELM ETA, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 77, Serrure 1857, 668; incorrectly listed in <i>SCBI</i> as rev. C	1.23

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Tidhelm <i>cont.</i>			
V5.215 O6/R6	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDHELM ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 9, 33, ex Magdalen College, Oxford; Metcalf and Northover 1985 78, 22.55% <i>AR</i>	1.38
V5.216 O7/R7	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDHELM ETA , pelleted lines, 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 676, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.64 chipped and corroded
V5.217 O8/R8	Obv. B1 Rev. A, MON TIDHELM ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 42, 677, Verulamium Museum, St Albans, Abbey Orchard 1968	0.84 corroded
V5.218 O9/R9	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDHELM ETA , 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.203-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll, Grantley (1944), 872, Briggs (1893), 179d	1.36
V5.219 O10/R10	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDEHELM ETA , 3/3/3/6	L.R. Stack, Sotheby, 22–23 Apr. 1999, 336, ex Pegg, Spink auction 11, 8 Oct. 1980, 8; Shand, Glendining, 8 Mar. 1949, 293 and Evans, listed Corbett Anderson 1877, 56, Croydon 1862, subsequently St James's auction 13, 6 May 2010, 518	1.23
V5.220 O11/R11	Obv. E9, crescents Rev. A, MON TIDHELM ETA , 3/3/3/3	Spink auction, 206, 1–2 Dec. 2010, 853	1.21
Wulfearð			
V5.221 O1/R1	Obv. B1, crescents, double struck Rev. A, MON VVLFERD ETA , 3/1/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	<i>BMA</i> 152, Morgan (Evans) 1915, noted ' <i>Thames, evidently found in River Thames.</i> ' Pl. 8, 181	1.16 small flan
V5.222 O1/R1	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, MON VVLFERD ETA , 3/1/3/3 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 419, MEC I, 1337, Perceval 1922	0.97 chipped
V5.223 O2/R2	Obv. E1, double diadem, crescents Rev. A, pelleted lines, DMON VVLFER ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,172, <i>BMC</i> 393, Gravesend 1838	1.34
V5.224 O3/R3	Obv. F3, double diadem, crescents Rev. B, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.206-1990, Blunt, bt London 1962	0.77 chipped and corroded
V5.225 O4/R4	Obv. F3, pelleted i.c., crescents Rev. B, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,8, <i>BMC</i> 394, Gravesend 1838. Pl. 8, 182	1.30
V5.226 O5/R5	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. B, two pellets in lunette gaps, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 3/3/3/3	BM 1840,0314,9, <i>BMC</i> 395, Gravesend 1838	1.03
V5.227 O6/R6	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. B, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as next</i>	BM 1840,0314,11, <i>BMC</i> 396, Gravesend 1838	1.41
V5.228 O6/R7	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. B, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same obv. die as last</i>	<i>SCBI</i> 1, 421, also <i>MEC</i> I 1339, Young 1936, ex P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton (1913), 291b, Waterloo Bridge 1884; ill. Heywood 1906, 22; Metcalf and Northover 1985, 71, 24.4% <i>AR</i>	1.23
V5.229 O7/R8	Obv. B1, double diadem, crescents Rev. B, DMON VVLFEAR ETA , 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,10, <i>BMC</i> 397, Gravesend 1838	1.20
Wulferth			
V5.230 O1/R1	Obv. C13, crescents Rev. A, MON VVLFERÐ ETA , 3/3/3/3 Stain obscures lips but vertical diadem suggests V5	<i>SCBI</i> 30, 207, ex Dresser, Stack's, 4 May 1995, Grantley (1944), 870g, Westminster Bridge, 1895, noted Stott, 1991, 66. Pl. 8, 183	1.21

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Wulfred			
V5.231 O1/R1	Obv. E1, crescents Rev. A, MON VVLFRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	<i>SCBI</i> 4, 81, ex Thomsen 1868	1.25 chipped
V5.232 O2/R2	Obv. B1, crescents Rev. A, DMON VVLFRE ETA , 3/3/3/3	Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.205-1990, Blunt, ex Argyll and Dr Gibson	0.69 small flan, chipped, corroded
V5.233 O3/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON VVLFRED ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same rev. die as next</i>	National Museum of Wales 78.17H/1, acquired from London dealer 1978. Pl. 8, 184	1.30 chipped
V5.234 O4/R3	Obv. C1, crescents Rev. A, MON VVLFRED ETA , 3/3/3/3 <i>Same rev. die as last</i>	Boyd, Baldwin, 26 Sept. 2005, 762, ex Spink 1888	1.23 chipped

