

THREE LATE ANGLO-SAXON NOTES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

A NEW ANGLO-SAXON MINT

IN his account of the 1914 Pemberton's Parlour hoard from Chester—a major find deposited in all probability very early in the reign of Æthelræd II—the late Sir George Hill recorded a fragment of a true *First Small Cross* coin of that monarch of which the obverse legend



appeared to read:—ELREDRE✠—and the reverse legend:—M O E A Z T✠¹ Sir George Hill's publication of that find was not well received by many prominent Anglo-Saxon numismatists of his day—it was even suggested that he had failed to distinguish two separate hoards—but it has worn far better than the works of his critics. Recently the present writer has had occasion to study it in some detail, and he must confess to regarding it as one of the major contributions to English numismatics of the first quarter of this century. Not only are the readings recorded with scrupulous accuracy, but the great Greek numismatist instinctively turned for guidance to a philologist. The new generation of Anglo-Saxon numismatists will never cease to be thankful that this major hoard, like the Tetney treasure trove thirty years later, was recorded by a museum-trained scholar accustomed to the handling of large numbers of coins, and trained to observe and to reproduce as far as possible all valid criteria.

Examination of an enlarged photograph of the fragment in question, now in the British Museum, established beyond all doubt the essential accuracy of Sir George Hill's transcription of the reverse legend. The reading of the mint-name is incontrovertibly $\Sigma \Lambda Z T$, and there are clear traces of the initial cross immediately following the final T . Sir George Hill, however, was reluctant to postulate a new mint, and we must remember that he was a scholar, with a scholar's instinctive caution, writing in a field with which he was unfamiliar and which was at that time dominated by personalities unhealthily preoccupied with the novel and with the unique. His suggestion was that the fragment

¹ *N.C.* 1920, pp. 141-65.

should perhaps be associated with Canterbury, and it is perfectly true that a retrograde square S is indistinguishable from an N on its side.¹

Accordingly the fragment has since lain in the Museum trays under Canterbury, and it was only when engaged in rearranging the whole of the late Saxon cabinets that the present writer was struck by its incompatibility with its neighbours. If he would venture to suggest that Sir George Hill's caution is no longer justified, he would do so with the greatest diffidence, and it must further be remarked that he enjoys the enormous advantage of having seen the *First Small Cross* coins in the Swedish hoards. It is no exaggeration to say that this revised assessment of an English coin in an English find would not have been possible were it not for the generosity of Swedish scholarship in inviting English participation in the publication of the Swedish hoards. All who have handled true *First Small Cross* coins of Æthelræd II—and elsewhere in this *Journal* a distinct *Intermediate* issue is for the first time distinguished—cannot fail to have noticed that they fall into three main groupings. Three enlarged obverses should make the distinctions clear:



Coin (b) is the celebrated *First Small Cross*/*First Hand* mule of Hamwic acquired by the British Museum at the Montagu Sale (lot 772) and of which the full significance was first appreciated by Mr. Elmore Jones. Subsequently it has proved to be from the same obverse die as the Hamtun penny of the same moneyer which is the only *First Small Cross* coin in the Igelösa find from near Lund in Skåne. To date the writer has recorded further coins of this style at a number of mints, Bedford (e.g. Hild. 77), Chester (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 81), Derby (e.g. ibid., no. 83), Exeter (e.g. Hild. 541), Lewes (e.g. Hild. 1420), London (e.g. Hild. 2194), Tamworth (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 104), Totnes (e.g. ibid., no. 106), Wilton (e.g. Nordman, 369—the unique coin of this class with right-facing bust), and Worcester (e.g. Hild. 3982). Coin (a) is the unique *First Small Cross* coin of Canterbury in the British Museum from the 1914 Chester hoard (Hill, op. cit., no. 110). It will be noticed that the three pellets before the face are not joined up to the shoulder by converging arcs as on the Hamtun/Hamwic mule, but are disposed in a trefoil so as to form, with the addition of a bar, a

¹ Canterbury coins of this period, however, read **ƷENT** not **ƷANT** which form is not found before c. 995 and which is never general until after the Norman Conquest.

crude sceptre. On the reverse four pellets are disposed in a regular pattern around the cross patée. What is noteworthy is that both the sceptre on the obverse and the pattern of four pellets on the reverse occur on the unique *First Small Cross* penny of LIMEN in the Stockholm Coin Cabinet (Hild. 1604). There can be little doubt but that we are dealing with a Kentish variety of *First Small Cross*, and in passing we may perhaps comment on this new vindication of Hildebrand's acumen in identifying LIMEN with Lymne in Kent. Coin (c) is a penny of the Lincoln moneyer Rodbert (*B.M.C.* no. 153). Coins of this style are also found at York (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 108), at Torksey (cf. Lockett, i. 643), at Stamford (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 100) and at Northampton (e.g. Lockett, i. 642). At York, Stamford, and Northampton, however, we also find coins corresponding more or less closely to penny (a), and at Stamford these predominate (e.g. Hill, op. cit., no. 108 and Wells, *B.N.J.* 1934, Pl. III. 33).

This is not the place to discuss the organization of Æthelræd's first coinage, and to do so adequately one would also have to take into account Eadgar's last coinage and that of Edward the Martyr. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the dies for coins approximating to class (b) were cut at two or three centres—despite a superficial uniformity local styles can be established by a trained observer.¹ Style (a) is, as we have seen, beyond doubt Kentish, while style (c) is associated with Lincolnshire and York. The odd die is also found at Stamford and Northampton but not west of the Trent or south of the Nene.

