

THE COINAGE OF THE EAST ANGLIAN KINGDOM FROM 825 TO 870

H.E.Pagan

The history of East Anglia in the first three quarters of the ninth century is of considerable obscurity. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers explicitly to East Anglia in entries for three years only (825, 841, 866) between the beginning of the century and the Viking conquest of the kingdom in 870. In each instance, as also with an entry for the year 827 which has East Anglian relevance, the *Chronicle* entry is only incidentally concerned with East Anglia and the East Angles and sheds no light on the internal history of the area. No East Anglian charters have survived for the period and no regnal list is extant for the ninth century. There exists a tenth-century hagiographical biography of King Eadmund, the East Anglian king who met his death at the hands of the Viking invaders of 870, but it has virtually nothing to contribute to East Anglian history except what may be an accurate record of Eadmund's age at death and of the length of his reign. Otherwise there are lists, not necessarily complete, of the bishops of the sees of Dunwich and Elmham down to 870, and some of these bishops are shown by their signatures on charters to have attended the Mercian court and meetings of the diocesans of Southern England in the earlier part of the century. Documentary sources have nothing else to offer on ninth-century East Anglia.

Numismatic evidence is more substantial. A series of coins associable with kings reigning in East Anglia between 825 and 870 was identified in its broad outlines by numismatic scholars more than a century ago; and recent research has added to these a further series of coins struck at an East Anglian mint or mints during the first quarter of the ninth century when East Anglia was under Mercian rule. The coinage has never been reviewed as a whole, but that of 800-25 is sufficiently covered by the relevant section in the classic study by C.E.Blunt, C.S.S.Lyon and B.H.I.H.Stewart,¹ and the present study will concentrate on the coinage after 825.

Issuers and moneyers

The names of the East Anglian rulers who issued coins in the period and their chronological succession are sufficiently established by coin evidence and hoard evidence which will be discussed shortly. Table 1 shows the integral nature of the coinage and the continuity which exists between its constituent parts.

The hoard evidence

East Anglian coins of the period have occurred in six or seven recorded coin hoards of which only four are, on the evidence at present available, of

TABLE 1

Issuers and Moneyers, c.823-870

<i>Mercian kings</i> c.823-c.827	<i>Aethelstan</i> c.827-c.841	<i>Aethelweard</i> c.848-c.855	<i>Eadmund</i> 855-870
Eacga			
Werbald			
Monna	Monn		
Eadgar	Eadgar		
Eadnoth	Eadnoth		
	Torhthelm		
	Rerhelm		
	Rernher/ Reghere	Raegenhere	
	Aethelhelm	Aethelhelm	Aethelhelm/ Ethelhelm
	Tuduwine	Tuduwine	
		Dudda	Dudda
		Eadmund	Eadmund
		Twicga	Twicga
			Baeghelm
			Beornferth
			Beornhaeh
			Eadberht
			Eadwald
			Ethelulf
			Sigered

actual utility for the coinage's arrangement and dating. The sizeable Delgany hoard, deposited c.828, contained coins struck in East Anglia for Mercian rulers recognized there in the first half of the 820s but no coins in the name of the Mercian king Ludica who was the last Mercian ruler to have coins struck at an East Anglian mint, and no coins of any other ruler who might have ruled in East Anglia later than 825.² A smaller but important hoard, found near Great Yarmouth in the 1820s, is now known to have contained a coin of King Ecgberht of Wessex struck for him at the Canterbury mint some time after 830, and may therefore be presumed to have contained coins struck in East Anglia in the later 820s and early 830s;³ but it was not listed on discovery and it is a conjecture only that it contained East Anglian coins of this nature. The London (Middle Temple) hoard, deposited c.840, is important for the coinage of King Aethelstan and is discussed below. The Dorking hoard, deposited c.862, the Gravesend hoard, deposited c.871, and the Croydon hoard, deposited c.874, contained coins of each of the kings Aethelstan, Aethelweard and Eadmund and are useful for the arrangement of the coinage of the two latter rulers. Otherwise the Sevington hoard, deposited c.848, which contained two coins of Aethelstan, and the small Reading hoard, deposited c.870, which contained one coin of Eadmund, are the only hoards in which East Anglian ninth-century issues are known to have been represented, and their East Anglian element is of no consequence.

It may be noted here that single finds of East Anglian coins of the period 825-70 known to the present writer number just five: coins of Aethelstan found respectively at Hundon, Suffolk; Garboldisham, Norfolk; Bulwick, Northamptonshire; and near Rochester, Kent; and a coin of Aethelweard discovered in excavations at Ipswich.

The coinage of Aethelstan and the Middle Temple hoard

A substantial hoard of coins discovered in Hare Court, Temple, in 1893 passed virtually whole to the British Museum, through the good offices of Sir Augustus Franks, and its evidence is critical for the coinage of the period from the death of King Beornwulf of Mercia in 825 down to the early 840s. The contemporary publication of it by H.A. Grueber lists 240 English coins and one Carolingian denier; two further English coins are mentioned in footnotes.⁴ Of the 240 English coins actually listed sixty-six were struck in Kent, in London, or in East Anglia before c.825. The remaining 174 are later than 825 and comprise ninety-two coins of King Ecgbearht of Wessex, twenty-eight coins of his son King Aethelwulf, four coins of King Wiglaf of Mercia, one coin of Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury and ten coins of his successor Archbishop Ceolnoth, and thirty-nine coins in the name of Aethelstan, variously described as *Rex*, *Rex A* or (in a reverse inscription) *Rex Ang.* The hoard itself confirms the identification of this Aethelstan as a king of East Anglia by the appearance alongside his of coins of Beornwulf of Mercia by the moneyers Eadgar and Eadnoth, who recur as moneyers of Aethelstan and can firmly be identified as East Anglian by a chain of argument founded on moneyers' names and coin styles which goes back to coins struck at an East Anglian mint before 800.

As the Middle Temple hoard contained no coins of any other post-825 East Anglian ruler it is divivable that Aethelstan was both the first ruler of independent East Anglia after 825 and the ruler on the East Anglian throne when the hoard was deposited. These conclusions need a little amplification, for at neither point is the chronology quite straightforward. Although the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Beornwulf of Mercia was killed by the East Anglians in 825, a statement carrying the implication that East Anglia was then in a state of revolt against Mercian rule, Beornwulf's successor Ludica had a few coins struck in his name at an East Anglian mint and it is likely that it was after Ludica's death in 827 rather than in 825 that Aethelstan's coinage commenced; the absence of any coins of Aethelstan in the Delgany hoard points this way and a date of c.827 for the beginning of his coinage has been used in Table 1 of the present paper.

It is also not absolutely clear when the hoard was deposited, for although Aethelwulf succeeded his father Ecgbearht as king of the West Saxons and of Kent in 839 he had previously reigned in Kent as his father's deputy and it has been suggested by Mr C.S.S. Lyon that the coins in the hoard that carry Aethelwulf's name largely predate 839.⁵ If most do predate 839, a date of deposit c.840 is likely; if not, a date of deposit of c.842 as suggested by Grueber is more probable.

A detailed look at the coins of Aethelstan in the hoard is also instructive. To establish how representative the Aethelstan element in the hoard is of Aethelstan's coinage as a whole, the composition of the group of thirty-nine coins of Aethelstan needs to be compared with the composition of coins of Aethelstan known from all other sources, and this is done in Table 2. It should be explained that it has been necessary to list the coins in three categories: those from the Middle Temple hoard retained in the British Museum collection, numbering thirty-two; those from the Middle Temple hoard not retained by the British Museum, numbering seven; and all remaining coins of Aethelstan of which the writer has complete details. This is because four of the seven coins from the hoard not retained by the British Museum are not described in sufficient detail in Grueber's report for it to be absolutely certain that they do not appear twice in the table, once in the Middle Temple columns and once among the coins from other sources, and by placing the seven in a separate column the possibility of statistical confusion is at least alleviated.

TABLE 2

The Coinage of Aethelstan

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Type combination obverse/reverse</i>	<i>Number in BM from hoard</i>	<i>Number other from hoard</i>	<i>Number other known</i>
Aethelhelm	Cross-pellets/Cross	2	-	-
	Cross-pellets/Cross-pellets	1	-	-
	Cross-wedges/Cross-pellets	1	-	-
	Cross(wedges)/Cross(wedges)	1	1	-
	Cross/Cross-pellets	-	-	1
	Cross-wedges/Cross-wedges	-	-	2
Eadgar	Bust/Cross crosslet	-	-	1
	Bust/Moneyer's name	-	-	2
	Cross-wedges/Cross-pellets	1	-	2
	Cross-wedges/Cross-wedges	-	-	2
	Cross-pellets/Cross-wedges	1	-	-
Eadnoth	Bust/Cross crosslet	-	-	1
	Letter A/Cross-pellets	-	-	4
	Letter A/Cross-wedges	-	-	2
	Cross/Cross	-	2	-
	Cross-pellets/Cross-pellets	1	-	-
Monn	Bust/Star of rays	-	-	1
	Bust/Moneyer's name	-	-	1
	Letter A/Moneyer's name	3	1	5
	Letter A/Cross-pellets	1	-	3
	Cross-pellets/Cross	1	-	6
	Cross-pellets/Cross-pellets	3	-	4
	Cross-wedges/Cross	-	-	1
	Cross-wedges/Cross-wedges	-	-	1
	Pellet/Cross of pellets	1	-	-
Reg(en)here or Rernher	Letter A/Cross-wedges	-	-	1
	Letter A/Cross	-	-	1
	Letter A/Pellet	-	-	2
Rerhelm	Letter A/Pellet	1	2	-
Torhthelm	Letter A/Cross-pellets	1	1	9
	Letter A/Cross moline	1	-	2
	Letter A/Cross-wedges	1	-	1
	Letter A/Cross	-	-	1
Tuduwine	Cross-wedges/Cross-pellets	-	-	1
	Cross-wedges/Cross-wedges	-	-	1
	Cross-wedges/Cross	1	-	-
	Cross-pellets/Cross-wedges	1	-	-
	Cross/Cross	-	-	1
No name (REX ANG)	Letter A/Letter Omega	7	-	8
No name (king's name twice)	Cross-wedges/Cross-wedges	-	-	2
	Letter A/Letter Omega	2	-	-
No name (uncertain reading)	Letter A/Cross	-	-	2
		32	7	71

With such small numbers of coins involved the evidential value of this one hoard is necessarily limited. The evidence of the table does however suggest under-representation in the hoard of coins of the moneyers Eadgar, Eadnoth and Monn on the one hand and of coins of the moneyers Regenhere and Torhthelm on the other. As Eadgar, Eadnoth and Monn were all moneyers of the Mercian kings who ruled in East Anglia before Aethelstan assumed the throne, a ready explanation for the under-representation in the hoard of their coins is that much, if not all, of their production belonged to the early years of Aethelstan's reign and that it was no longer prominent in circulation at the time that the Middle Temple hoard was deposited. It is noticeable that the hoard did not contain any of the coins by these moneyers with the king's bust on the obverse, which stylistic and typological continuity with previous Mercian issues place at the very beginning of Aethelstan's reign; and it is also relevant that these moneyers did not coin for Aethelstan's successor, while the moneyers Aethelhelm and Tuduwine, better represented in the hoard, did. The fact of Regenhere's coining for Aethelstan's successor suggests that the explanation for the under-representation of his coins in the hoard is that they were not struck until near the end of Aethelstan's reign; but only five of them are known, of rather disparate appearance, and it is not wise to hang any argument on their evidence alone. That leaves for discussion the coins of the moneyer Torhthelm, not well represented in the hoard; the coins of the moneyers Aethelhelm and Tuduwine, adequately represented; the three coins (from a single pair of dies) of the moneyer Rerhelm (= ?Reghelm); and a relatively large number of coins, about a quarter of the coins of this king in the hoard, which have the inscription REX ANG or the king's name itself on the reverse in place of the name of a moneyer.

Most of the known coins of Torhthelm have the type combination obverse letter A, reverse cross with pellet in each angle. Of this type combination the Middle Temple hoard supplies two specimens only, while nine other specimens are known. Torhthelm coined neither for the Mercian kings who preceded Aethelstan nor for the East Anglian king who succeeded him, and there is thus no clue to the date in the reign at which he was active. If it could be argued that his production belonged late in the reign and that that was the reason for the paucity of his coins in the hoard, here would be ground for supposing that Aethelstan's coinage and Aethelstan's reign extended for a definite period after the deposit of the Middle Temple hoard. But the presence among the Middle Temple coins of a coin of Torhthelm of the type combination obverse letter A, reverse cross moline, with an obverse die without an inner circle entirely akin to obverse dies of his without inner circles found in combination with cross-and-pellets and cross-and-wedges reverses, is a limiting factor, as is also a certain similarity of treatment as regards obverse dies with the type letter A within inner circle between coins of Torhthelm and coins of Monn. On balance it is preferable to regard Torhthelm as a mid-reign moneyer.

There is no difficulty in regarding Aethelhelm and Tuduwine as late moneyers relative to the rest, since their coins have in common a slight coarseness of execution, a less accurate handling of lettering and spelling, and a more random pairing of obverse and reverse types than is normal for the coinage; moreover, both moneyers coined for the next East Anglian king in much the same vein as under Aethelstan. The coins of Rerhelm can be associated by style and type with those of Regenhere and likewise must be late; the presence in the hoard of three die-duplicates suggests that they were struck not long before the hoard's deposit.