Addenda – Coins noted subsequent to completion of Corpus

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Beagstan			
V5	Obv. style C, not listed in Corpus, BVRGRED REXX , Xs both small, second with bar below Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Baldwin Winter List 2015, AS010	0.74 chipped
Ciallaf H1, var.	Obv. K3, double diadem, tunic with outer line forming an uncial style M shaped arch within which a second uncial style M with a vertical bar in each arch Rev. D, FMON +CIALLA ETA , 0/0/0/0 A new variant for H1.	EMC 2014.0319, found Ogbourne St Andrew, Wilts.	1.17 chipped, surface dirt
Cenred H8	Obv. D1, bars Rev. A, MON CENRED ETA , 3/3/3/3	Noted, Dix Noonan Webb, 16–17 Sept. 2014, 2328, stated as bt 1961	1.36
Dudda H11	Obv. H1, double diadem, bars Rev. D, MON +DVDDA ETA , 0/0/0/0	EMC 2015.0023, found Tidworth, Wilts., Jan. 2015	wnr chipped
Dudwine V4	Obv. F13, pelleted i.c., bars Rev. A, MON DVDÞINE ETA , 0/0/0/3	Baldwin Winter List 2015, AS009	1.14 chipped and cracked
Guthhere H10	Obv. B1, pelleted double diadem, bars Rev. A, MON GV-ÐHERE ETA , 3/3/3/6 <i>Same obv. die as H10.5</i> (<i>SCBI</i> 17, 89)	MacKay 15/02, ex Baldwin Winter List 2015, AS011, Lord Grantley, 22 Mar. 1944, 871b, bt Baldwin, Westminster bridge hoard, 1895, with Grantley's ticket, noted as bt from 'Vieweg', 1895, found under Westminster Bridge	1.27
Hugered H11	Obv. I1, bars, occlusion over eye Rev. C, DMON HVGERE ETA , 0/0/0/0	Noted, CNG Triton XVIII, 6–7 Jan. 2015, 1704	1.21
Dealinc V5	Obv. B1, bars Rev. A, MON DEALINC: ETA , 3/1/3/3	EMC 2014.0333, found Wimpole, Cambs, Nov. 2014	wnr

Trial pieces and weights with impressions of coins of Burgred

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
TP.1 Lulla	Obv. A, uncertain title Rev. A, MOH +LVLLA ETA , ?/?/?/3	Fitzwilliam Museum CM.1.225-1990. Blunt collection; found Tilbury, possibly in landfill soil from London. Most likely V5, but all detail not fully clear	3.80 (lead)
TP.2	Obv. Uncertain, 20 mm, Rev. A, uncertain	Fitzwilliam Museum CM.2421-2008, found Torksey, Lincs, possibly Burgred	2.19 (lead)
TP.3 Diga	Obv. Uncertain, retrograde, local or imitative bust, 26 mm. Rev. A, possibly reading [D]IGA	Fitzwilliam Museum CM.2422-2008, found Torksey, Lincs.	5.53 (lead)
TP.4 Dudda	Coin attached to lead weight, reverse only visible, type A, MON DVDD ETA , 3/3/3/3	EMC 1998.0019, found Scarborough area, North Yorks., Simmons, list 16, 1999, no. 154	10.6 (lead)