It cannot be disputed that the style of the EAZT fragment is indisputably that of (c). Among features that are found on coins of Lincoln and York almost exclusively we may note the so-called "backless bust", the absence of pellets before the bust, the eye formed of two crescents which do *not* normally enclose a pellet, the use of + for X in the obverse legend, and the frequent occurrence on the reverse of retrograde letters such as M for N and Z for Σ. Taken in conjunction these features must be considered decisive, and in the light of our new understanding of the coinage of this period we can no longer accept even the possibility of the fragment being given to Canterbury. There seems little doubt but that we are confronted with an entirely new mint for the English series, a mint of which the first four letters of the Saxon name read C A S T. If we reject the doubtful coins of Northampton, the area in which this new mint is to be sought can be defined with considerable precision as the three sores of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey together with the East Riding of Yorkshire. There is no reason to suppose that "Lincoln" dies were employed west of the Trent and Soar nor south of the Nene.

To claim a new mint on the strength of a single coin is perhaps a little reminiscent of less felicitous days in the history of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, and it is pleasant to be able to point to a second coin which appears to vindicate the "Cast" reading of the fragment

¹ In particular there is a characteristic style for the Bedford area.

beyond all reasonable doubt. This is a coin in the Hunter collection, a penny of Edward the Martyr, of which the mint-name was rightly read by Taylor Combe as CASTR in his manuscript corpus and so engraved on his plate (cf. Ruding, pl. 21, 2). This coin is again



of pure Lincoln style with backless bust, reversed letters, pelletless eye and + for X in the obverse legend. The moneyer is given as LEOIMAN, probably for LEO(F)MAN, and it is most significant that the final letter of the moneyer's name barely visible on the "Cast" fragment would appear to be N. Consequently we now have two coins, probably struck within three years of one another, on one of which the mint-reading is CASTR and on the other CAZT. The style of both coins argues strongly that they were struck in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, and the probability is that they are by the same moneyer. It is indeed difficult to avoid the conclusion that we are faced with an entirely new mint for the late Saxon series, and in an area where the existence of further mints was hardly suspected.

It is inevitable that one should think first of Caistor in Lindsey, the chief place of the soke, a royal manor in Domesday, and apparently the seat of the old bishopric. It is probably a sound principle, however, not to associate a mint with a place that was not a borough unless driven to it by all the evidence. On the other hand it must be admitted that we know remarkably little about the organization of the English coinage in the last quarter of the tenth century. If anything, indeed, Æthelræd's repeated legislation against coining without a burgh may suggest that moneyers had been in the habit of striking quite openly in other places, and it is the opinion of the present writer that numismatists have read too much into the so-called Decrees of Grately. Rather these rescripts should be considered as pertaining to the executive, and it cannot be stressed too much that their provisions apply only to the West Saxon kingdom proper, i.e. Wessex, Kent, and London, and that there is no reason to suppose that they were ever intended to stand for all time. The evidence of the coins themselves makes it quite clear that Mercia and the Danelaw were organized on quite a different basis, and it is not impossible that fifty years later coins could have been struck quite legally at a "port" in Lincolnshire. Caistor had, of course, long since ceased to be the seat of a bishopric, and this may seem to remove one objection to its being a mint of Æthelræd II. Not enough attention has been paid to the failure of the cathedral minsters to coincide with mints—Crediton, Wells, Sherborne, Ramsbury, Selsey, Elmham, Dorchester (Oxon.),

Lichfield, and Durham have still to have Saxon coins attributed to them. It is perhaps worth remarking, too, that at the end of Æthelræd's reign Lindsey was occupied by the Danish army and then harried by the English as a punishment for collaboration. Consequently it is not impossible that the status of Caistor at the end of the eleventh century was very different from that which it had enjoyed upon Æthelræd's accession.

Caistor in Lindsey, then, is the numismatist's obvious choice for the mint of the CASTR penny and of the CAST fragment, but other possibilities should not be ignored. Doncaster and Horncastle were both places of some importance, nor should we ignore entirely Castor in Northamptonshire. Linguistically, however, the former seem improbable, and all three suffer the disadvantage attaching to Caistor in that they seem never to have enjoyed borough status in the period under review. Pending a pronouncement from the historians, the numismatist will be well advised to add CASTR to the canon of late Saxon mints—the second mint from the Northern Danelaw to be added during the last two years—but to regard its association with Caistor as no more than provisional. In the present state of English numismatics nothing is to be lost by caution, and much to be won if only the late Saxon numismatist can regain the respect of historians as such. It is not very edifying that their amused rejection of Bradwell-on-sea as a plausible site for "Gothabyri" must now be endorsed on purely numismatic grounds.

A PROBABLE NEW MINT IN SHROPSHIRE

In both the 1846 and 1881 editions of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, Bror Emil Hildebrand gave to a mint at Bridgnorth a number of late Saxon pence on which the mint-name reads variously BRY, BRYD, BRYDIA, BRYDIGA, BRYGIN, BRYIDGE, and BYRDG under Æthelræd II, and BRY and BRYD under Cnut. At that time our own National Collection appeared to be lacking in Saxon coins of the mint or mints concerned—though in fact a coin of the Confessor lurks among those of Bristol—but Hildebrand's Bridgnorth attribution of the earlier coins received Keary's benison in the introduction to the 1893 volume of the British Museum's *Catalogue*. In the 1921 *Numismatic Chronicle* Woosnam, a pupil of Chadwick, followed up a passing suggestion thrown out by Parsons, and in the course of a brilliant note reattributed all the coins in question to Bredy or Bridport in Dorset. He pointed out the complete impossibility of BRYD being Bridgnorth, and demonstrated how it was not till the very end of the medieval period that Old English "brycg" began to be written "bridge". In the 1922 *Chronicle* the Bridport attribution was endorsed by Symonds on purely numismatic grounds.