The series of coins with REX ANG reverse inscriptions share the type

combination obverse letter A (Alpha), reverse letter Omega, with coins of Aethelstan of the moneyer Monn, but are distinguished from those by the king's name in the obverse inscription being rendered EDELSTAN (with a normal D) instead of EDELSTANI (with a triangular D), and by the absence from the obverse of REX ANG coins of pellets on either side of the central letter A that are habitually present on coins of Monn. The REX ANG coins bear fleeting resemblances to coins of the moneyer Torthelm (one obverse die found with a REX ANG reverse is a die without an inner circle resembling obverse dies of Torthelm), but nearly all Torthelm's obverse dies again have the king's name rendered EDELSTANI. The use of a nominative form of the king's name on the REX ANG coins in preference to a genitive can be explained simply by syntax, Ethelstan in the nominative can be taken together with Rex Ang in the nominative, but the use on REX ANG coins of a normal D and on most coins of Torthelm of a triangular D is not so explicable and suggests that the coins belong to separate periods in the reign. The number of REX ANG coins in the Middle Temple hoard suggests that the REX ANG coins were struck relatively close to the time of its deposit, and they may perhaps represent the product of the minting workshop with which Torthelm had been associated after Torthelm himself had ceased to coin.

The Dorking hoard

The Dorking hoard, discovered in April 1817, is numismatists' main source of information on the coinage of Aethelwulf of Wessex and on the first type of the coinage of Aethelwulf's son and successor, Aethelberht. It had an East Anglian content which on the basis of Taylor Combe's contemporary listing can be summarized as in Table 3. The summary may not provide an entirely accurate picture of the hoard's East Anglian element, for there were a fair number of coins from the hoard which Taylor Combe never saw; he put the figure for these at about forty, and the indications are that the actual figure was higher.⁶ It is also difficult to go beyond the summary into a consideration of the individual coins, as of the twenty-two coins of

TABLE 3

The East Anglian content of the Dorking Hoard

<i>King</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Type combination (obv./rev.)</i>	<i>Number coins</i>
Aethelstan	Monn	Cross-and-pellets/cross-and-pellets	1
	Torhthelm	A/cross-and-pellets	1
	No moneyer	A/ (REX ANG legend)	1
			—
			3
Aethelweard	Aethelhelm	Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-pellets	2
		Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-wedges	3
	Dudda	A/cross-and-pellets	3
	Eadmund	A/cross-and-pellets	4
	Raegenhere	A/cross-and-pellets	1
	Twicga	Omega/cross-and-pellets	3
			—
			16
Eadmund	Dudda	Cross-on-three-legs/cross-and-pellets	1
	Eadmund	A/cross-and-pellets	2
			—
			3

East Anglian kings involved only two (Aethelweard *BMC* 24 and *BMC* 33) were selected by Taylor Combe for the British Museum collection and the remainder were dispersed.⁷ But Taylor Combe's publication of the hoard is specific as to kings, moneyers and type combinations represented, and the hoard sufficed to prove the correctness of a suggestion which Taylor Combe himself had previously made that coins traditionally attributed to an eighth-century king, Aethelheard of Wessex, should be attributed to an East Anglian king, Aethelweard of the mid ninth century. As he observed in his report on the hoard:

if the coins of Aethelweard...be compared with those of Eadmund, king of the East Angles, it will be found that not only the types of the two coinages agree, but that the names of several of the moneyers correspond; and even the formation of the letters, which are of a very peculiar shape, are precisely the same on the coins of both reigns.

The occurrence of coins with Aethelweard's name alongside coins of Eadmund in the Dorking hoard supplied the additional evidence which clinched the argument from the coins' types, inscriptions and styles.

If Aethelweard was an East Anglian king, when did he reign? The first consideration must be the date of this hoard's deposit. The Dorking hoard contained at least 105 coins of the last type of Aethelwulf of Wessex and at least 249 coins of his son, Aethelberht. As the coins of Aethelberht were all of one type and Aethelberht's other known substantive type was absent, the hoard must have been deposited measurably before the end of Aethelberht's reign. Aethelwulf died in 858 and Aethelberht in 866 and that might suggest a date of c.862 for the hoard's deposit; but the position is not quite that simple, for there is evidence that Aethelberht reigned in Kent as sub-king before his father's death and a consequent possibility that coins of his first type may have been struck from c.855 onwards. A date of deposit for the hoard of c.860, two years or so earlier than the c.862 date currently assigned it, would accord with the relatively poor representation in it of coins of Eadmund of East Anglia, whose date of accession is given as 855 by the biography of him mentioned earlier and who would therefore have been king and able to have coin struck in his name for six or seven years by c.862. At the same time there was no doubt some time lag before coins struck for circulation in East Anglia reached general circulation in southern England, and that is a factor that must be given its due weight.

Whether the hoard was deposited c.862 or a little earlier, its content is no way at variance with the documentary evidence that Eadmund became king of East Anglia in the mid 850s. The coinage of Aethelweard shows a progression into the coinage of Eadmund but no parallelism with it, there are no die-links between coins in their respective names, and a consideration of the names of Aethelweard's moneyers and of the types employed points plainly to Aethelweard's coinage filling the gap in the succession of East Anglian issues between those of Aethelstan and those of Eadmund and to its doing so without overlapping at either end. At the point where Aethelweard's coinage gives way to Eadmund's the similarity of the coinages is such that it can be said that they are the coinages of two successive kings. It cannot be said with the same certainty that Aethelweard succeeded Aethelstan, for although there is enough continuity from issues of Aethelstan to issues of Aethelweard to show that they are the work of the same moneyers or of the same minting organization in the same kingdom, the direct resemblance between the coins is less. If Aethelstan was still king c.840 and Aethelweard ceased to be king in 855, the most informed guess possible on the basis of the numismatic evidence would be that Aethelweard reigned c.848-c.855 and that Aethelstan's reign continued some time beyond c.840;

their reigns may have immediately succeeded each other and may have done so c.845 but at present that is conjecture only.

Taylor Combe records the presence in the hoard of coins of Eadmund of East Anglia by Aethelweard's moneyers Dudda and Eadmund, but not of coins of Eadmund by any other moneyers, even by the moneyers Aethelhelm and Twicga who had likewise worked for Aethelweard. Six of nine coins of Aethelhelm for Eadmund have provenances incompatible with their deriving from the Dorking hoard, but only five of fifteen coins of Twicga for Eadmund cannot be from Dorking and it would not be surprising if there were coins of this moneyer in the Dorking hoard which escaped Taylor Combe.

The Gravesend and Croydon hoards

The Gravesend hoard of 1838 was predominantly a hoard of coins struck in the six-year period 866-71 for Mercian and West Saxon rulers.⁹ It contained fifty-seven coins of Aethelred I of Wessex (king 866-71) and one coin of Aelfred (871-99), as against only three of Aethelwulf and none of Aethelbearht; it contained 434 coins of Burgred of Mercia (king 852-74 but coinage largely struck after c.865), as against one coin of an earlier Mercian king and none of Burgred's immediate predecessor, Berhtwulf; and it contained one coin of the last, post-866, type of Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury, alongside two coins of his of earlier types. Its East Anglian content is given in Table 4. Since the hoard was deposited not earlier than 871 (it

TABLE 4

The East Anglian content of the Gravesend Hoard

<i>King</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Type combination (obv./rev.)</i>	<i>Number coins</i>
Aethelstan	Monn	A/cross-and-pellets	1
		Cross-and-pellets/cross-and-pellets	1
			2
Aethelweard	Aethelhelm	Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-wedges	1
		Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-pellets	1
	Eadmund	A/cross-and-pellets	1
	Tudwine	A/cross-and-wedges	1
	Twicga	Omega/cross-and-pellets	1
			5
Eadmund	Aethelhelm	Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-pellets	1
		Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-wedges	3
	(A)ethelwulf	Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-pellets	2
		Cross-and-crescents/cross-and-wedges	1
	Baeghelm	A/cross-and-pellets	5
	Beornferth	Cross of crosses/cross-and-pellets	9
	Beornhaeh	A/cross-and-pellets	2
	Eadberht	A/cross-and-pellets	1
	Eadmund	A/cross-and-pellets	5
	Eadwald	A/cross-and-pellets	9
	Sigered	A/cross-and-pellets	5
	Twicga	Omega/cross-and-pellets	7
			50

contains a coin of Aelfred of Wessex who became king in that year) it is not of any direct assistance for the internal chronology of the coinage of Eadmund of East Anglia, which must have ceased on Eadmund's death in 870. It is when its content is compared with that of the Dorking and Croydon hoards that some light on Eadmund's coinage emerges. Alongside coins in Eadmund's name by moneyers such as Aethelhelm, Beornferth, Eadmund and (A)ethelwulf, struck on broad flans and employing a range of types echoing those in use under Aethelweard, there is a series by the moneyers Baeghelm, Beornhaeh, Eadberht, and Sigereð, on which the obverse type is always the letter A and the coins are struck on flans of reduced size. Coins of the first group mentioned have the obverse legend EADMVND REX AN and coins of the second group the legend EADMVND REX. One moneyer, Eadwald, has a production that cannot easily be fitted into this classification, and the groups are not quite exclusive, e.g. there are coins of moneyers of the first group with the obverse legend EADMVND REX only; but essentially they are different groups and must represent separate phases of Eadmund's coinage. The first group is evidently the earlier, as it has moneyer continuity with Aethelweard's reign as well as continuity of type and style. It follows that the second group is the later.

That conclusion is reinforced by the evidence of the Croydon hoard of 1862.⁹ This contained at least twenty-five coins of Aethelred I of Wessex and at least thirty-one coins of Aelfred, as well as many coins of Burgred of Mercia. Blunt and Dolley have dated its deposit to c.875, and although that date seems a little late, a date no earlier than c.873 seems certain. Apart from the coins mentioned, a single archiepiscopal coin of Canterbury, and stray Carolingian and Cufic coins, it contained twenty-four coins of rulers of East Anglia, of which two were of Aethelstan, four were of Aethelweard and eighteen were of Eadmund. The hoard's slightly later date of deposit than that of the Gravesend hoard has its effect on the representation of Eadmund's moneyers within it; the 'late' moneyer Sigereð is (by one coin) the moneyer best represented, and coins of him, Baeghelm, Beornhaeh, and Eadberht represent eight out of a total of eighteen, whereas they represent only thirteen of fifty in Gravesend.

The organization of the coinage

It can be seen from the discussion of the hoard evidence that although there is an interruption in the evidence for the coinage after the deposit of the Middle Temple hoard and before the start of the coinage in the name of Aethelweard, there is an element of continuity that runs through the coinage from before c.825 right down to 870. The continuity is principally a continuity in moneyers' names but it extends to types and styles, and where the evidence for the coinage and its dating is clearest (at the very beginning of Aethelstan's reign; under Aethelweard and in the early years of Eadmund's reign; and late in Eadmund's reign), the coins appear to be the product of one minting organization. This minting organization seems customarily to have relied on one die-cutting workshop only at any one time, and to have involved no more than four or five moneyers working concurrently. There is no evidence to show at what town they worked or indeed to show that all worked at the same town; but in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms farther south it was the practice in the ninth century to have mints only at such major centres as London, Canterbury and Rochester, and the probability is that in East Anglia the moneyers were established either at Ipswich or at Norwich, with the odds in Ipswich's favour because of the dearth of historical and archaeological evidence for Norwich before the beginning of the tenth century.

A few coins of Aethelstan, most significantly those of a moneyer Rernher or Reghere, are of idiosyncratic style which might suggest a different locale for their manufacture; but this moneyer of Aethelstan may be identified with the moneyer Raegenhere who worked for Aethelweard and issued coins that fit well with coins for Aethelweard by other moneyers. Their virtual absence from the Middle Temple hoard suggests that the Rernher or Reghere coins are among the last coins of Aethelstan, and if they belong late in his reign the peculiarity of their style may reflect a general decline in coin manufacturing standards also evident in coins for Aethelstan by Aethelhelm and Tuduwine, and not be a sign of their having been issued from a different mint.

Coins of Aethelstan, Aethelweard and Eadmund exhibit a range of combinations of type that can be set out as in Table 5. Little sense can be made of the various type combinations found on Aethelstan's coins, for it does not appear how the different types used by different moneyers relate to each other or relate chronologically, except at the very start of the coinage.

With Aethelweard the position is different, for if the four moneyers who continue into Eadmund's reign (and who therefore must have been working simultaneously late in Aethelweard's reign) are considered together, their production in terms of type can be set out thus:

Aethelhelm	Cross and crescent obvs./cross and pellet and cross and wedges revs.
Dudda	Letter A obvs./cross and pellets and cross and wedges revs.
Eadmund	Letter A obvs./cross and pellet revs.
Twicga	Letter omega obvs./cross and pellet revs.

Here, it would seem, are four moneyers working at the same time and using at least three clearly defined types. That the basic intention was that the production of each moneyer should be distinguished by type is made clearer by consideration of their production under Eadmund, which is:

Aethelhelm	Cross and crescent obvs./cross and pellet and cross and wedges revs.
Dudda	Cross on three legs obvs./cross and pellet revs.
Eadmund	Letter A obvs./cross and pellet revs.
Twicga	Letter Omega obvs./cross and pellet revs.