Imitative coins

<i>Moneyer/Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Provenance/notes</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Im.1 Beagstan	Obv. imitative, probably V5, C6, very coarse treatment Rev. A, NMON BEAGZTA ETA , 0/0/0/3	Torksey, Blackburn 2011b, app. 1, pl. 1, 6; <i>BNJ</i> 65, 1995, Coin Register, 139.	0.69 chipped
Im.2	Obv. imitative, probably of V2, D1, very coarse treatment, bars Rev. A, NOID DANA ETA , first D retrograde, 1/1/1/1	<i>NCirc</i> May 1995, 2613, likely imitative or locally cut dies	1.18
Im.3 Diga	Obv. C1 – imitative, F used for R, G reversed, crescents Rev. A, MON +IDIGA ATE , two pellets after IDIGA , E retrograde	BM 1840,0314,119, <i>BMC</i> 355, Gravesend 1838; either imitative or locally cut dies. Pl. 8, 185	1.32
Im.4 Hugered	Obv. F11, with large oval eye, no side panels, saltire with pellet in each angle in central panel, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, DMON HVGEIE ETA , inverted G, 0/0/0/0	BM 1840,0314,160, <i>BMC</i> 328, Gravesend 1838. Most likely imitative or dies cut by an unskilled engraver, letter style suggests it may align to H11. Pl. 8, 186	1.23
Im.5 Hussa	Obv. D4 - imitative with blundered REX reading RCC+ , double diadem, pelleted i.c. Rev. A, HON +HLZZA ITN , (/)/(/)	Lockett 396e, ex Evans, 1908, Croydon 1862; Dolley and Blunt 1961, 57	wnr
Im.6 Lulla	Obv. D14, imitative, as V5 Rev. A, .NOM LVLLA: ATE , inverted L, V, A, E retrograde	Timeline auction 1, 2010, 176	1.03
Im.7 Tata Obv. H10	Obv. B1, double diadem, bars Rev. imitative, type A, MON TATTA ATE , middle Ts both an inverted L, ATE is ETA retrograde, two pellets after TATTA , 1/1/1/1	UKDFD 20530, found Lincolnshire, 2009, the reverse die imitative or a locally cut die	wnr

Indeterminate coins and forgeries

<i>Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Id.1 <i>Style of V1, modern forgery, Berneah</i>	Obv. L3, double diadem Rev. A, MON +BERANH ETA , 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as next</i>	Now Spink, ex MacKay 07/03, bt from Spink, 2007. Pl. 8, 187	1.52 chipped, with surface deposit
Id.2 <i>Style of V1, modern forgery, Berneah</i>	Obv. L3, double diadem Rev. A, MON +BERANH ETA , 1/1/1/1 <i>Same obv. and rev. dies as last</i>	Dr Bird, Glendining, 20 Nov. 1974, 55, later <i>NCirc</i> Apr. 1992, 1768; very similar to MacKay 07/03	1.47 evenly corroded surfaces

Indeterminate coins and forgeries cont.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>References and Provenance</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Id.3	Rolled into a tube, probably as jewellery Obv. Uncertain Rev. Eii, M ON [..]FVALD	Hederslev Museum, found Sysvig, Hedeslev, Denmark, 1980. Pl. 8, 189–91	wnr
Id.4	E TA, possibly Liafwald Two fused coins back to back Obv. V5, C1 Rev. different coins, Ei, uncertain moneyer	Banbury castle, found in excavation at Banbury castle, Oxon	wnr corroded
Id.5	Very corroded Obv. ?H10, probably I1 Rev. D, uncertain moneyer	EMC 2010.0186, Orford, Suffolk	1.07 very corroded
Id.6	Obv. A8, style of H1 Rev. D, in name of Hussa	Fitzwilliam Museum, formerly Lyons, surfaces and style of letter A suggest this is false, an old fabrication. Pl. 8, 188	1.39
<i>Modern forgery, Hussa</i>			
Id.7	Broken, possibly H11, pelleted i.c., double diadem, three horizontal bars in central panel Rev. C, possibly Beagstan, ?NMON [..]EAGZTA ETA	Duddington 1994–95	wnr 70% fragment
Beagstan			
Id.8	Fragment, ?V5, corroded, moneyer uncertain	Duddington 1994–95	wnr 50% fragment
Id.9	Likely H, which obv. var. unclear, BVRGR[...], Rev. A, probably [MON] +DVDDA ETA, 0/0/0/0	Repton 1, 1982, find 3723, Biddle 1986, 1. Metcalf and Northover 1985, 66, 37.96% AR	0.64 cut half
Dudda			
Id.10	Fragment obv. [...]DRE+, ?H11, crescents, Rev. double pelleted line forming a panel, MON [..]VNELM, O with four pellets saltire, ?Cunehelm	BM, Severn Stoke, 1994–95, possibly imitative	wnr
Cunehelm			
Id.11	Hussa, Obv. Not known Rev. A	EMC 1983.0009, noted by Blackburn, Colyer and Dolley 1983, 37, no. 12	0.36
Hussa			
Id.12	Obv. H1, Rev. MON +TATA ETA	Torksey, Blackburn, 2011, app. 1, pl 1, 11	1.15
Tata			
Id.13	Obv. uncertain Rev. D	Saever Howe, Orkney; <i>PSAS</i> , 116 (1986), 339–41	wnr
Tata			
Id.14	Obv. P4	EMC 1986.0337, noted as similar to <i>BMC</i> 284, Pirie 1986, 37, found Aldwark, York	wnr
?Eanred			