In 1930, however, Andrew, who had lately taken up residence in the vicinity, proposed that the BRYD coins of Æthelræd II and of Cnut should be reattributed to Stockbridge in Hampshire of which the

Roman name was perhaps BRIGA.¹ By conceding that Bridport was the BRYD mint of the Confessor—and the numismatic evidence is really extraordinarily convincing—he disarmed the very cogent objection that Bridport otherwise would be the only one of Ballard's "county boroughs" of which Saxon coins have not come down to us. In his paper, however, Andrew does not explain how it was that a place of the importance of Bredy/Bridport—a burgh already in Edward the Elder's reign if not indeed in Alfred's—did not exercise its rights of coinage before c. 1040. Moreover there are positive reasons why all the BRYD coins should be given to the Dorset borough, and it is perhaps worth remarking yet again that the fact that the first vowel is Y on the coins and I or E in modern orthography need occasion no concern. In the *Burghal Hidage* the spelling is BRYDIA, and in *Domesday* BRIDEPORT. For the interchange of Y and E within the Saxon period it is necessary only to cite Bedford coins of Æthelræd II which read BYDA and BEDA in the same type.

In the course of all this general post it would seem to have been overlooked that if BRYD is an impossible form for the modern Bridgorth, BRYGIN is equally objectionable a form for Bredy/Bridport.² It is not without significance that the moneyer of the BRYGIN coin, a certain Æthestan, is not known from a coin reading BRYD. Thus there is very little reason for us to continue to associate the unique BRYGIN coin (Hild. 104) with the certain BRYD coins of Wine, Eadnoth, and Godric under Æthelræd II, of Ælfwold under Cnut, and of Hwatemán under Harthacnut and the Confessor, unless it were from the desire, laudable in principle, not to inflate beyond necessity the already long canon of late Saxon minting-places. Incidentally, Bridport would seem to be that comparative rarity, a one-moneyer mint, and the numismatic evidence is consistent with the explicit statement to that effect which occurs in *Domesday*.

Consequently BRYGIN stands or falls as a new mint purely on its own merits, and, if we are prepared to accept that the Roman BRIGA was on or near the site of the modern Stockbridge, and also that the Roman name survived into late Saxon times before being discarded, there is a *prima facie* case in favour of Andrew's attribution of this particular coin to Stockbridge, the more so because the moneyer is known at Winchester in the same type. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the present writer's experience of most of Andrew's excursions into history and philology is that they are most suspect when most plausible. It seemed a little surprising that Andrew made no mention of his having checked for an obverse die-link—and especially when we consider the prominence he gave in his paper to the association of Stockbridge with Winchester—and it is surely desirable to establish once and for all whether or not the *First Hand* obverse is

¹ *B.N.J.*, xx (1930), pp. 49–62.

² Throughout this paper Hildebrand's reading BRYGIN is retained. The coin is, however, slightly double-struck and the reading seems to be BRYGIN. In this case the arguments that follow would be strengthened.

used at the West Saxon capital by Æthestan or by any other moneyer. It will be recalled that the present writer has established obverse die-links between Winchester and both Hamtun and Hamwic—thereby killing the myth that all Hamtun coins belong to Northampton—while Andrew himself suggested that Southampton's rights of minting



FIG. 1.

were transferred for a time to Stockbridge. Consequently an obverse die-link between Winchester and Stockbridge would be decisive—did it exist! On the other hand, the absence of a die-link, while perhaps suggestive, proves absolutely nothing. Spileman is no less a Southampton moneyer because the obverse die of his HAM coin has still to be found coupled with a Winchester reverse. In fact, the obverse of the *First Hand* coin of Æthestan does not occur at Winchester. Style is perhaps too dangerous a criterion in the present state of our knowledge concerning the *First Hand* type, but even so it may be remarked that the checking for the die-link did not prove as onerous as expected—while perhaps not utterly incompatible in style the BRYGIN coin was by no means consistent with the run of Winchester coinage in the type concerned.

It then occurred to the writer that no harm could be done by checking the obverse of the BRYGIN coin against the obverses of all the other *First Hand* coins of a moneyer Æthe(l)stan, and again it seems almost incredible that this had not been done. The number of coins involved is no more than nine. In this case, however, the result of the routine check is not only positive but decisive. The unique Stockholm coin reading BRYGIN (Fig. 1) proves to be from the same obverse die as Hild. 3447, a mis-struck coin which Hildebrand gave to Stamford and which Wells accepted although the moneyer is not known there at the period in question. Fortunately three die-duplicates of the mis-struck coin have since come to light, a much better specimen since added to the Systematic Collection at Stockholm, another also in Stockholm from the Myrände (Atlingbo s:n) hoard from Gotland (*S.H.M. Inv.* 9392), and the third in the collection of Mr. Elmore Jones (Fig. 2) who has demonstrated that the true reading

of the mint-name is NIPAN—an important reattribution in that it added to the canon an entirely new mint for Æthelræd II.