If under Aethelweard and at the beginning of Eadmund's reign the unity of the coinage is displayed by a conscious variation in type between the production of each moneyer, which necessarily implies some common organizational framework, at the end of Eadmund's reign its unity is as clearly demonstrated by uniformity of type. Of the coins with obverse legend EADMVND REX which form a late group in Eadmund's coinage, all are of the type combination letter A/cross and pellets except a single coin of the moneyer Beornferth.

Metallurgy and Weight

No analyses of the coinage's metallic content are as yet available, but it is necessary to record here one significant feature of its middle period. Coins of Aethelweard and those coins of Eadmund which were struck early in his reign are usually found in an excellent state of preservation. Edward Hawkins noted this in his publication of the Gravesend hoard, describing the coins of Aethelweard in it as being 'as fresh as if just struck', and this feature has been noted by other more recent writers. Hawkins himself sought to argue from this that Aethelweard 'was some

TABLE 5

*Combinations of Type
on the Coins of Aethelstan, Aethelweard, and Eadmund*

<i>Obv. type/rev. type</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>
<i>Aethelstan</i>	
Bust/cross crosslet	Eadgar, Eadnoth
Bust/name of moneyer across field	Eadgar, Monn
Bust/star of rays	Monn
Letter A/name of moneyer across field	Monn
Letter A/cross and pellets	Eadnoth, Monn, Torhthelm
Letter A/cross and wedges	Eadnoth, Reghere, Torhthelm
Letter A/cross	Iegenher, Torhthelm, uncertain
Letter A/cross moline	Torhthelm
Letter A/letter omega	No moneyer (REX ANG), double obverse
Letter A/pellet in circle	Rerhelm, Rernher
Cross/cross	Eadnoth, Tuduwine
Cross/cross and pellets	Aethelhelm
Cross and pellets/cross	Aethelhelm, Monn
Cross and pellets/cross and pellets	Eadnoth, Monn
Cross and pellets/cross and wedges	Eadgar, Tuduwine
Cross and wedges/cross	Monn, Tuduwine
Cross and wedges/cross and pellets	Aethelhelm, Eadgar, Tuduwine
Cross and wedges/cross and wedges	Eadgar, Ethilhelm, Monn, Tuduwine, double obverse
Cross of wedges/cross of pellets	Aethelhelm
Pellet in circle of pellets/ cross of pellets	Re(genhe?)re
<i>Aethelweard</i>	
Letter A/cross and pellets	Dudda, Eadmund, Regenhere
Letter A/cross and wedges	Dudda, Tuduwine
Cross and crescents/cross and pellets	Aethelhelm
Cross and crescents/cross and wedges	Aethelhelm
Cross and wedges/cross and crescents	Aethelhelm
Letter omega/cross and pellets	Twicga
<i>Eadmund</i>	
Letter A/cross and pellets	Baeghelm, Beornhaeh, Eadberht, Eadmund, Eadwald, Sigered
Letter A/cross and wedges	Sigered
Cross of three crosses/cross and pellets	Beornferth
Cross on three legs/cross and pellets	Dudda
Cross and crescents/cross and pellets	Aethelhelm, Aethelwulf
Cross and crescents/cross and wedges	Aethelhelm, Ethelwulf
Cross and pellets/cross and pellets	Baeghelm
Letter omega/cross and pellets	Twicga

unmentioned contemporary, perhaps coadjutor, of Edmund's, in his latter days', but it is clear that the reason for the coins' fresh appearance is not that they were struck late in Eadmund's reign and therefore near the time when the hoard was deposited, but that they were manufactured with unusual competence. Contemporary coins struck at Canterbury in the 850s for Kings Aethelwulf and Aethelbearn of Wessex and which have as their reverse type a moneyer's name arranged on the four limbs of a cross (the 'open cross' type) are characteristically brittle and are very frequently found chipped at the edges. As yet it is premature to suggest that the silver content of the East Anglian and Canterbury coinages differed, but it can at least be asserted that those responsible for the East Anglian coinage in the 850s were more successful metallurgists than their counterparts in Kent.

The histogram reproduced below (Fig.1) should be treated with caution, for the number of coins on which it is based is not very large, and the

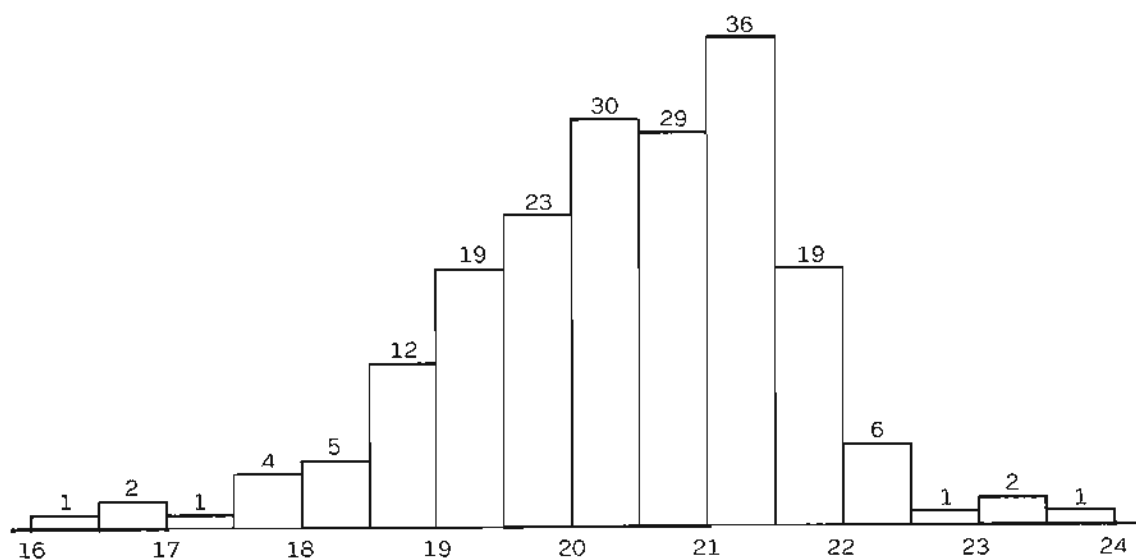


Fig. 1. Weight structure of the coinage

Numbers at the heads of columns are of whole coins, the weights of which fall within brackets of half a grain, commencing with 16.0-16.4 gr. and finishing with 23.5-23.9 gr.

coins from the Middle Temple hoard which dominate the material from Aethelstan's reign were cleaned on discovery and may have lost weight in the process. Nevertheless, the weights of most of the known coins fall within the bracket 18.5gr.-22.0gr., and the extreme upper limit of tolerance seems to have been just over 23.0gr.; a coin of Eadmund by the moneyer Eadwald (*SCBI Mack* 676 ex Parsons (1954) 116) which weighs 24.2gr. may be a cast. One may conjecture that the weight aimed at by the moneyers was one of around 21.0gr., with some permitted fluctuation upwards and downwards.

The reduction in flan size towards the end of Eadmund's reign may have been linked to a reduction in the coinage's weight, or even with a modest debasement; the number of weights recorded for later coins of Eadmund is insufficient to show whether their weight fell or not.

Number of Dies Employed to strike the Coinage

The corpus of East Anglian coins which concludes this paper gives the following totals of obverse dies, reverse dies, and surviving coins for each king:

Aethelstan	91 obverses	91 reverses	109 coins
Aethelweard	31 obverses	30 reverses	42 coins
Eadmund	91 obverses	102 reverses	126 coins

A detailed breakdown of the figures by reign and moneyer is appended. It is not possible to draw any particular conclusions for Aethelstan's reign, for the survival rate both of coins and of dies is low (the figures for the moneyer Torthelm illustrate this vividly) but for Aethelweard and Eadmund

TABLE 6

The Number of Dies employed

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Obverses</i>	<i>Reverses</i>	<i>Coins</i>
Aethelstan	Aethelhelm	7	8	9
	Eadgar	7	6	9
	Eadnoth	8	8	10
	Monn	25	23	30
	Re(ge)nhere (or Rernher)	5	5	5
	Rerhelm	1	1	3
	Torhthelm	15	15	16
	Tuduwine	5	5	5
	No moneyer (REX ANG)	13	15	16
	No moneyer (king's name twice)	3	3	4
	No moneyer (uncertain)	2	2?	2
		<hr/> 91	<hr/> 91	<hr/> 109
Aethelweard	Aethelhelm	8	9	12
	Dudda	5	5	10
	Eadmund	9	8	10
	Raegenhere	2	2	2
	Tuduwine	1	1	1
	Twicga	6	5	7
		<hr/> 31	<hr/> 30	<hr/> 42
Eadmund	(A)ethelhelm	7	10	10
	Baeghelm	9	9	9
	Beornferth	13	14	21
	Beornhaeh	2	5	5
	Dudda	2	3	3
	Eadberht	2	2	2
	Eadmund	14	15	17
	Eadwald	13	14	20
	Ethelwulf	10	10	13
	Sigered	8	8	9
	Twicga	11	12	17
		<hr/> 91	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 126
Total for all reigns		<hr/> 213	<hr/> 223	<hr/> 277

the evidence is rather better. In both reigns the evidence suggests that one obverse die was issued with one reverse die, rather than with two reverse dies as in the later Anglo-Saxon period; this emerges from the figures for Twicga in both reigns, for Dudda in Aethelweard's reign and for Beornferth in Eadmund's reign.

List of the East Anglian Coinage

This list aims to include all coins of Kings Aethelstan, Aethelweard and Eadmund of which an illustration is available or which are in public or private collections accessible to the author. It also cites coins that have passed through major London sales but of which no illustration is available.

The coins are listed by reign, by moneyer within each reign, and by type combination within each moneyer's production. Within the type combination for the particular moneyer each combination of dies is assigned a Roman number and each coin struck from that pair of dies is assigned an Arabic number. Type combinations are printed in italics, with the obverse type preceding the reverse type.

Obverse and reverse inscriptions are given in full, with the obverse legend first. It has however been necessary to normalise all letter forms to their present-day equivalents, and in consequence, although the coin legends given convey the sense and spelling of the legends on the coins, they do not convey anything further and serious students must consult the coins themselves or the publications in which they are illustrated. Some attempt has been made to record the presence of pellet stops in the legends but here too it is advisable to make a further check.

It is convenient to record here that

- (i) the letter *thorn*, used on all coins of Aethelweard and on many coins of Aethelstan as the *th* element in the king's name, is throughout rendered by a capital D.
- (ii) the letter M is found on the coins both in a rounded form and in a straight form, and although no distinction is made in the lists between these two forms of the letter, the presence on coins of Aethelstan of the letter M in a rounded form is a reliable indicator that such coins belong early in his reign.
- (iii) an inverted letter L is used on coins of Eadmund by the moneyer Baeghelm to indicate the letter G of Baeghelm. I have thought it proper in this instance to render it by the letter G rather than by the letter L, for on these coins of Baeghelm the letter L of Baeghelm is rendered by a normal L and it was clearly the engraver's intention to distinguish the G from the L.
- (iv) Similarly, where inscriptions incorporate the letters H and N and the engraver has positioned the bar between the two upright strokes in a way so as to make it ambiguous which letter is intended, I have looked to the sense of the inscription and rendered the letter as H or as N accordingly rather than take the letter form at its literal meaning.

Where coins have nineteenth-century sale catalogue provenances I have appended the name of the buyer of the coin at sales where the buyer was a private collector rather than a dealer, for this often clarifies the coin's pedigree. I have also given the name of the buyer even if he was a dealer where the coin's appearance at a particular sale was its last, as the buyer's name may provide a clue to the coin's fate.¹⁰

In compiling the list my main debt has been to Mr C.E.Blunt who with his unvarying kindness made available to me his records of East Anglian coins of this series. I am indebted to a number of other friends and fellow numismatists and I must mention more particularly Mr G.P.Dyer, Librarian and Curator of the Royal Mint, and Dr Bernd Kluge, of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, for allowing me to record details of coins under their care which have not otherwise been published.

I must also record a degree of indebtedness to Daniel Henry Haigh's *An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles*, published as long ago as 1845, the plates of which illustrate forty-five coins from the period under review and are helpful in identifying coins known today with coins known in the 1840s. Haigh lists the collections from which his illustrations were drawn on p.viii of the preface to his book, and it is convenient to note here that although the collector J.D.Cuff is there credited with owning the coins illustrated on Plate I, nos. 5, 6, 12, 13; Plate II, nos. 6, 8, 9; and Plate III, nos. 9 and 10, the reference to Plate III is erroneous and the true reference is to Plate IV, nos. 9 and 10.