REFERENCES

- Biddle, M., *et al.*, 1986. 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Repton, Derbyshire Part I', in Blackburn 1986, 111–32.
- Biddle M., *et al.*, 1987. 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Repton, Derbyshire Part II', *BNJ* 56, 16–34.
- Blackburn, M.A.S., 2002. 'Finds from the Anglo-Scandinavian site at Torksey, Lincolnshire,' in Paszkiewicz 2002, 89–101; reprinted in Blackburn 2011a, 207–64.
- Blackburn, M.A.S., 2011a. *Viking Coinage and the Currency of the British Isles*, BNS Special Publication No. 7 (London).
- Blackburn, M.A.S., 2011b. 'The Viking winter camp in Torksey, 872–3', in Blackburn 2011a, 221–64.
- Blackburn, M.A.S., (ed.), 1986. *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (Leicester).
- Blackburn, M.A.S, Colyer, C. and Dolley, M., 1983. *Early Medieval Coins from Lincoln and its Shire c. 770–1100*, The Archaeology of Lincoln VI-1 (Lincoln).
- Blackburn, M.A.S. and Dumville, D.N. (eds), 1998. *Kings, Currency and Alliances* (Woodbridge).
- Blackburn, M.A.S. and Keynes, S., 1998. 'A corpus of Cross and Lozenge and related coinages of Alfred, Ceolwulf and Archbishop Æthelred', in Blackburn and Dumville 1998, 125–50.
- Blunt, C.E., 1958–59. 'Some new Mercian coins', *BNJ* 29, 8–11.
- Blunt, C.E., 1972. 'A small parcel from the Dorking (1817) hoard', *BNJ* 41, 179.
- Blunt, C.E. and Dolley, R.H.M., 1958–59. 'The hoard evidence of the coins of Alfred', *BNJ* 29, 220–47.
- Blunt, C.E. and Dolley, R.H.M., 1969. *SCBI* 11a. *Reading University. Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins* (London).
- Blunt, C.E., Elmore Jones, F. and Mack, R.P., 1971. *SCBI* 16. *Norweb Collection. Ancient British and English Coins to 1180* (London).