Obviously our new mints of BRYGIN and NIPAN lie near to one another, and at first sight this may seem greatly to facilitate their identification. In fact the die-link does dispose very satisfactorily of



FIG. 2.

the last possibility of BRYGIN being Bridport—there is no plausible “New-” site within a reasonable radius—and equally the die-link may seem to drive the last nail into the coffin of Stockbridge. If one of the principal arguments against the Stockbridge attribution is the improbability—to put it no higher—of a minor mint being set up at an outpost of the West Saxon capital, how much the more is it unlikely that there were two minor mints in an area already served by the metropolitan mint at Winchester and by a further mint at the port of Southampton. One wonders, too, with which Hampshire site Andrew would have associated NIPAN. On the other hand, the die-link with BRYGIN seems fatal to any association of NIPAN with Newport Pagnell—a “Bridge-” or “-bridge” mint cannot well be fitted into the Bedford area.

Admittedly the association of coins reading NIPANPO and even NIPPORT with Newport Pagnell is not absolutely certain, but the present writer is not disposed to dispute Carlyon-Britton’s attribution, especially since Newport Pagnell is the only Newport which was certainly a borough at the end of the Saxon period. Instead it seems preferable to argue that the NIPAN of the penny of Æthelræd II is another place altogether. Granted that it is a basic principle of late Saxon numismatics that “*monetae non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem*”, equally one should be careful not to force a pattern against the evidence. Our experience with Northampton and Southampton is salutary, and is also a reminder of the fact that two mints can have the same name, a phenomenon equally attested by the existence of Southwark coins which read SVDBY and which are in consequence virtually indistinguishable from those of Sudbury. If, therefore, there seem insuperable difficulties in the way of associating the NIPAN coin with Newport Pagnell, there are precedents for seeking another Newport, or rather for seeking a “New-” for we are under no compulsion to expand NIPAN as NIPANPORT.

"New-", however, is such a common prefix in English place-names that it is perhaps easier to approach the problem from the angle of BRYGIN. First of all, we should consider the possibility that BRYGIN may represent a mint already known to numismatic science. Bruton is out of the question both philologically and numismatically—in the next note it is argued that the mint there was not opened until *c.* 1020 after the closure of the emergency mint at Cadbury—but Bristol at first sight is a most attractive proposition. Etymologically it is *Brycg-stow*—"the place of the bridge"—and at least from the time of Cnut onwards it was a place of considerable importance. However, there is no coin of Æthelræd II which can with certainty be associated with Bristol. The Hildebrand coin usually quoted reads no more than BRIC, and is by a moneyer not otherwise known at the mint. It is of Æthelræd's *Last Small Cross* type, and consequently was struck not less than twenty-four years later than the coin of BRYGIN. In the *Last Small Cross* type, of course, style is a valuable criterion, and certainly the BRIC coin would seem to belong to a well-defined group to be associated with the West Midlands, and notably Chester and Gloucester. There is some reason for believing that the Avon was a regional boundary at that time, and consequently the BRIC coin *could* belong to Bristol. On the other hand, it could as well be a coin of the same mint as BRYGIN, that is if we reject finally the Bristol attribution of the latter.

It must be admitted, though, that the claims of Bristol to be the mint of both the BRYGIN and the BRIC coins are not without substance. Eighteen miles across the mouth of the Severn is Newport, Monmouthshire. Admittedly Newport does not figure as a borough in *Domesday*, but the whole area is omitted from the survey. That it *could* have been a Saxon settlement is not impossible—there would be an exact parallel at the other extremity of the Welsh marches in *Cledemutha*, recently and convincingly associated by Wainwright with a site in the vicinity of Rhuddlan. Eadgar had intervened in the affairs of Gwent. Not only may more than just a resemblance of name underlie the confusion between Caerleon and Chester in Brut y Tywys, but the *Vita Sancti Illuti* refers specifically to an invasion of Glamorgan. Moreover a fragmentary charter of Æthelræd II seems to point to there having been at least one Saxon burgh to the west of the line of the Wye, and if there was a burgh at Dewstow it would not be surprising if there was a fortress at the mouth of the Usk. Such a fortress might not be unwelcome to the Welsh also in an age when Scandinavian pirates from Dublin were masters of the Bristol Channel. If BRYGIN is Bristol, then NIPAN *might* be Newport. That the estuary of the Severn intervened need not be against this theory. In the age of the railway and motor we think of water as a barrier, but for the Saxon it would have been far easier to take a boat and drop down the Avon, slant across the Severn on the ebb and ascend the Usk on the flood than to take horse and ride more than seventy miles over miry roads by way of Gloucester and Chepstow.

However, it is not for the numismatist to put the case for Bristol and Newport in Monmouthshire—despite an apparent tie-up between the Cardiff and Bristol mints at the end of the Conqueror's reign. The case against these identifications of BRYGIN and NIPAN respectively is truly formidable. In the first place there is no real evidence that Bristol was a mint before Cnut—in other words we have to postulate a thirty-year interruption of striking. In the second, there is no real evidence that there was a Saxon settlement at Newport, Mon., or in its vicinity. More important still, BRYGIN is a form of the place-name that presents certain problems for the philologist as the N has no place in the regular inflexion. Whereas NIPAN is a perfectly normal dative from the weak declension, *brycg* whether in genitive or in dative should give *brycge* which on a coin could well be written BRYGI. *Brycgestowe*, therefore, might appear as BRYGIS-towe, but it is difficult to see how a form BRYGINstowe could ever have arisen.