NOTES

1. C.E.Blunt, C.S.S.Lyon and B.H.I.H.Stewart, 'The coinage of Southern England, 796-840', *BNJ* 32 (1963), 1-74. East Anglian coins of the first quarter of the ninth century are discussed on pp.25-30.
2. H.E.Pagan and N.G.Rhodes, 'Anglo-Saxon coins in the Westminster School collection', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 11-26. The Delgany hoard is considered on pp.11-22 and its date of deposit on pp.14-15; the latest coins struck at the East Anglian mint were coins of Beornwulf of Mercia (823-25) by the moneyers Eadnoth and Monna.
3. H.E.Pagan, 'The "Suffolk" find of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon pence: a further note', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 128-30. See also Blunt, Lyon and Stewart, pp.43-45.
4. H.A.Grueber, 'A find of Anglo-Saxon coins', *NC* 3rd ser.14 (1894), 29-76. For the find spot of the hoard, not revealed at the time, see now *CH* 4 (1978), entry no.342 on p.104.
5. In his Presidential Address to the British Numismatic Society in 1968, *BNJ* 37 (1968), 216-38, especially 219-25. The case for supposing that the coins in question mostly predate 839 is not quite as strong as is there suggested, for of the coins by the Rochester moneyers Beagmund and Dun in Aethelwulf's name which seemed to Lyon disproportionately numerous, those by Dun are from one pair of dies only and Beagmund's coins include both die-duplicates and die-linked specimens. A paragraph in Grueber's paper cited which suggests that the incidence of die-duplication and die-linkage within the hoard was small is distinctly misleading.
6. T.Combe, 'An account of some Anglo-Saxon pennies found at Dorking in Surrey', *Archaeologia*, 19 (1821), 109-19. A group of coins evidently from the hoard and not listed by Combe appeared as lots 44-58 in a sale at Sotheby's as early as 11-12 April 1820; the coins were sold anonymously, but contemporary annotated copies of the catalogue record the vendor as 'Engleheart, Doctors' Commons', i.e. Nathaniel Brown Engleheart, a proctor in Doctors' Commons, and research will no doubt

- show that he had some connection with Dorking. See C.E.Blunt, 'A small parcel from the Dorking (1817) hoard', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 179, for another group of coins which escaped Combe.
7. Many of the coins which Combe did not select appear in the catalogue of the collection of 'an eminent collector', sold at Sotheby's 21-23 March 1831; the collection was sold by Charles Barclay, of Bury Hill, Surrey, and numismatists have identified him as the 'eminent collector', but in fact the collection had been made by Charles Barclay's father, Robert (1751-1830), and was dispersed following Robert's death. Robert Barclay had purchased 553 coins from the Dorking hoard shortly after its discovery (Combe, p.119).
 8. E.Hawkins, 'On some Saxon coins discovered near Gravesend in 1838', *NC* 3 (1841), 14-34. It is convenient to record here the existence of an engraving of six coins from the hoard which shortly after Hawkins's publication of it were in the possession of the local Gravesend collector William Crafter and are presumably additional to those listed by Hawkins; the coins are of Burgred of Mercia (*BMC* type A, moneyer Guthere, and type D, moneyer Cenred), Aethelred I of Wessex (usual lunette type, moneyer Dudd), Aethelweard of East Anglia (cross and crescents/cross and crescents, moneyer Aethelhelm, same dies and possibly same coin as *SCBI Mack* 675), and Eadmund of East Anglia (cross of three crosses/cross and pellets, moneyer Beornferth, same dies and possibly same coin as *SCBI Cambridge* 452, and cross and crescents/cross and wedges, moneyer Ethelwulf, cf. *BMC* 71, 72). The engraving is captioned 'discovered in Decr.1838, near Perry Street, Gravesend, with 552 others, described in the 3rd vol. of the Numismatic Chronicle p.14'; the only copy of it known to the writer is loose inside a volume of accounts preserved with the Royal Numismatic Society's archives, and it came to his notice too late to use it in connection with the corpus of East Anglian coins given later in this paper.
 9. C.E.Blunt and R.H.M.Dolley, 'The hoard evidence for the coins of Alfred', *BNJ* 29 (1958-59), 220-47, especially 222-34.
 10. The English portion of the Wigan collection, dispersed by private treaty in the 1870s following the death of Edward Wigan (1823-71), a famous collector of Roman coins, was not formed by him but by his uncle, John Alfred Wigan, a wealthy hop merchant in Kent who was already actively collecting coins in the 1830s. The elder Wigan's numismatic library surfaced quite unexpectedly in a country book sale in Somerset in the 1970s, but the writer understood at the time from Mr D.R.D.Edmunds, who attended the sale and purchased the bulk of the books, that these contained no annotations or other matter bearing on the provenances of Wigan's coins.

LIST OF THE COINS

AETHELSTAN

Coins struck c.827 - c.840 or later

Moneyer Aethelhelm (Ethilhelm)

Cross and pellets/cross

- I. +EADEL.STAN RE | AEDELHELM MO
 1. BMA 237 ex Middle Temple hoard. 15.2gr. (slightly chipped at edge).
- II. Same obverse die | AEDELHE.L.M MO
 1. BMA 236 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.3gr.

Cross and pellets/cross and pellets

- I. +EADELSTAN RE | EDEALHE.LM MO
 1. BMA 238 ex Middle Temple hoard. 14.8gr. (slightly chipped).

Cross and wedges/cross and pellets

- I. [+]AEDELSTAN DE | AED[]ELM M.O:N
 1. BMA 239 ex Middle Temple hoard. 20.3gr. (chipped).

Cross of wedges/cross of wedges

- I. +AEDELSAN RE | AEDELHEM MO
 1. BMA 240 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.8gr. [Pl.1,1]
 2. SCBI East Anglia 1070 (Norwich Castle Museum) bt Baldwin 1955, presumably specimen in their stock 1951 ex W.C.Wells, probably ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.5gr.

Cross/cross and pellets

- I. +AEDELSAN RE | AEDEL.HELM.MO
 1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935). 14.6gr. (chipped).

Cross and wedges/cross and wedges

- I. +AEDELSTAN RE | EDILHELM MON
 1. SCBI Oxford 59, in Bodleian Library collection by 1894. 18.6gr.
- II. +AEDILSTAN RE | EDIL.HELM MON
 1. Bergne (1873) 90 bt Pearson ex Cuff (1854) 344 bt Bergne. Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.II,9.
 A coin of this type, obverse legend +AEDILSTAN REX (sic), reverse legend +EDILHELM MON, appeared in the Allen sale (1898) 191 bt Spink, presumably ex Croydon hoard. Grantley (1944) 907 (not ill) ex Sir John Evans, was of this type and had similar legends.

Moneyer Eadgar

Bust left/cross crosslet

I. +EDELTTAN RG | +E.ADGAR MON

1. BMC 4 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.17,5 and Haigh Pl.I,3. 20.3gr. (chipped on edge). [Pl.1,2]

Bust right/moneyer's name in four lines

I. +EDEL.STAN REX | EA./DGAR/MONE/.T.A

1. BMA 230 ex Sir John Evans ex Montagu (1895) 341 ex Marsham (1888) 97 ex J.A.Wigan ex Dymock (1858) 73 bt Wigan. 19.8gr. (chipped). [Pl.1,3]

II. +EDELSTAN REX | +EA./DG.AR/MONE/.T.A.

1. SCBI Norweb 106 ex Lockett (1956) 2671 (ill) ex Bascom (1914) 25 ex Rashleigh (1909) 110 ex Cuff (1854) 349 bt Rashleigh ex W.B.Rich (MS note in grangerised Ruding plates in possession Messrs Spink 1975). Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.I,5 and Ruding Pl.C,3. 20.0gr.

Cross and wedges/cross and pellets

I. +EDELSTAN RE | +EADGAR MONE

1. BMA 231 ex Sir John Evans ex Allen (1898) 192 (ill) ex Croydon hoard. 21.1gr. [Pl.1,4]
2. J.A.Wigan (in 1845). Ill. Haigh Pl.II,11.

II. +EDELSTAN RE | same reverse die

1. BMA 232 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.7gr.

Cross and wedges/cross and wedges

I. +EDELSTAN RE | +EADGAR MONE

1. BMC 6 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,10 and Haigh Pl.II,10. 19.8gr.
2. Ryan (1952) 650 (ill) ex Grantley (1944) 906. Slightly cracked. The existence of a Tyssen specimen of this variety was noted by Ruding.

Cross and pellets/cross and wedges

I. +EDELSTAN RE | +EADGAR MONE

1. BMA 233 ex Middle Temple hoard. 17.5gr.

Moneyer Eadnoth

Bust right/cross crosslet

I. +EDELSTAN REX | +EADNOD MONET

1. BMA 234 ex Sir John Evans ex Dymock (1858) 72 bt Wigan ex Joseph Barratt, presumably ex Dimsdale (1824) 613. Ill. as Dymock Haigh Pl.I,4. 21.5gr. [Pl.1,5]

Letter A/cross and pellets

I. +EDEL.STAN | +EADNOD MO (no inner circle on obv.)

1. SCBI Glasgow 415 ex Dr William Hunter (d.1783). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,3. 18.6gr.

II. +EDELSTANI | +EADNOD MO

1. P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1916) 902 (ill) bt Spink. 19.8gr.
2. SCBI American Collections 229 (American Numismatic Society) ex Lockett (1955) 410 ex 'Astronomer' (F.McClean) (1906) 106 (this provenance noted in Lockett's copy of 'Astronomer' catalogue) ex Montagu (1895) 343 ex J.A.Wigan. 21.4gr. (chipped).

A coin with the same obverse reading as these two coins but with the A of EADNOD upside down is ill. Fountaine Pl.II,22.

III. +INATSLEDE | +E.ADNOD MO

1. BMC 9 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,5 and Haigh Pl.I,14. 20.7gr. (slight crack). [Pl.1,6]

Letter A/cross and wedges

I. +EDELSTANI | +EADNOD MON

1. BMC 8 ex S.Tyssen (1802) ex Rev.R.Southgate (1795). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,6 and Haigh Pl.II,2. 20.7gr.

II. +EDELSTANI | +EADNOD MON

1. Specimen seen Messrs Baldwin 1976 (in Mr A.H.F.Baldwin's private collection 1958). Chipped.

There was a fragmentary coin of this moneyer and type combination in the Walters sale (1932) lot 42; and Brumell (1850) 9 bt Cureton ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 38, 'slightly chipped but very fine and rare', seems also to have been of this description.

Cross/cross

I. +EDELSTANI | +EADNOD MON

1. BMC 7 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,8 and Haigh Pl.II,3. 21.5gr.
2. C.E.Blunt ex Duke of Argyll ex Sir John Evans, probably ex Middle Temple hoard. Chipped.

There was another specimen of this moneyer and type in the Middle Temple hoard but it cannot be traced.

Cross and pellets/cross and pellets

I. +EDELSTAN RE A | +EDNOD MRHA

1. BMA 235 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.2gr. [Pl.1,7]

*Moneyer Monn**Bust right/star of rays*

I. +EDELSTAN REX | +MONN MON.ETA

1. BM ex Lockett (1955) 409 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) (ill) 109 ex Cuff (1854) 348. Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.I,6 and Ruding Pl.C,2. 21.9gr. [Pl.1,8]

Bust right/moneyer's name in three lines

I. +EDELSTAN REX | +MON/MONE/TA (many pellets in legend and field)

1. BMC 5 ex Rev W.Cotterell (1877). 18.8gr. [Pl.1,9]

Letter A/moneyer's name in three lines

- I. +ED.ELSTANI | MOM/+MOME/TA (many pellets in legend and field)
1. BMC 13 ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 41. Ill. Haigh Pl.I,7. 20.8gr.
 2. BM ex Lockett (1955) 411 (ill) ex NCirc July-Aug 1917, no.54176. 17.5gr.
 3. Ryan (1952) 651 (ill) ex Grantley (1944) 905 ex L.A.Lawrence.
- II. +E:D:E:L.S.T.A.N:I: | MON/+MONE/TA (many pellets in legend and field)
1. BMA 241 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.3gr. [Pl.1,10]
 2. C.E.Blunt ex Baldwin 1951 ex W.C.Wells.
- III. +EDE.LSTAN:I | MON/MONE/TA (many pellets in legend and field)
1. BMA 242 ex Middle Temple hoard. 21.8gr.
- IV. +EDEL.S.T.A.N.I | MON/+MOME/TA (many pellets in legend and field)
1. BMA 243 ex Middle Temple hoard. Broken and mended.
- V. Same obverse die | same reverse die as BMA 242 above.
1. Seen Messrs Baldwin 1976 ex Grantley (1944) 910 bt by him from Spink 1900.

Letter A/cross and pellets

- I. +EDELSTANI | +MONN MONETA
1. Bird (1974) 58 (ill). 21.1gr. (slight edge crack)
- II. +EDELSTANI | +MONN MONETA
1. BMC 12 ex Gravesend hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.II,1. 20.3gr. [Pl.1,11]
- III. +EDEL.STANI | +MONN MONET.A.
1. SCBI Norweb 108 ex Ryan (1952) 652 (ill). 21.1gr.
- IV. +EDELSTANI | +MON MONE:T.
1. BMA 244 ex Middle Temple hoard. 21.5gr.

Cross and pellets/cross

- I. AEDILSTAN R | MON MONET
1. BMA 249 ex Sir John Evans, on Evans's ticket saying 'Montagu 1896' but apparently not in Montagu sale. 19.0gr. (slightly chipped).
- II. A:EDIL.ST.A.N R. | MON MON:ET
1. BMA 250 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.0gr.
- III. AEDILSTAN R | MON IHONET
1. SCBI Cambridge 448 ex A.W.Young ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1913) 307 ex Nunn (1896) 59 ex Montagu (1895) 347 bt Nunn ex Marsham (1888) 96. 20.7gr.
- IV. AEDILSTAN R | MON MO.N:ET
1. Seen Messrs Baldwin 1976 ex Thorburn (1918) 32 ex Montagu (1895) 348 ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 89 ex Cuff (1854) 342 bt Bergne. Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.II,6.