- Blunt, C.E., Lyon, C.S.S. and Stewart, B.H.I.H., 1963. 'The coinage of southern England', *BNJ* 32, 1–74.
- Booth, J., 1997. *SCBI* 48. *Northern Museums. Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coins to 1279* (Oxford).
- Booth, J., 1998. 'Monetary alliance or technical co-operation? The coinage of Berhtwulf of Mercia', in Blackburn and Dumville 1998, 63–104.
- Brady, J.D., 1982. *SCBI* 30. *Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins in American Collections* (London).
- British Numismatic Society, 1955. Photographic plates of Anglo-Saxon and other coins in the collection of R.C. Lockett.
- Brooke, G.C., 1922. 'Anglo-Saxon acquisitions of the British Museum, *NC*. 5th series, 2, 214–22.
- Brooke, G.C., 1924. 'Beeston Tor find of Anglo Saxon coins', *NC*, 5th series, 4, 322–5.
- Brooke, G.C., 1932. *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day*, 1st edn (London).
- Brooks, N.P. and Graham-Campbell, J., 1986. 'Reflections on the Viking-Age silver hoard from Croydon, Surrey', in Blackburn 1986, 91–110.
- Checklist: *Check-list of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, c.450–1180*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge <online: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/>>.
- Chick, D., 2010. *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn and R. Naismith (London).
- Combe, T., 1821. 'An account of some Anglo-Saxon coins found at Dorking, in Surrey', *Archaeologia* 19, 109–19.
- Corbett Anderson, J., 1877. *Saxon Croydon* (London).
- Coupland, S., 1991. 'The early coinage of Charles the Bald, 840–64', *NC* 151, 121–58.
- Coupland, S., 2001. 'The coinage of Lothar I (840–55)', *NC* 161, 157–98.
- Dolley, R.H.M., 1967. 'A fourth find of ninth-century coins from Ireland', *BNJ* 36, 32–5.
- Dolley, R.H.M. and Strudwick, J.S., 1955–57. 'The provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins recorded in the two volumes of the *British Museum Catalogue*', *BNJ* 28, 26–59.
- EMC: *Early Medieval Corpus: Single-Finds of Coins in the British Isles, 410–1180*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (online: <<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/emc/>>).
- Fountaine, A., 1705. *Numismatica Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica*, in G. Hicke (ed.), *Hickes Thesaurus* (Oxford).
- Galster, G., 1964. *SCBI* 4. *Royal Collection, Copenhagen. Part I. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins* (London).
- Grierson, P., 1958. *SCBI* 1. *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Part I. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins* (London).
- Gunstone, A.J.H., 1971. *SCBI* 17. *Midland Museums. Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins* (London).
- Gunstone, A.J.H., 1977. *SCBI* 24. *West Country Museums. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins* (London).
- Gunstone, A.J.H., 1981. *SCBI* 27. *Lincolnshire Collections. Coins from Lincolnshire Mints and Ancient British and later coins to 1272* (London).
- Gunstone, A.J.H. and Smart, V., 1992. *SCBI* 42. *South-Eastern Museums. Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and later coins to 1279* (London).
- Hawkins, E., 1841. 'On some Saxon coins discovered near Gravesend in 1838', *NC*, 1st series, 2, 14–34.
- Heywood, N., 1884. 'Saxon coins found on the site of Waterloo Bridge London', *NC*, 3rd series, 4, 349–50.
- Heywood, N., 1893. 'King Burgred's coins', *NCirc* 1, 79–81.
- Heywood, N., 1906. 'The kingdom and the coins of Burgred king of Mercia 852–874', *BNJ* 4, 59–66.
- Hillaby, J., 2000. 'King Burgred, the Seven Stoke coin hoard and the demise of the Mercian kingdom', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd series, 17, 125–48.
- Hocking, W.J., 1906. *Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint. Vol. I. Coins and Tokens* (London).
- Keary, C.F., 1887. *A Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series. Vol. I.*
- Keynes, S.D., 1997. 'Anglo-Saxon entries in the *Liber Vitae* of Brescia', in *Alfred the Wise. Studies in Honour of Janet Batley on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Roberts and J.L. Nelson with M. Godden (Woodbridge), 99–119.
- Kluge, B., 1987. *SCBI* 36. *State Museum Berlin Coin Cabinet. Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Hiberno-Norse Coins* (Oxford).
- Latchmore, F., 1895. 'Saxon coins found near Hitchin', *NC*, 3rd series, 17, 152.
- Lean, W. and Pagan, H.E., 1999. 'A small group of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins in the Bowes Museum Barnard Castle', *NCirc* 107, 143–4.
- Lindsay, J., 1842. *A View of the Coins of the Heptarchy* (Cork).
- Lyon, C.S.S., 1968. 'Historical problems of Anglo-Saxon coinage (2). The ninth-century: Offa to Alfred', *BNJ* 37, 216–38.
- Lyons, A.W. and MacKay, W.A., 2007. 'The coinage of Æthelred I (865–871)', *BNJ* 77, 71–118.
- Lyons, A.W. and MacKay, W.A., 2008. 'The Lunettes coinage of Alfred the Great', *BNJ* 78, 38–110.
- Mack, R.P., 1973. *SCBI* 20. *Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins in the Collection formed by Commander R.P. Mack R.N.* (London).
- MacKay, W.A. 2009. 'A lost Burgred moneyer re-discovered and a new type for Archbishop Jaenberht', *NCirc* 117, 2, 50.
- MEC: Grierson, P. and Blackburn, M.A.S. *Medieval European Coinage, vol. 1: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Century)* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Metcalf, D.M., 1957. 'Find records of medieval coins from Gough's Camden *Britannia*', *NC*, 6th series, 17, 181–207.