Inevitably our thoughts return to Hildebrand's original attribution to Bridgnorth, admittedly impossible in the case of the BRYD coins but still attractive in the case of the unique coin of BRYGIN. There can be no doubt that there was a Saxon burgh in the vicinity. The *Mercian Register* is explicit that in 912 the redoubtable Æthelflæda built a burgh *æt Bricege*. In *Domesday* we find burgesses at Quatford, a few miles south of Bridgnorth. Any doubts that Quatford and "Bridge" are essentially the same place are resolved by a consideration of the different versions of the *Chronicle* s.a. 896. Here the Parker MS. (A) reads *æt Cwat brycge* where two other versions read *æt Bricege* and a third *æt Brycge*—the last a useful reading when we come to consider the coin evidence. The element *Cwat*, of course, survives to this day both in Quatford and in the village of Quat, a mile or two farther to the south. What has happened is perfectly clear. The main river-crossing, the *brycg* in fact which need not be a bridge as we understand it today, has shifted northwards. Whereas in the ninth and early tenth centuries the crossing was perhaps as far south as Quat, by Norman times we find the motte sited at Bridgnorth. Again pending a considered verdict from the historians, the present writer would suggest that the BRYGIN coin be given provisionally to the Saxon burgh represented by the modern town of Bridgnorth.

In this case the final N of BRYGIN need not be considered an irregular inflexion but the initial letter of the second element of the mint-name, i.e. the modern "-north". As we have seen the spelling of the first element with a Y is perfectly normal. The omission of the C is a little disturbing, but at this period no die-cutter had had occasion to engrave the consonantal sound corresponding to modern "dg". Moreover there is a strong possibility that the coin in fact reads BRYCCIN. There only remains the question of the die-linked coin of NIPAN. One's first thought is for Newport in Shropshire, a place of some importance in modern times, sixteen miles north-east of Bridgnorth and roughly half-way along the main road from Stafford to

Shrewsbury. However, Newport is not mentioned in *Domesday*, and there can be little doubt but that it came into existence in the twelfth century at the earliest. In any case, sixteen miles seems rather far for a die to travel—considerably farther than in the well-attested cases where the same obverse is used at Southampton and Winchester, and at Cadbury and at Bruton.

It will be recalled that there is non-numismatic evidence that the centre of settlement originally as far south as Quat was shifting even in Saxon times northwards up the left bank of the Severn. Consequently we should not be surprised if we find the epithet "new" applied to any of the man-made features of the area, for example to the artificial crossing of the river underlying the name *Brycg*, or to the fortifications commanding the passage which presumably moved with it. I am most grateful to Dr. F. T. Wainwright for pointing out to me that there is in the immediate vicinity of Bridgnorth a hamlet by the name of Oldbury. Much more work will have to be done, and in particular a survey made on the ground, but it is tempting provisionally to identify NIFAN with a hypothetical place name *æt Niwanbyrig æt Cwat*.¹ This may or may not be an alternative name for *æt Brycgenorthum*, but the suggestion of this note is that both BRYGIN and NIFAN are to be associated with a site or sites in the general area of Bridgnorth and Quatford. Incidentally one wonders whether some of the early forms given for Newport, Salop., such as "novus burgus" should not in fact be taken as referring to the same area, but this is a matter for the student of place-names proper.

Of course it is possible that the NIFAN of the coins is in fact to be expanded "Niwanport", and that our hypothetical place-name in the Bridgnorth vicinity is *æt Niwanporte æt Cwat* (or *æt Brycge*?) but even so there seem good reasons why we should not attempt to transfer to Shropshire the coins which read NIFANPO and NIFEPORT which Carlyon-Britton gave to Newport Pagnell. The style of the coin of Eadgar has no Mercian affinities, while the moneyer is known at Bedford in the same reign. As regards the coins of Edward the Confessor Mr. Elmore Jones has pointed out to the writer that there are certain stylistic characteristics which are also found on pieces from the mints at Aylesbury and Buckingham. At the period in question, too, the moneyer Sired is known elsewhere only at London, and a case could be made out that the minor mints of the Home Counties were served by moneyers from the metropolis—Corff at Reading and Dudinc at Horndon are known otherwise for the relevant period only at London.

The Eadwig coins reading NIFE only are perhaps to be given to Newport Pagnell—though the possibility of Newark cannot as yet be excluded—but they cannot well be attributed to Shropshire where the "Mercian rosette" would be expected. There remain the coins of the moneyer Ingolf which read M'ANIFV and И-ОИЕФЕН:, under Eadgar and Edward the Martyr respectively. The present writer has

¹ Mr. H. Loyn points out to me that *Domesday* in fact reads "nova domus et burgus Quatford vocatus".

suggested Newport Pagnell and he must confess that the style of the coins is so reminiscent of Bedford that he would favour no other attribution.¹ Certainly, they cannot possibly be associated with Bridgnorth. While on the subject of doubtful attributions, it may not be out of place to suggest that certain entries in Brooke should be treated with caution pending further evidence. The Ægelmær coin given to Bridport reads no more than BRY, and *could* be Bristol or even Bridgnorth. The Ælfwerd penny of Æthelræd II we have already considered, while the Wulstan penny of Cnut reads no more than BR, and consequently *could* as well be Bridgnorth, Bridport, Bristol, or Bruton. The same applies to an unpublished penny of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type by the moneyer Ælfstan which I found last year in one of the Swedish hoards.

THE EMERGENCY MINT OF CADBURY

In the course of collecting material for the projected Swedish *Corpus* of late Saxon pence, the present writer could not but be struck by the ephemeral nature of the mint established *æt Cadanbyrig*, and also by the peculiar composition of its personnel. The following check-list compiled on the basis of the National Collections at Stockholm, Copenhagen, and London does not pretend to be a complete list of the known coins of the mint even as regards the collections concerned, but it is believed that it includes all the known pairs of dies.