2. Royal Mint, provenance not recorded. 20.2gr.

Loscombe (1855) 1043 had similar legends and was purchased by Brice, and it is possible that its history may have got confused with that of the coin originating with Cuff. Murchison (1866) 122 had the same legends and reverse stops as the Cuff coin; and Boyne (1896) 1128 was of this type, although the Boyne catalogue renders its obverse legend as AEDILSTAN RA.

V. +EADELSTAN | +MON MONET

1. BMA 248 purchased Messrs Rollin 1912 ex Sotheby sale 19-21 Dec 1911 lot 183, probably ex Dymock (1858) 75 ex Loscombe (1855) 1044 bt Dymock ex Sevington hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.II,5 as Loscombe. 19.8gr. [Pl.1,12]

A coin with similar readings but with a stop between the N and E of MONET is listed *NCirc* Nov-Dec 1919 no.76228 and described there as having been found 'at an old malting at Garboldisham, Norfolk'.

VI. AD+ELSAN RE | +MON MON:ET

1. Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague.

A coin apparently of this type combination and with the legends EADELSTAN and MONN MONETA appeared in the Doulton sale (1888) lot 10, but it is the writer's opinion that this was actually a coin of the type combination cross and pellets/cross and pellets and that it should be equated with the coin now in Berlin ex Murdoch listed below.

Cross and pellets/cross and pellets

I. AIEDELSTAN RE | +MON MONET

1. BMC 10 ex Dorking hoard. 18.8gr.

II. AIEDELSTAN RE | same reverse die

1. BMA 245 ex Middle Temple hoard. 20.0gr.

III. Same obverse die | +MON MONET

1. BMA 246 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.5gr. (edge chipped).

2. *SCBI Glasgow* 416 ex T.Coats ex J.A.Wigan, and very probably ex Cuff (1854) 345 bt Wigan. 21.0gr.

IV. AEDILSTAN D | MON MONET

1. BMC 11 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,9. 20.6gr.

Dimsdale (1824) 215 was of this type and described by this Ruding reference, but it may well not have been from these dies.

V. +EADELSTAN | +MON MONET

1. BMA 247 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.4gr.

VI. Same obverse die | +MONN MONETA

1. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin ex Murdoch (1903) 46a. 19.1gr.

Cross and wedges/cross

I. AEDELSTA RE | +MON MONET

1. *SCBI Copenhagen* 95 ex L.E.Bruun ex Montagu (1895) 349 bt Bruun ex Shepherd (1885) 34, described in the Shepherd catalogue as 'found near Rochester'; this was before 1874, for the Rev E.J.Shepherd who formed the collection died in that year. 19.7gr.

Cross and wedges/cross and wedges

I. AEDILSTAN R | MON MON*ET (crude style)

1. SCBI Cambridge 449 ex T.J.G.Duncanson ex F.G.Smart ex Rashleigh (1909) 111 ex Cuff (1854) 343. 21.Ogr.

Moneyer Regenhere or Rernher

Pellet within dotted circle/cross of pellets

I.]LYTAN.[| RE[]ERE. (no inner circle on rev.)

1. BMA 257 ex Middle Temple hoard. Fragment. The reverse reading, and attribution to this moneyer, is not certain, for a large part of the coin is missing, but it seems most likely that the reading was RE[GENH]ERE or similar. [Pl.1,13]

Letter A/cross and wedges

I. +EDELSTAN RE | REG''HERE MI (no inner circles)

1. BM acquired from Mrs Wright 1949, found at Hundon, Suffolk. 19.0gr. (chipped). [Pl.1,14]

Letter A/cross

I. +EDELHYTR. | +IEGEHRER M (no inner circle on obv.)

1. BMC 35 ex W.J.Webster (dealer) 1869. 20.7gr.

Letter A/pellet

I. +EDELSTNI | +RERNHER (no inner circle on obv.)

1. BMC 14 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,1 and Haigh Pl.1,9. Probably the coin of this type in James West's collection in 1744 (impression in MS catalogue of West's coins at Royal Mint). 20.8gr.

There was a similar coin in the Dimsdale sale (1824) lot 214.

II. +EDELSTNI | +ERHNPER (no inner circle on obv.)

1. BMC 15 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). 21.5gr. [Pl.1,15]

Moneyer Rerhelm

Letter A/pellet

I. +EDELVTN R | +RERHELM (no inner circle on obv.)

1. BMA 251 ex Middle Temple hoard. 20.2gr. [Pl.1,16]
2. SCBI Oxford 58 ex Lockett (1960) 3602 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.2gr. (chipped on edge).
3. C.E.Blunt ex Lockett (1955) 412 ex Sir John Evans ex Middle Temple hoard. Weight given Lockett cat 21½gr.

Moneyer Torhthelm

Letter A/cross and pellets

I. +EDELSTANI | +ORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)

1. *BMC* 18 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,2. 21.2gr. [Pl.1,17]
- II. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)
 1. *BMC* 17 ex Bank of England (1877) ex Robert Austen (d.1797). Probably the coin of this type in James West's collection in 1744 (impression in MS catalogue of West's coins at Royal Mint). 22.2gr.
- III. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)
 1. BMA 252 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.5gr. (chipped).
- IV. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)
 1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935) ex Montagu (1895) 342 (ill) ex Maynard (1885) 17. 19.7gr.

Coins with the same type combination and with the same misspelled obverse legend occurred in the Murchison sale (1866) lot 121 and the Loscombe sale (1855) lot 1041, and it may be that the BM coin should be equated with either or both of these.
- V. +EDELSTANI (three | +TORHTELM (no inner circle on obv.)
wedges in legend)
 1. *NCirc* July-Aug 1955 no.17305 ex Duke of Argyll ex Grantley (1944) 909 (ill), no doubt ex Sotheby 6-7 April 1899 lot 198 ex Nunn (1896) 61 ex Marsham (1888) 94 ex J.A.Wigan ex Cuff (1854) 340 bt Wigan, and the coin ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.I,12.
- VI. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM
 1. *BMC* 16 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,4. 18.7gr.
- VII. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM
 1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935) ex Reynolds (1914) 16 (ill) ex O'Hagan (1907) 308 (ill). 19.5gr.
- VIII. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM
 1. *SCBI Mack* 674 ex Parsons (1954) 115 (ill). 19.4gr.
 2. Bergne (1873) 87 bt Williamson, ex Dymock (1858) 76 bt Bergne, which was ex Cuff (noted as such in Dymock MS now in possession Mr C.E. Blunt), and therefore either Cuff (1854) 338 or Cuff (1854) 339. Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.I,13.
- IX. +EDELSTANI (two | +TORHTELM (no inner circle on obv.)
wedges after T)
 1. Dr J.Lavertine ex Raynes ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1917) 1624 (ill) bt Brushfield ex Lord Middleton (1910) 17, and therefore possibly from the collection formed by Lord Middleton's ancestor Francis Willoughby (d.1672).

Letter A/cross moline

- I. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)
 1. *SCBI Copenhagen* 93 ex L.E.Bruun ex Montagu (1895) 344 bt Bruun ex Pownall (1887) 30, found at Bulwick, Northants c.1864. 20.7gr.
- II. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTELM (no inner circle on obv.)
 1. BMA 254 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.5gr. [Pl.1,18]

III. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)

1. Bonham 4 December 1980 lot 705 (ill).

Letter A/cross and wedges

I. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)

1. BMA 253 ex Middle Temple hoard. 20.6gr.

II. +EDELSTANI | +TORHTHELM (no inner circle on obv.)

1. Brown ('now Brown' noted in Dymock MS) ex Dymock (privately). Ill. as Dymock Haigh Pl.I,11.

A coin in the Duke of Devonshire sale (1844) lot 37, bt Dymock, may perhaps have been the coin listed above.

Letter A/cross

I. +EDELSTAN·I | +TORHTHELM

1. SCBI *American Collections* 230 (American Numismatic Society) bt from Seaby 1959, ex Drabble (1939) 358 (ill). 20.3gr.

Moneyer Tuduwine

Cross and wedges/cross and pellets

I. +EDEL·STAN·R·E | TVDVPINE M.O

1. Lockett (1958) 2672 (ill) ex Bliss (1916) 54 (ill) ex Montagu (1895) 350 ex Shepherd (1885) 33 ex Cuff (1854) 346. Weight given Lockett cat as 20½gr.

Cross and wedges/cross and wedges

I. +AE·DEL·STAN RE | TVDVPINE M.O

1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935), ultimately ex Cuff (1854) 347 bt Dymock. Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.II,8. The intervening history of the coin is not documented, but it seems likely that it was the coin listed *NCirc* Sept-Oct. 1921 no.96440 ex C.M.Crompton-Roberts, and it may also have been the coin in the Murchison sale (1866) lot 123. 20.5gr. [Pl.I,19]

Cross and wedges/cross

I. A·EDELSTAN RE. | TVDVPINE MO

1. BMA 256 ex Middle Temple hoard. 17.5gr. (chipped). Nunn (1896) 60 is described as a coin of these types and with legends AEDELSTAN R and TVDVPINE MO.

Cross and pellets/cross and wedges

I. +EAEDEL·STAN RE | TVDVPINE MO

1. BMA 255 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.5gr.

Cross/cross

I. AEDEL·STAN RE | TVDVPINE MO

1. Clonterbrook Trust (1974) 17 (ill) ex Lockett (1960) 3604 ex Napier (1916) 19 ex Reynolds (1914) 15 ex Rashleigh (1909) 112 ex Loscombe (1855) 1042 bt Rashleigh ex Sevington hoard. Ill. as Loscombe Haigh Pl.II,4. 20.3gr.

No moneyer. REX ANG reverses.

Letter A/Letter Omega

- I. +E.DEGSTA.N | +REX.A.NG
(N rendered by inverted V and I)
1. Glendining 13 March 1974 lot 68 (ill) ex C.Anthony ex Drabble (1939) 357 (ill). Weight given Drabble cat. 18½gr.
- II. Same obverse die | +REX A.NG (N rendered by inverted V and I)
1. SCBI Norweb 107. 19.7gr.
- III. +EDE.G.STA.N | +REX ANG (N rendered by inverted V and I)
1. SCBI Copenhagen 94 ex L.E.Bruun ex 'Astronomer' (F.McClean) (1906) 105 (ill) ex Montagu (1895) 346 (ill) ex Marsham (1888) 95. 21.0gr.
- IV. +EDEGSTAN | +REX. A.NG (N rendered by inverted V and I)
1. SCBI American Collections 228 (H.S.Bareford = Bareford (1981) 442) ex Lockett (1960) 3603 (ill) ex Bliss (1916) 53 (ill) ex Montagu (1895) 345 ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 88, and presumably ex Cuff (1854) 341 bt Bergne. 21.8gr.
- V. +EDELSTANI (N rendered by inverted V and I, separated by a pellet) | +R.EX ANG (wedge after A)
1. BMC 19 ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 39. Ill. Haigh Pl.I,8. 21.0gr.
- VI. +EDEGSTAN | +REX.A.NG (N rendered by inverted V and I)
1. BMA 258 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.5gr.
2. BMC 20 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,7. 21.0gr.
- VII. +EDELSTAN | +REX.ANG (wedges in legend)
1. BMA 259 ex Middle Temple hoard. 21.5gr.
- VIII. +EDELSTA.N | +REX A.NG
1. BMA 260 ex Middle Temple hoard. 18.5gr.
- IX.]LSTAN[|]REX.A[
1. BMA 261 ex Middle Temple hoard. Fragment.
- X. +EDEGSTAN | +REX A.NG (N rendered by inverted V)
1. BMA 263 ex Sir John Evans. 18.3gr. (slightly chipped). [Pl.1,20]
- XI. +EDELSTAN | +REX ANG (wedges in legend)
1. BMA 262 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.4gr.
- XII. Same obverse die | +REX ANG (N rendered by inverted V and I)
1. C.S.S.Lyon ex Ryan (1952) 653 (ill), said in Ryan catalogue to be ex Carlyon-Britton, and therefore presumably Mann (1917) 144 bt Gantz ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1913) 308 bt Mann. 18.4gr. (chipped).
- XIII. +EDELSTAN | +R.E.X..A.NG (no inner circles)
1. BMA 265 ex Middle Temple hoard. 20.3gr. [Pl.1,21]

XIV. +E.DEL.STAN | +REX.AN.G (wedges in legend)

1. BM E4252. 20.3gr. (slight edge chip).

XV. +E.DEGSTAN | +R..EX.A.NG
(N rendered by
inverted V and I)

1. BMA 264 ex Middle Temple hoard. 20.0gr. [Pl.1,22]

The following coins were also of this type combination: Nunn (1896) 62, with edge slightly broken; Murchison (1866) 120 ex Dymock (1858) 74 ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 40, with obverse reading EDEGSTAN; and Boyne (1896) 1127, with obverse reading EDEGSTAN also, probably ex Christmas (1864) 36 bt Boyne, although the obverse legend is given in Christmas cat. as ETHELSTANI (sic).

No moneyer. King's name on both sides of coin.