- Metcalfe, D.M., 1958. 'Eighteenth century finds of medieval coins from the records of the Society of Antiquaries', *NC*, 6th series, 18, 73–96.
- Metcalfe, D.M. and Northover, J.P., 1985. 'Debasement of the coinage in southern England in the age of King Alfred', *NC* 145, 150–76.
- Naismith, R., 2011. *The Coinage of Southern England 796–865*, BNS Special Publication 8, 2 vols (London).
- Naismith, R., 2012. *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England. The Southern English Kingdoms 757–865* (Cambridge).
- North J.J., 'English Hammered Coinage, Volume I, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III, c.600–1272, 3rd edn (London).
- Pagan, H.E., 1965. 'Coinage in the age of Burgred', *BNJ* 34, 11–27.
- Pagan, H.E., 1966. 'The Gainford hoard', *BNJ* 35, 190–1.
- Pagan, H.E., 1982. 'The coinage of the East Anglian kingdom', *BNJ* 52, 41–83.
- Pagan, H.E., 1986a. 'Coinage in southern England, 796–874', in Blackburn 1986, 45–66.
- Pagan, H.E., 1986b. 'The coins from the mass-burial', in Biddle *et al.* 1986, 115–19.
- Pagan, H.E., 1987. 'A second parcel of pennies of the 870s from a grave at Repton', in Biddle *et al.* 1987, 16–19.
- Pagan, H.E., 1988. 'The older coin finds from Southampton', in P. Andrews (ed.), *Southampton Coin Finds. Volume One: The Coins and Pottery from Hamwic* (Southampton), 60–70.
- Pirie, E.J.E., 1975. *SCBI* 21. *Yorkshire Collections. Coins from Northumbrian Mints c.895–1279: Ancient British and Later Coins from other Mints to 1279* (London).
- Pirie, E.J.E., *et al.*, 1986. *Post-Roman coins from York excavations 1971–81*, *The Archaeology of York* 18.1 (London).
- Potin, V.M., 1999. *SCBI* 50. *Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Part I. Anglo-Saxon Coins to 1016* (London).
- Rashleigh, J., 1868. 'An account of Anglo-Saxon coins and gold and silver ornaments found at Trewhiddle near St Austell, Cornwall, A.D. 1774', *NC*, 2nd series, 8, 137–57.
- Robertson, A.S., 1961. *SCBI* 2. *Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Anglo-Saxon Coins* (London).
- Ruding, R., 1817. *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, 3 vols (London).
- SCBI* 1 *see* Grierson 1958.
- SCBI* 2 *see* Robertson 1961.
- SCBI* 4 *see* Galster 1964.
- SCBI* 6 *see* Stevenson 1966.
- SCBI* 9 *see* Thompson 1967.
- SCBI* 11 *see* Blunt and Dolley 1969.
- SCBI* 16 *see* Blunt, Elmore Jones and Mack 1971.
- SCBI* 17 *see* Gunstone 1971.
- SCBI* 20 *see* Mack 1973.
- SCBI* 21 *see* Pirie 1975.
- SCBI* 24 *see* Gunstone 1977.
- SCBI* 27 *see* Gunstone 1981.
- SCBI* 30 *see* Brady 1982.
- SCBI* 36 *see* Kluge 1987.
- SCBI* 42 *see* Gunstone and Smart 1992.
- SCBI* 48 *see* Booth 1997.
- SCBI* 50 *see* Potin 1999.
- SCBI* 65 *see* Screen, 2013.
- Screen E., 2007. Anglo-Saxon law and numismatics: a reassessment in the light of Patrick Wormald's *The making of English Law*, *BNJ* 77, 150–72.
- Screen E., 2013. *SCBI* 65. *Norwegian Collections. Part I. Anglo-Saxon Coins to 1016* (London).
- Sherlock R.J., 1955–57. 'A nineteenth-century manuscript book on coins', *BNJ* 28, 394–9.
- Spink, 2014. *Standard Catalogue of British Coins. Part One, Coins of England and the United Kingdom, Pre-Decimal Issues*, 50th edn (London).
- Stenton, F., 1971. *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford).
- Stevenson, R.B.K., 1966. *SCBI* 6. *National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh. Anglo-Saxon Coins* (London).
- Stott, P., 1991. 'Saxon and Norman coins from London', in A. Vince (ed.), *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: II Finds and Environmental Evidence*, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper number 12 (London), 279–325.
- Swanton, M. (ed.), 2000. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London).
- Symons, D., 2014. 'A small hoard of Burgred pennies from Banbury Castle, Oxfordshire', in R. Naismith, M. Allen and E. Screen (eds), *Early Medieval Monetary History. Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn* (Farnham), 409–12.
- Thompson, J.D.A., 1956. *Inventory of British Coin Hoards. AD 600–1500*. RNS Special Publications 1 (London).
- Thompson, J.D.A., 1967. *SCBI* 9. *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Part I. Anglo-Saxon Pennies* (London).
- Williams, G., 2008. 'Burgred 'Lunette' Type E reconsidered' *BNJ* 78, 222–7.
- Wilson, D.M. and Blunt, C.E., 1961. 'The Trewhiddle hoard', *Archaeologia* 98, 75–122.