Hild. } = Stockholm K. = Copenhagen B.M. = British Museum
S. }

ÆTHELRÆD II (979-1016)

Last Small Cross Type (c. 1010-1016?)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. + ÆDEL RÆDREXANĠLO
Pellets on inner circles before and
behind bust.
Ælfwine (Pl. V, 1) | + ÆLFFINEON:CADEBY
Pellets in 1st and 3rd angles of cross
patee
S. (ex 1954 Rone hoard), K |
| 2. + ÆDEL RÆDREXANĠLORV•X
God (Pl. V, 2) | + GODONCADANBYRIM•
Hild. 117, K, B.M. |
| 3. From same obverse die as (2)
God (Pl. V, 3) | + GODONCADANBYRIM•O
K |
| 4. + ÆDEL RÆDREX•A•NĠL•
Winas (Pl. V, 4) | + PIN:A•SONE:A•D•A•BYR
Hild. 119, K |
| 5. From same obverse die as (4)
Winas (Pl. V, 5) | + PINASONCADANB
Hild. 120 |
| 6. + ÆDEL RÆDREXANĠ•
Wulfelm (Pl. V, 6) | + PVL FELMONCADAN
Hild. 121, B.M. |
| 7. + ÆDEL RÆDREXANĠLOX
Wulfelm (Pl. V, 7) | + PVL FELMONCADANBY:
Hild. 122, K |

¹ Cf. P. Berghaus, *Der Schatz von Sigstarve Gotland*, p. 149 (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Deb 83, *Antikvariska Studier* v).

Cnut (1016-1035)

Quatrefoil Type (c. 1017-1023?)1. +ENVTREXΛNGLORVM
Ælfelm (Pl. V, 8)+EL FEL•MON CΛD
B.M.C. 242. +ENVTREXΛNGLORVM
Winas (Pl. V, 9)+PIN ΛΣΘ NCL DEBR
Hild. 119.

It will be noticed that two of the coins attributed to Cadbury by Hildebrand are omitted from this list. One of these is the Æthelræd penny of the moneyer Godefryth (Pl. V, 10). As Mr. Elmore Jones pointed out to the writer in his very early days, this is a misread



coin of Lewes (CΛDEN for LΛPEN). Not only is Godefryth a prolific moneyer at Lewes in the same type, but he is not known elsewhere under Æthelræd nor under Cnut. Moreover, the style of the coin is utterly inconsistent with undoubted Cadbury coins of the same type (Pl. V, 2 and 4) which illustrate admirably a provincial style found in the West Country only, and notably at Exeter. The style of the Godefryth coin, however, is completely consistent with other coins of Lewes of the same type, and it would seem that at this period the dies for Lewes were being supplied from London.

The second of Hildebrand's Cadbury attributions that must now be rejected is the Cnut penny of the moneyer Swet. As an enlarged photograph shows quite clearly, the reading of the mint-name is not CΛNBΥRI—which would be an extraordinary reading for Cadbury at the best of times, involving as it does the suppression of an essential consonant but not of a comparatively unimportant inflection—but EΛNBΥRI.¹ In the course of a paper that already has sought to add two new mints to the late Saxon canon one is naturally reluctant even to seem to hint at a third, but it must be admitted that here we appear to have a *prima facie* case for one. Hanbury at once comes to mind ("Heanbyrig" in the Peterborough *Chronicle*), but Hanbury would seem to be in Mercia from the context, and is perhaps to be identified with Hanbury, Staffs., while the style of the coin is West Saxon. The moneyer Swet is known for the reign only at Dorchester, and it is tempting to suggest that the Dorchester mint may have been

¹ A second coin, apparently from the same dies, is in the Bruun Collection in Copenhagen (no. 38) and was correctly read EΛNBΥRI by Dr. Galster.

evacuated in the same way as Wilton and, as we shall see, Ilchester, but it is a temptation that for the present we must firmly resist. The opinion of experts in place-names on early forms is first required, and there may well be several candidates. For example there is Yarnbury Castle in South Wiltshire though the presence of the R suggests an obvious objection, while Emborough in Somerset is even farther removed than Cadbury. It befits the numismatist simply to put on record the new-mint-reading EANBYRI, to state that he knows the moneyer only at Dorchester in the next two types, to give it as his opinion that the coin is from Wessex, and further to remark perhaps that an additional ground for his disliking the obvious Hanbury is the fact that initial H unlike initial N is very rarely omitted from mint-names on the coins of this period. Incidentally no *Quatrefoil* coins of Dorchester are known, the coins hitherto attributed to that mint being all of Derby.

One of the names of the authentic Cadbury moneyers, however, is of quite exceptional interest. This particular name is *Winas*, a very irregular form of the personal name *Wine*. Were it not for the fact that after the closure of the Cadbury mint we have two coins of patently the same moneyer which read *Winus*, one would be tempted to postulate a plural form from *Wine*, say two moneyers Eadwine and Godwine known locally as "the Wines". However, the fact that the two coins are of successive types and both remarkably neatly engraved seems to establish *Winas* and *Winus* as variant forms of an irregular singular personal name. One should perhaps remark that the first syllable is stressed and that both vowels are short. Consequently there would be virtually no difference in pronunciation as between the two forms. *Winas*, then, is a very unusual name, and it is interesting to note the other mints at which it is recorded.¹ In Æthelræd's *Long Cross* type which apparently ceased to be struck early in 1004 we find a *Winas* at Crewkerne, fifteen miles to the south-west of Cadbury. In the *Helmet* type he is found at Ilchester, only seven or so miles to the west. In *Second Small Cross* we know him only at Cadbury, but in *Quatrefoil* of Cnut he strikes both at Cadbury and at Crewkerne, and then at Crewkerne only at least until c. 1028. The bracket of the coins of a moneyer or moneyers *Winas*, then, is roughly a quarter of a century, and all the evidence is surely that the *Winas* who strikes at Crewkerne is the same as the *Winas* who strikes at Ilchester and Cadbury.²

The second point which the present paper would seek to make is that no *Second Small Cross* coin is recorded of Ilchester, normally by no means an unprolific Somerset mint, and further it must be remarked that Bruton is not known for Æthelræd although in Cnut's first type it strikes on a considerable scale. Already we have noticed how *Winas* appears to migrate to Cadbury from Ilchester c. 1010 and to return to

¹ The name also occurs under the Confessor at Salisbury.