Cross and wedges/cross and wedges

I. +EDELSTAN RE | +EDELSTAN RE
(wedge after E
of RE)

1. BM ex Lockett (1955) 413 ex Grantley (1944) 908, bt by Grantley from Spink 1900 and therefore Sotheby 6-7 Apr. 1899 lot 197 ex Bateman Heirlooms (1893) 268 bt Napier ex Lewin Sheppard (1861) 81 bt Bateman. Ill. as Sheppard Haigh Pl.II,12. 20.0gr. [Pl.1,23]

A specimen of this variety is cited Ruding, I, 121, note 5, as being in G.H.Barker's collection; it may well be identical with Lewin Sheppard's coin, for Lewin Sheppard died in the early 1820s and the collection was not substantially added to between then and 1861.

II. +EDELSTCN REX | +EDELSTANIA

1. SCBI *West Country Museums* 347 (Salisbury Museum) ex Dr H.P.Blackmore (before 1929). 17.2gr.

No moneyer. King's name on both sides.

Letter A/letter Omega

I. +EDEGSTAN | +EDELSTAN REX (legend inverted and letters oddly formed)

1. BMA 266 ex Middle Temple hoard. 19.9gr. [Pl.1,24]
2. BMA 267 ex Middle Temple hoard. 21.2gr.

King's name on obverse. Reverse reading uncertain.

Letter A/cross

I. +EDELSTA.NI | +DAMOAIRAE

1. Bascom (1914) 26 ex Briggs (1893) 180. Fractured and repaired. Weight given Bascom cat. as 18½gr.

A similar coin was offered to Messrs Baldwin in 1973.

II. +ED.EL.STA.N.I | +DMDDAIRAE

1. Joseph Kenyon coll. Ill. as Kenyon Haigh Pl.I,10; cf. NC 7, (1844-45), 39. This may have been the same specimen as that which passed

through the Briggs and Bascom sales, but the number of pellets in the obverse legend differs from what the Bascom catalogue indicates.

Uncertain moneyer and type combination

A coin in the Loscombe sale (1855) lot 1045 is described there as having obverse type a cross and obverse inscription AEDELSTAN RE, but the reverse type is not specified and the moneyer's name is described as 'indistinct'.

AETHELWEARD

Coins struck c.848 or earlier - 855

Moneyer Aethelhelm

Cross and crescents/cross and pellets

- I. EDELPARD REX | AEDELHELM
(wedge after L)
1. BMC 21 ex S.Tyssen (1802) ex Rev.R.Southgate (1795). Ill. Ruding Pl.3,1. 20.4gr.
- II. EDEL.PARD REX | AEDEL.HELM
1. BMC 22 ex Gravesend hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.III,2. 21.4gr. [Pl.2,1]
- III. EDELPARD REX | AEDELHELM
1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935) ex Thorburn (1918) 33 bt Barnett ex Allen (1898) 194 (ill) ex Croydon hoard. 19.6gr.
2. SCBI Cambridge 450 ex T.J.G.Duncanson ex F.G.Smart. 20.3gr.
- IV. EDELPARD REX | AEDEL.HELM
1. SCBI Glasgow 417 ex Dr W.Hunter (d.1783) ex James West (in his collection 1744). 20.5gr. Perhaps the coin ill. Fountaine Pl.II,3, with the same types and legends, and the same pellets in the reverse legend.
- V. EDELPARD REX | AEDELHELM
1. BMA 268 ex Sir John Evans ex Croydon hoard. Ill. Anderson no.1. 21.2gr.
Murchison (1866) 109 ex Dymock (1858) 79 ex Barclay (1831) 132, no doubt from Dorking hoard, was of this type and had a pellet after the P of EDELPARD in the obverse legend. Cuff (1854) 261 bt Bergne, ex Dimsdale (1824) 79 bt Cuff, seems to have been of this type, but if it was it is not traceable in the Bergne sale of 1873.

Cross and crescents/cross and wedges

- I. EDELPARD REX | AEDELHELM
1. BMC 24 ex Dorking hoard. 21.3gr.
2. Lockett (1958) 2673 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) 113 (ill) ex Lewin Shepard (1861) 78. Weight given Lockett cat. 18½gr.
- II. EDE.L.P.ARD REX | AEDELHE.L.M.
1. SCBI Copenhagen 96 ex L.E.Bruun ex Montagu (1895) 353 bt Bruun ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 78. 21.3gr.

2. BMC 23 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.5gr.

A coin in the Rebello collection, ill. Ruding Pl.26,1, had the same types, legends and pellets in legends, but apparently had an unbarred A in the king's name.

III. Same obverse die | .A:E.DELHELM

1. SCBI Mack 675 ex Drabble (1939) 359 (ill) ex Mann (1917) 145 ex Napier (1916) 20 ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1913) 309. 21.1gr.

A coin in the Brumell sale (1850) lot 6, and another in the Allen sale (1898) 193, ex Croydon hoard, were of these types and of this general character.

Cross and wedges/cross and crescents

I. EDELPARD REX | AEDELHELM

1. BMA 269 ex Montagu (1895) 354 (ill) ex Marsham (1888) 88 ex Murchison (1866) 111. 19.9gr. [Pl.2,2]

Moneyer Dudda

Letter A/cross and pellets

I. +EDEL.PARD REX | +DVDDA MONE

1. SCBI Glasgow 419 ex T.Coats ex J.A.Wigan. 20.5gr.

2. BMC 26 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.3,5. 20.3gr. [Pl.2,3]

3. Ryan (1952) 654 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) 114 ex W.Brice duplicates (1853) 1. Weight given Rashleigh cat. as 20½gr. Edge damaged.

4. C.E.Blunt ex Sir John Evans ex Montagu (1895) 352 ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 79 ex Dymock (1858) 78 bt Bergne ex Joseph Barratt.

II. +EDEL.PARD REX | +DVDDA MONE

1. BMC 25 ex S.Tyssen (1802) ex Rev.R.Southgate (1795). Ill. Ruding Pl.26,3. 17.8gr.

2. C.E.Blunt, bt from Baldwin 1951 presumably ex Lawrence (1951) 212. Fragment.

III. +EDEL.PARD RE | DV.D.D.A M.O:N.E.

1. BMC 27 ex Bank of England (1877) ex R.Austen (d.1797). 20.9gr.

2. Specimen seen Messrs Baldwin 1981. 16.2gr.

Coins in the Rich sale (1828) lot 7, and the Barclay sale, (1831) 133, no doubt ex Dorking hoard, were apparently of this moneyer and type combination.

Letter A/cross and wedges

I. ED[EL].PARD REX | DVD[D]A MONE

1. SCBI Glasgow 418 ex Dr W.Hunter (d.1783). 18.1gr. (damaged).

Grantley (1944) 912 ex Boyne (1896) 1125, presumably ex Christmas (1864) 164 bt Boyne ex Croydon hoard, appears to have been similar; the Grantley catalogue records, not necessarily accurately, the presence of two pellets between the second and the third D of DVDDA.

II. EDELPARD REX | DVDDA MONE

1. Hon.R.Assheton coll.

Moneyer Eadmund

Letter A/cross and pellets

- I. AEDELVVEARD.REX | +EADMVND MO: (runic O)
 1. BMC 28 ex S.Tyson (1802). Ill. as Tyssen Ruding Pl.3,3 (but described as ex Cotton by Dolley & Strudwick). 19.3gr. (chipped on edge).
- II. AEDELVVEARD.REX | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. BMC 29 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Ill. Ruding Pl.26,2 and Haigh Pl.3,4. 20.9gr. (slight edge chip). [Pl.2,4]
 2. Shepherd (1885) 31 (see Shepherd catalogue).
- III. AEDELVVEARD REX | +EADMVND MO: (runic O)
 1. BMC 30 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.4gr.
- IV. AEDELVVEARD REX | same reverse die (later state)
 1. SCBI American Collections 231 (American Numismatic Society) ex Lockett (1955) 414 (ill) ex Reynolds (1914) 17 ex 'Astronomer' (F.McClean) (1906) 107 (ill) ex Montagu (1895) 351 ex Maynard (1885) 17. 21.2gr.
- V. AEDELVVEARD REX | +EADMVND MO: (runic O)
 1. SCBI Copenhagen 97 ex L.E.Bruun ex Gentleman (1903) 338. 20.0gr.
- VI. AEDELVVEA.RD.REX | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. SCBI Oxford 60 ex NCirc July-Aug. 1955 no.17306 ex Drabble (1943) 825 (ill) ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1916) 903. (The Mann provenance claimed for this coin in SCBI Oxford is incorrect). 19.7gr.
- VII. +AEDELVVEAED REX | +EADMVND MO: (runic O)
 1. SCBI Copenhagen 98 ex L.E.Bruun ex Ready (1920) 41, presumably ex 'Astronomer' (F.McClean) (1906) 108 bt Ready and ex Marsham (1888) 90. Broken and repaired. 19.1gr.
- VIII. AEDELVVEA.RD REX | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. SCBI American Collections 232 (J.L.Dresser) ex Grantley (1944) 911 (ill). 19.8gr.
- IX. AEDELVVE []REX | +EADMVN[]O (runic O)
 1. SCBI Yorkshire Museums 964 (Leeds University) ex Winchester Cathedral Library ex Eyre (1764). 17.5gr. (chipped).
 The following were also of this type combination and moneyer: Cuff (1854) 262; Montagu (1886) 11 ex Wigan, perhaps ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 7 bt Wigan; Murchison (1866) 110; Sotheby 6-7 April 1899 bt Spink ex Bateman Heirlooms (1893) 267 bt Napier ex Lewin Sheppard (1861) 77 bt Bateman. The MS catalogue of James West's collection in the Royal Mint contains an impression of the reverse only of a coin of this character, reading +EADMVND MO. (runic O); and Fountaine Pl.II,2, illustrates a similar reverse.

Moneyer Raegenhere

Letter A/cross and pellets

- I. +AEDELVVEARD RD | RAEXENHEBE.M (wedge after M)
 1. BMC 34, acquired before 1812. Ill. Ruding Pl.3,4. 20.1gr.

II. +AEDELVVEABD REX | RAEXENHEBE M.

1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935). 20.3gr. [Pl.2,5]

There is a coin of this type and moneyer in the Hermitage Museum, Lenin-grad, ex Reichel; no illustration is available but it is described in the Reichel catalogue (1843), no.64, as having the legends +[]DELVVEARD RE and RA[]ENHERE M. It may be the fragmentary coin of this moneyer which was lot 134 in the Barclay sale (1831). Fountaine Pl.II,1 illustrates a coin of these types and legends.

Moneyer Tuduwine

Letter A/cross and wedges

I. +AEDELVVEARD RE | +TVDVPL.NE M

1. BMC 31 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.7gr. [Pl.2,6]

Moneyer Twicga

Letter Omega surmounted by cross/cross and pellets

I. +EDELVVEARD REX | +T.P:I:C:C:A MON

1. BMC 32 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.3gr. [Pl.2,7]

II. +EDELVVEARD REX | +TPIC.C.A MON.

1. BMC 33 ex Dorking hoard. 20.2gr.

III. +EDELVVEARD REX | +TPIC.C.A MON

1. Ryan (1952) 655 (ill) ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1917) 1625 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) 115 ex Dymock (1848) 53 ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 8 bt Dymock. Ill. as Dymock Haigh Pl.III,9. 19.3gr.

IV. +EDELVVEARD REX | +TPIC:C:A MON. (wedge below first group pellets)

1. SCBI Norweb 109 ex Lockett (1955) 415 ex Bascom (1914) 27 ex Richardson (1895) 21 ex Marsham (1888) 89. 20.5gr.

V. +EDELVVEARD R.E.X | same reverse die as I

1. Hon.R.Assheton, probably ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 9.

There was a coin of this moneyer and type combination in the Cuff sale (1854), lot 263; the reverse legend given in the Cuff catalogue is TRIC.C.A MON (sic).

Cross crosslet/cross and pellets

I. XEDELORD RE | +TVIGA MONET

1. SCBI East Anglian Museums 1071 (Ipswich Museum), found in excavations at Ipswich 1957/8. 19.2gr.

2. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin ex Murchison (1866) 112 ex Dymock (1858) 77 ex William Bayfield coll. Ill. as Bayfield Haigh Pl.III,1.

EADMUND

Coins struck 855 - 870

Moneyer Aethelhelm

Cross and crescents/cross and pellets

- I. EADMVND REX AN | +EDELHELM MO
1. BMC 70 ex Gravesend hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,1. 22.5gr.
- II. Same obverse die | +EDELHELM MO
1. SCBI *East Anglian Museums* 1076 (Norwich Castle Museum) bt from Seaby 1953. 17.9gr. (chipped).
- III. +ADMVND REX AN +EDELHELM MO
1. SCBI *Glasgow* 420 ex Dr.W.Hunter (d.1783). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,6. 19.4gr.
- IV. +EADMVND REX AN | +EDELHELM MO
1. National Museum of Wales ex Lockett (1955) 416 (ill) ex Grantley (1944) 919 ex L.A.Lawrence.