² For the first reconstruction of *Winas*'s journeyings see my appendix to E. J. King, *Years Without Memory*, 1954, pp. 125-6.

his native Crewkerne *c.* 1020, and it is instructive to draw up a table setting out the position for the Cadbury mint as a whole. In this table all West Country moneyers are included, but the question whether the God at Exeter, for example, is the same man as the God at Cadbury is deliberately avoided.

THE MONEYERS AT CADBURY

	<i>c.</i> 1000-1010	<i>c.</i> 1010-1020	<i>c.</i> 1020-1030
<i>Ælfelm</i>	Winchcombe	CADBURY Winchester	BRUTON
<i>Ælfwine</i>	BRUTON? Shaftesbury	CADBURY Shaftesbury	BRUTON/ILCHESTER Shaftesbury
<i>God</i>	ILCHESTER Exeter	CADBURY Exeter	ILCHESTER Exeter
<i>Winas</i>	CREWKERNE/ILCHESTER	CADBURY	CREWKERNE
<i>Wulfelm</i>		CADBURY	ILCHESTER

From this table it is surely obvious that Cadbury stands in a very special relationship as regards both Ilchester and Bruton. In the case of Ilchester the relationship may be further elucidated by a table setting out the moneyers for Æthelræd's last three and Cnut's first two substantive types:

THE MONEYERS OF ILCHESTER

	<i>Æthelræd II</i> Hild.			<i>Cnut</i> Hild.	
	D	E	A	E	G
<i>Ælfsige</i>	Barnstaple Wareham Winchester		Winchester	ILCHESTER Southampton Winchester	Winchester Bath ILCHESTER
<i>Ælfwine</i>			CADBURY	BRUTON/ILCHESTER Salisbury	Salisbury
	Shaftesbury BRUTON?		Shaftesbury	Shaftesbury Winchester ILCHESTER	
<i>Æthelmaer</i>	ILCHESTER	ILCHESTER	CADBURY	ILCHESTER	
<i>God</i>	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter	Exeter
<i>Godwine</i>				ILCHESTER	
	Wilton Totnes	Salisbury Totnes Winchester	Salisbury	Salisbury Winchester	Milborne Port Salisbury Winchester
<i>Leofsige</i>	ILCHESTER			ILCHESTER	
<i>Leofwine</i>					Warminster ILCHESTER
	Taunton Wilton	Bath Winchester	Winchester	Winchester	Winchester
<i>Oswi</i>				ILCHESTER	
<i>Winas</i>	CREWKERNE	ILCHESTER	CADBURY	CADBURY/CREWKERNE	CREWKERNE
<i>Wulfelm</i>			CADBURY	ILCHESTER	

The essential pattern is clear. The only two Ilchester moneyers in *Helmet* are found at Cadbury in the next type. Of the eight Ilchester

moneymen in Cnut's first or *Quatrefoil* type, three only would appear to have been striking in Æthelræd's last type, all of them at Cadbury and Cadbury alone. There can be little doubt, in fact, but that the Ilchester mint was removed to Cadbury *c.* 1010 and did not return to its old home until *c.* 1017 at the earliest. The same phenomenon has been observed at Wilton where the mint was transferred to Salisbury after the sack of 1003, but in that case some of the moneymen elected to remain permanently at Salisbury, with the result that for the late Saxon period we have both Wilton and Salisbury existing side-by-side.

Before we consider the special circumstances that explain both the opening and the closure of the mint at Cadbury, we should perhaps take into account the pattern of the moneymen at Bruton. As we have seen, Bruton is not a mint of Æthelræd II, though coins of Cnut's first type are not uncommon.

THE MONEYMEN OF BRUTON

	<i>Æthelræd II</i> Hild.			<i>Cnut</i> Hild.	
	D	E	A	E	G
<i>Ælfelm</i>	Winchcombe		CADBURY Winchester	CADBURY/BRUTON	BRUTON
	BRUTON ?		CADBURY	BRUTON/ILCHESTER	Bath ILCHESTER
<i>Ælfwine</i>	Shaftesbury		Shaftesbury	Salisbury Shaftesbury Winchester	Salisbury
<i>"Effi"</i>					BRUTON

It would appear that the Bruton mint was founded from Cadbury, and any lingering doubts are dispelled by a most remarkable die-link which has lain unnoticed in the National Collection for more than a hundred-and-fifty years. The unique coin of Ælfelm struck at Cadbury in Cnut's first type is from the same obverse die as a coin of the same moneyer struck at Bruton.¹ There is reason to believe, incidentally, that both the British Museum coins are from the same hoard, a major find of pence of Cnut made in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and apparently in the vicinity of Gloucester.