Cross and crescents/cross and wedges

- I. EADMVND RE AN | AEDELHEL:M:
1. BMC 37 ex Gravesend hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,2. 21.5gr. [Pl.2,8]
- II. Same obverse die | AEDEL.HEL.M.
1. BMC 38 ex Gravesend hoard. 23.2gr.
- III. NA ER DNVM DAE | AEDEL.HEL.M.
1. BMC 39 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.27. 21.2gr.
- IV. Same obverse die | AEDELHELM
1. BMC 40 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.3gr.
- V. NA ER DNVM DAE AEDEL.HEL.M
1. Royal Mint, no provenance. 19.5gr.
- VI. +EADMVND REX AN | +EDELHELM MO
1. Ryan (1952) 656 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) 117 ex White (1848) 52. Weight given Rashleigh cat. 17½gr.
A coin with similar legends to the Ryan coin is ill. Fountaine Pl.V,20. Coins of this type combination and moneyer and with retrograde obverse legends occurred in the Robert Boyne sale (1843) lot 96 bt Brumell, and the Murchison sale (1866) lot 116.

Moneyer Baeghelm

Letter A/cross and pellets

- I. +EADMVND REX- | +BAEGHELM MO: (AE ligate)
1. BMC 42 ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 35. 19.8gr. (broken and mended).

II. +EADMVND REX- | +BAEGHELM MO

1. BMC 41 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.0gr. [Pl.2,9]

*Cross and pellets/cross and pellets*I. A EADMVND REX | +BAEGHELM M.
(AE ligate)

1. BMC 43, acquired before 1838. Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,3. Perhaps the coin ill. Ruding Pl.9,5, as from the Bootle collection, which has the same reverse reading but an obverse legend given as +.EADMVND. 18.2gr. [Pl.2,10]

II. +EADMVND REX | +BAEGHELM M.

1. BMC 44 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.5gr.

III. +EADMVND REX | +BAEGHELM MO

1. BMC 45 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.4gr.

IV. +EADMVND REX | +BAEGHELM MO

1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935). 19.2gr.

V. +EADM[VN]D REX | +DA[EG]HELM MO.

1. Dr J.Lavertine ex Grantley (1944) 914 ex L.A.Lawrence ex W.Allen (not in sale) ex Croydon hoard. Ill. Anderson no.7. Large chip in edge.

VI. +EADMVND REX | +BAEGHELM IO

1. SCBI East Anglian Museums 1072 (Bury St Edmunds Museum) ex Frost (1976) ex Ryan (1952) 657 (ill). 20.6gr.

VII. +EADMVND REX | +BAEGHELM MO

1. NCirc Sept. 1977, no.8244 (ill) (in Spink stock by 1972). There were similar coins in the P.W.Carlyon-Britton sale (1916), lot 906, legends given as +EADMVND REX and +BAEGHELM M or MO, and in the Henry Clark sale (1898), lot 10, reverse legend given as AEGHELM (sic). Note also Cuff sale (1854), lot 333, and Boyne sale (1896), lot 1126, types not clearly indicated.

Moneyer Beornferth

Cross of three crosses/cross and pellets

I. +EADMVND REX.AN | BEORNFEERD MO

1. BMC 46 ex S.Tyssen (1802). 21.7gr.
2. Grantley (1944) 915 (ill) ex Allen (1898) 196.

II. +EADMVND REX AN | BEORNFERD MO

1. BMC 47 ex Gravesend hoard. 19.7gr.
2. SCBI Oxford 61 ex Lockett (1960) 3605 ex Sir John Evans ex Croydon hoard. 16.9gr.
3. SCBI Copenhagen 102 ex L.E.Bruun. 20.5gr.

III. +EADMVND REX A.N. | BEORNFERD MO

1. SCBI Glasgow 422 ex T.Coats (d.1883). 20.3gr.
2. SCBI Cambridge 451 ex A.W.Young ex 'Gentleman relinquishing pursuit' (Sir H.Weber) (Sotheby 16 June 1885) 6 ex Lake Price (1880) 18. 21.0gr.

- IV. +EADMVND REX AN | Same reverse die
1. *SCBI Copenhagen* 101 ex L.E.Bruun ex Hazlitt (1909) 123. 22.3gr.
- V. +EADMVND.R.EX AN | BEORNFE·RD MO
1. *BMC* 48 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.0gr. [Pl.2,11]
- VI. +EADMVND REX AN | BEORNFERD MO
1. *SCBI Norweb* 111 ex V.Brand ex Ready (1920) 42 (ill) ex 'Astronomer' (F.McClean) (1906) 110 bt Ready ex Bateman Heirlooms (1893) 266 ex Cuff (1854) 330. 21.0gr.
- VII. +EADMVND.RX A.N | BEORNFERD MO
1. *BMC* 49 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.2gr.
2. *SCBI Mack* 678 ex Ryan (1952) 658 (ill) ex Ready. 19.0gr.
- VIII. +EADMVND RX AN | BEORNEE·RD MO
1. *BM* ex T.G.Barnett (1935) ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1916) 904 (ill) ex Montagu (1895) 361 ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 85. 21.6gr.
- IX. +EADMVND REX AN | BEORNFERD MO
1. *SCBI American Collections* 236 (J.L.Dresser) ex *NCirc* Dec. 1953 no.AS1 ex Duke of Argyll ex Drabble (1943) 826 (ill) ex Ready. 19.1gr.
- X. Same obverse die | BEORNFERD MO
1. Marquess of Bute (1951) 55 (ill).
- XI. Same obverse die | BEORN·FERD MO
1. Hon.R.Assheton, apparently ex 'Dean of St Patrick' (H.R.Dawson).
- XII. +EADMVND REX AN | BEO·RNFERD MO
1. Seen Messrs Baldwin 1976 (in A.H.F.Baldwin's private collection in 1958), ex Ready (1920) 45.
- XIII. +EADMVND REX AN | BEORNFERD MO
1. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
- XIV. +EADMVND REX A.N | BEORNFE·RD MO
1. *NCirc* Sept.1969, no.6302 (ill) (= *NCirc* Apr.1970, no.4359 (ill)).
There are numerous other records of specimens of this type combination and moneyer: Grantley (1944) 916 ex Sotheby 6-7 Apr.1899 lot 200 bt Webb ex Briggs (1893) 181 bt Napier (it apparently had pellets after N, D, and X on its obverse, and a group of pellets after E on the reverse); Ready (1920) 44 bt Gantz ex Marsham (1888) 91, with legends +EADMVND RX AN and BEORNEERD MO; Crowther (1904) 7 bt Ready ex Shepherd (1885) 32 bt Crowther, with reverse BEORNFERD MO; Bascom (1914) 29; Montagu (1895) 360 bt Crowther, with legends EADMVND REX AN and BEORNFERD MO; Nunn (1896) 65 bt Spink ex Montagu (1888) 16, with reverse BEORNFEERD MO; Bergne (1873) 84 and Bergne (1873) 85, one of which was no doubt Cuff (1854) 332 bt Bergne; Murchison (1866) 115, with reverse BEORNFEERD MO; Christmas (1864) 40; Dymock (1858) 81 ex Brumell (1850) 7; Cuff (1854) 331; Dymock (1848) 54; Durrant (1847) 37, bt Cureton for J.A.Wigan, apparently ex Tyssen duplicates sale (1802) 86.

Same types, but variety with obverse legend +EADMVND REX only

I. +EADMVND REX | BEORNFERD MO :

1. C.S.S.Lyon ex *NCirc* Dec.1953 no.AS2 ex Duke of Argyll ex Drabble (1939) 360 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) 118 (ill) ex Philip Rashleigh (d.1811). 19.5gr.
2. *SCBI Cambridge* 452 ex A.W.Young ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1912) 311. Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,12, where it is identified as being in the British Museum. 21.8gr.

There was a specimen of the same variety in the Reynolds sale (1914) lot 20, but the catalogue records its weight as 19½gr. and it may well have been the Rashleigh specimen cited above.

Moneyer Beornhaeh

Letter A/cross and pellets

I. +EADMVND REX | +BEORNHAEH.

1. *NCirc* Dec.1953 no.AS4 ex Duke of Argyll ex Drabble (1939) 361 (ill) ex Montague (1895) 357 (ill) ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 81. Weight given Drabble cat. as 18gr.

II. Same obverse die | +BEORNHAEH.

1. *BMC* 51 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.0gr. [Pl.2,12]

III. Same obverse die | +BEORNHAEH.

1. Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge ex Rev. S.S.Lewis ex Croydon hoard. Ill. *BNJ* 30 (1960-61), Pl.xxiii, no.5. 20.0gr.

IV. Same obverse die | +BEORNHAEH.

1. B.H.I.H.Stewart, bt from Baldwin 1963.

V. +EADMVND REX | +BEORNHAEH M.

1. *BMC* 50 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.0gr.

There were coins of this type combination and moneyer in the Murchison sale (1866) lot 119; Christmas sale (1864) lot 37; and Lewin Sheppard sale (1861) lot 80.

Moneyer Dudda

Cross on three legs/cross and pellets

I. +EADMVND REX AN | +DVDD.A MO.N.E

1. *SCBI Glasgow* 423 ex Dr W.Hunter (d.1783). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,8. 20.8gr.

II. Same obverse die | +DVDD.A MONE

1. *BMC* 52 ex S.Tyssen (1802) ex Rev.R.Southgate (1795). Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,11. 21.3gr. [Pl.2,13]

III. +EADMVN[D RE]X AN | +D[VD]D.A M.N.E

1. C.E.Blunt ex Grantley (1944) 917. Fragment.

There was a coin of this moneyer in the Barclay sale (1831) lot 136, possibly from the Dorking hoard.

Moneyer Eadberht

Letter A/cross and pellets

I. +EADMVND REX | EA.D.BER.HT MO:

1. BMC 53 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.8gr.

II. +EADMVND REX | +EADBERHT MO

1. BMA 270 ex Sir John Evans ex Croydon hoard. Ill. Anderson no.2. 18.4gr. [Pl.2,14]

P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1918) 1628, bt Baldwin, had these types and the legends +EADMVND REX and .EADBERHT MO, and is described as 'slightly chipped'. It may perhaps have been Bascom (1914) 28, weight given as 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ gr.

Moneyer Eadmund

Letter A/cross and pellets, obverse legend EADMVND REX AN

I. +EADMVND REX AN- | +EADMVND MONE-

1. BMC 54 ex G.Fox ex Gravesend hoard. 20.8gr. [Pl.2,15]

II. +EADMVND REX AN- | +EADMVND MONE

1. BMC 55 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.9gr.

III. +EADMVND REX AN | +EADMVND MONE:

1. BMC 56 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.0gr.

IV. +EADMVND REX AN: | +EAOMVND MONE:

1. BMC 57 ex S.Tyssen (1802) ex Rev.R.Southgate (1795). 18.5gr. (chipped).
2. SCBI American Collections 233 (Johns Hopkins Univ.) ex J.W.Garrett (1942) ex Sir John Evans. 19.0gr.

V. +EAOMVND REX AN | +EAOMVNV MONE

1. BMC 58 ex G.Fox ex Gravesend hoard. 20.1gr.

VI. +EADMVND REX AN- | +EADMVND MONE-

1. SCBI Cambridge 453 ex A.W.Young ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1912) 310 ex Montagu (1895) 359 ex W.Brice. 20.0gr.

VII. +EADMVND REX AN | +EADMVND MONE-

1. SCBI Glasgow 424 ex Dr W.Hunter (d.1783). 20.0gr.

VIII. +EADMVND REX AN | +E.ADMVND MONE

1. Glendining 13 Mar.1974 lot 69 (ill). Pierced in centre. (Note that this has a distinctive black patination.)

The following coins of this moneyer and type combination appear to have been of the variety with obverse legend ending REX AN: Napier (1916) 21; Nunn (1896) 63; Doulton (1888) 10; Christmas (1864) 38; Murchison (1866) 114, with pellets on reverse arranged as on BMC 57; Cuff (1854) 325 and 327 (one of the coins of this moneyer in the Cuff sale was later lindsay (1867) 36); and Durrant (1847) 37, bt Cureton for J.A.Wigan, apparently ex Tyssen duplicates (1802) 86.

Same types, but with obverse legend EADMVND REX only

- I. +EADMVND REX | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. BMC 59 perhaps ex S.Tyssen (1802) (ill. as Tyssen Ruding Pl.9,2), but more probably ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631), and the coin ill. Fountaine Pl.V,22. 20.5gr. [Pl.2,16]
- II. Same obverse die | +EA.DMVND MO (runic O)
 1. SCBI East Anglian Museums 1073 (Bury St Edmunds Museum) ex Grantley (1944) 918 (ill). 21.2gr.
- III. +EADMVND REX | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. BMC 60 ex G.Fox ex Gravesend hoard. 22.0gr.
- IV. Same obverse die | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. SCBI East Anglian Museums 1074 (Bury St Edmunds Museum) ex Frost ex Drabble (1943) 827 (ill) ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1918) 1627. 21.1gr.
- V. +EADMVND REX | same reverse die as BMC 60 (above)
 1. SCBI Cambridge 454 ex T.J.G.Duncanson ex F.G.Smart. 21.0gr.
- VI. +EADMVND REX | +EADMVND MO (runic O)
 1. SCBI Oxford 62 ex Bodleian Library collection. Ill. Wise Pl.XVII,7. 17.3gr. (cracked).
- VII. +EADMVND REX | +EADMVND MO
 1. SCBI Copenhagen 103 ex L.E.Bruun ex Lawrence (1903) 11. 19.7gr. (slightly chipped).
- VIII. +EADMVND REX | +EADMVND MO
 1. NCirc Apr.1981, no.3104 (ill).

The following also seem to have been of this variety: Grantley (1944) 917 ex L.A.Lawrence; J.H.Young (1881) 5 bt Brown; Bergne (1873) 83; Dymock (1858) 80 ex Barclay (1831) 135; Cuff (1854) 329 and 328.

The following were of this type and moneyer but may have been of either obverse legend variety: Maynard (1885) 17 and Powell (1877) 81.

Moneyer Eadwald

Letter A/cross and pellets

- I. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALD MON
 1. BMC 62 ex Cotton, ultimately ex Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). 22.0gr.
 2. SCBI Norweb 110 ex Lockett (1958) 2674 (ill) ex H.C.Miller (New York). 19.9gr.
- II. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALDI MONE
 1. BMC 61 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.4gr.
- III. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALD MO
 1. BMC 63 ex J.D.Cuff (1839). 21.2gr.
- IV. +EADMVND REX | +EA.DPALD MO
 1. BMC 64 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.8gr. [Pl.2,17]

- V. Same obverse die | +EADPALD MO:
 1. Bennett (1972) 606 ex Grantley (1944) 913 (ill), said in Grantley cat. to be ex Cuff, and therefore Cuff (1854) 337.
 2. *SCBI Mack* 676 ex Parsons (1954) 116 (ill). 24.2gr. (the weight is unusually high and the Mack coin may be a cast).
 3. *SCBI East Anglian Museums* 1075 (Bury St Edmunds Museum) ex Frost (1976). 22.2gr.
- VI. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALD MO.
 1. *BMC* 65 ex Gravesend hoard. 19.1gr.
- VII. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALD MO:
 1. *BMC* 66 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.0gr.
- VIII. +EADMVND REX. | +EADPALD MO:
 1. *BMC* 67 ex Duke of Devonshire (1844) 35. 19.3gr. (chipped).
 2. Seen Messrs Baldwin 1976 (in A.H.F. Baldwin's private collection 1958) ex Sir John Evans ex Croydon hoard. Ill. Anderson no.1.
- IX. +EA:DMVND REX | +EADVVA:LD MON (N rendered by inverted V and I)
 1. *BMC* 68 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.0gr. [Pl.2,18]
 2. National Museum of Wales ex Lockett (1955) 417 (ill) ex Reynolds (1914) 18 ex 'Astronomer' (F. McClean) (1906) 109 (ill) ex Montagu (1895) 358. Weight given Lockett cat. 18gr.
 3. *SCBI Reading* 36 ex Grantley (1944) 919. 18.6gr.
- X. +EA:DMVND REX | +EADVALD MON (retrograde)
 1. *BMC* 69 ex Gravesend hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.4,5. 20.2gr.
 Nunn (1896) 64 had a retrograde reverse legend and may have been from this reverse die, although the moneyer's name is given as EADAVARD (sic) in the catalogue.
- XI. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALD MO
 1. Royal Mint, no provenance. 16.8gr.
- XII. +[?EA]DMVND REX | +EADPAN MONET
 1. Hon. R. Assheton ex Standly (1845) 40 bt Cureton for Assheton (bills in possession Assheton family).
- XIII. +E.ADMVND REX | +EADPALD MO:
 1. C.E. Blunt ex *NCirc* Dec.1953 no.A53 ex Duke of Argyll.
- XIV. +EADMVND REX | +EADPALD MO
 1. *SCBI American Collections* 234 (American Numismatic Society), bt from Seaby 1959. 18.8gr. (slightly chipped).
 The following were also of this general character: Boyne (1896) 1126; Marshall (1852) 18; Brumell (1850) 8.

Moneyer Ethelwulf

Cross and crescents/cross and wedges

- I. +EADMVND REX. | +EDEL DVLF MOI-
 1. *BMC* 71 ex Gravesend hoard. 23.5gr.

- II. +EADMVND REX | +EDELVDLF MOI-
 1. BMC 72 ex S.Tyssen (1802). Ill. Ruding Pl.9,7. 18.0gr. [Pl.2,19]
- III. +EADMVND REX AN | EDELVDLF + MON (retrograde)
 1. BMC 73 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.6gr.
- IV. +EADMVND REX A.N | EDELVDLF + MON (retrograde)
 1. BMC 74, acquired before 1838. 19.5gr.
- V. +EADMVND REX AN | EDELVDLF + MON (retrograde)
 1. SCBI Mack 67 ex Grantley (1944) 919 ex W.Allen ex Croydon hoard.
 Ill. Anderson no.4. 13.6gr. (badly chipped).
- VI. +E[AD]MVND REX AN | same reverse die
 1. SCBI Yorkshire Museums 965 (Leeds University) ex Winchester Cathedral Collection ex Eyre (1764). 16.8gr. (chipped).
- VII. +EADMVND REX AN | EDELVDLF + MON (retrograde)
 1. Royal Mint, no provenance. 17.6gr.
 A specimen listed NCirc Nov.-Dec.1919, no.76229, described as 'found at Reading', was of this type combination and character. Montagu (1895) 356 bt Lincoln ex Marsham (1888) 92 ex J.A.Wigan, described in the Montagu catalogue as 'slightly chipped at edge', was also of this type combination and had the legends +EADMVND REX AN and EDELVDLF + MON (retrograde).

Cross and crescents/cross and pellets

- I. +EADMVND REX AN | EDELVDLEX MON (retrograde)
 1. BMC 75 ex Bank of England (1877) ex Robert Austen (d.1797). 20.7gr.
 2. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935) ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1918) 1626 (ill) bt Barnett. 19.5gr.
 3. SCBI Copenhagen 99 bt from Spink 1917 ex Rashleigh (1909) 116 (ill) bt Douglas, said in Rashleigh MS catalogue in BM to be ex Dymock, and therefore presumably Dymock (1848) 55. 19.9gr.
- II. +EADMVND REX AN | EDELVDLEX MON (retrograde)
 1. BMC 76 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.0gr.
- III. +EADMVND REX AN | EDELVDLF + MON (retrograde)
 1. SCBI Copenhagen 100 ex L.E.Bruun ex Montagu (1895) 355 bt Bruun. 20.8gr.
- IV. Same obverse die as | EDELVDLE + MON (retrograde)
 BMC 75 (etc)
 1. Sir John Evans ex Croydon hoard. Ill. Anderson no.5.
 The following were also of this general character: Reynolds (1914) 19; Boyne (1896) 1126 ex Murchison (1866) 118 bt Boyne; Bergne (1873) 80 bt Williamson; Christmas (1864) 39; and perhaps Cuff (1854) 334.

Moneyer Sigered

Letter A/cross and pellets

- I. +EADMVND REX | +SIGERED MON:
 1. BMC 77 ex Gravesend hoard. 20.0gr.

- II. +EADMVND REX | +SIGERED MOII
1. BMC 78 ex Gravesend hoard. 21.1gr.
- III. +EADMVND REX | +SIGERED MOE
1. BMC 79 ex Gravesend hoard. 19.5gr. [Pl.2,20]
- IV. +EADMVND REX | +SIGERED MON
1. BMC 80 ex Gravesend hoard. 19.0gr.
- V. +EADMVND REX. | +SIGRED MON
1. BMC 81 ex Gravesend hoard. 22.2gr.
2. SCBI American Collections 235 (American Numismatic Society) ex D.P. Dickie (1967) ex Ryan (1952) 659 (ill) ex Allen (1898) 195 ex Croydon hoard. Ill. Anderson no.3. 18.3gr.
- VI. +EADMVND REX | +SIDERED MONET
1. SCBI Glasgow 425 ex T.Coats (d.1883). 19.4gr.
- VII. +EADMVND REX | +SIGERED MON
1. NCirc Nov.-Dec.1923, no.25242, ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1916) 905 (ill). 21.5gr.
- The following were also of this type combination and general character: Bergne (1873) 82; Cuff (1854) 326; Hugh Howard (1874) 4, said to read SIBERED MONET (and therefore perhaps = SCBI Glasgow 425); Bank of England (1877) 84, said to read SIGERED MON; Richardson (1895) 22, said to read +EADMVND REX and +SIGERD (sic) MON; and NCirc Mar.-Apr.1916, no.39327 ex Sir John Evans ex Croydon hoard.

Letter A/cross and wedges

- I. +EADMVND REX AN | +SIGERED MONET
1. Rebello collection. Ill. Ruding Pl.9,3.
Lewis Sheppard (1861) 79 had these legends and although the reverse type is simply described as a cross, it may well have been of this type combination. Weight given Lewin Sheppard cat. as 17.2gr. 'Astronomer' (F. McClean) (1906) 108 bt Ready, ex Marsham (1888) 90, is described as being of this type combination, but the obverse legend is given as +EADMVND REX.

Moneyer Twicga

Letter Omega surmounted by horizontal bar/cross and pellets

- I. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPIC.C.A MON
1. BMC 85 ex Gravesend hoard. Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,7. 20.7gr. [Pl.2,21]
- II. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
1. Bird (1974) 59 (ill). 21.4gr.
- III. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICA MON
1. BMC 86 ex Gravesend hoard. 23.0gr. [Pl.2,22]
- IV. Same obverse die | +TPICA MON
1. SCBI Copenhagen 104 ex L.E.Bruun ex 'Gentleman' (1903) 338. 20.5gr.
2. SCBI Glasgow 426 ex T.Coats (d.1883). 18.7gr. (chipped).
3. C.E.Blunt ex Ryan (1952) 660 (ill) ex Rashleigh (1909) 119, said in

Rashleigh catalogue to be ex Dymock and Cuff and therefore Dymock (1858) 82 ex Cuff (1854) 335. Weight given Ryan cat. 19½gr.

Letter Omega surmounted by cross/cross and pellets

- I. +EADMVND REX AN | same reverse die as BMC 85 (above)
 1. BMC 82 ex G.Fox ex Gravesend hoard. 19.7gr. [Pl.2,23]
- II. Same obverse die | +TPICCA MON
 1. SCBI Cambridge 455 ex A.W.Young ex P.W.Carlyon-Britton (1913) 312 ex Montagu (1895) 363, no provenance given in Montagu catalogue but stated in Carlyon-Britton catalogue to be ex Cuff, and identified in SCBI Cambridge volume as ex Dymock 82 and Cuff 335, although this provenance properly belongs to the Blunt-Ryan-Rashleigh coin listed above. 18.0gr.
- III. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
 1. BMC 83 ex Gravesend hoard. 19.8gr.
- IV. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
 1. BMC 84, acquired before 1782. Ill. Ruding Pl.9,9. 18.6gr. (chipped).
- V. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
 1. Glendining 24 Mar.1977 lot 310 (ill) ex Drabble (1939) 362 (ill) ex W.T.Ready. Weight given Drabble cat. 18gr.
- VI. Same obverse die | same reverse die as SCBI Cambridge 455
 1. SCMB Apr.1980, no.E154 (ill).
- VII. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
 1. BM ex T.G.Barnett (1935) ex NCirc Nov.-Dec.1923, no.25241 (ill), ultimately ex Cuff. Ill. as Cuff Haigh Pl.IV,9. 19.0gr.
- VIII. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
 1. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
- IX. +EADMVND REX AN | +TPICCA MON
 1. Bonham 4 Dec.1980 lot 706 (ill).
 NCirc Sept.-Oct.1921, no.96442, ex Crompton-Roberts ex Richardson (1895) 23 ex Marsham (1888) 93, was of this variety.

The following were either of this variety or the preceding variety: NCirc Mar.1955, no.13404; Parsons (1954) 117; Doulton (1888) 10; and Murchison (1866) 117. Christmas (1864) 41 and Dymock (1858) 56 were probably of one or other of these varieties also.

Variety with pellets on either side of an anchor-shaped Omega and with obverse legend EADMVND REX

- I. +EADMVND REX | +TPICCA MON
 1. BMA 271 ex Sir John Evans ex Montagu (1895) 362 ex W.Brice ex Bergne (1873) 86 ex Cuff (1854) 336 bt Bergne. Ill. Haigh Pl.IV,10. 20.7gr. [Pl.2,24]
 2. SCBI American Collections 237 (American Numismatic Society) ex Lockett (1955) 418 (ill), no provenance given in Lockett catalogue but said in SCBI volume to be ex H.C.Miller (New York) (1920) 39. 18.9gr. (chipped).

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LIST OF COINS

BM	Those coins in the British Museum acquired later than those recorded in <i>BMC</i> and <i>BMA</i> .
Ruding	R.Ruding, <i>Annals of the Coinage</i> , third edition (1840).
Fountaine	Sir Andrew Fountaine, 'Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica brevia illustrata' (1705), printed in G.Hickes, <i>Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus</i> (Oxford 1703-05) pp.161-85.
Anderson	J.Corbet Anderson, <i>Saxon Croydon</i> , 1877.
Wise	F.Wise, <i>Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum catalogus</i> (Oxford 1750).
Dolley & Strudwick	R.H.M.Dolley and Mrs J.S.Strudwick (subsequently Martin), 'The Provenances of the Anglo-Saxon Coins recorded in the Two Volumes of the British Museum Catalogue', <i>BNJ</i> 28 (1955-57), 26-59.

PLATE 1