The overall picture of the Cadbury mint, then, is one of quite exceptional interest. The mint came into being at the same time as striking ceased at Ilchester, and it is Ilchester moneymen who are found striking in the new mint. No *Helmet* coins are known of Cadbury and no *Last Small Cross* coins of Ilchester, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that the transfer took place at approximately the same time as the change of type. The evidence of the Wilton and Salisbury mints is that under Æthelræd the type was changed every six years, and that one change occurred either in September 1003 or in March 1004.

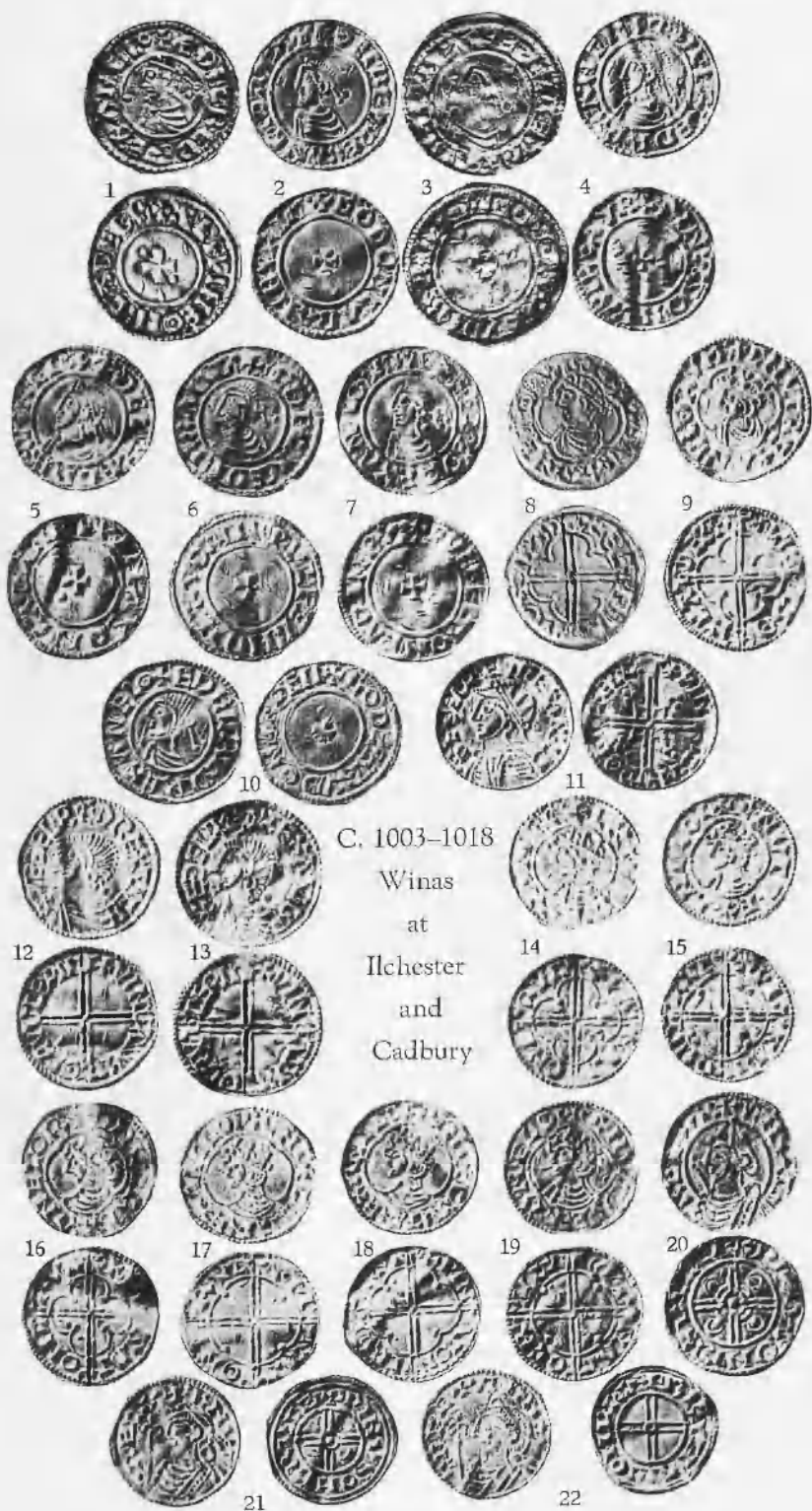
¹ This die-link also clinches that Cadbury is the modern Cadbury Beacon, and not the Cadbury near Bristol nor yet another Cadbury near Exeter.

Consequently the transfer of the Ilchester mint to Cadbury can be dated with some confidence to September 1009 or March 1010. Inasmuch as Wessex had not been ravaged since the great attack of 1003, the decision would seem to have been precautionary, yet another



example of the far-sighted policies that prevailed, alas only temporarily, during the uneasy lull between Sweyn's triumphant progress of 1006/7 and Thorkell the Tall's descent on Kent in 1009. Cadbury, the modern Cadbury Beacon, was a natural defensive site—one of the few in that part of the country—with Iron Age earthworks still virtually intact. A mint established there would enjoy considerable security, the more so because the ramparts would form the natural place of refuge for the whole of the surrounding countryside. It would have needed a major host to have stormed the position, and we may recall that Salisbury had escaped when Sweyn sacked Wilton. Even a Viking army would have thought twice before attacking up a steep slope West Saxon levies entrenched behind solid ramparts and fighting not only for their own lives but also for those of their wives and children.

Of course the site was also extremely inconvenient in time of peace. It lacked water, and all the bullion and fuel for the mint had to be brought considerable distances. Such disadvantages doubtless explain the closure of the mint early in Cnut's reign when more settled conditions again prevailed. The exact date of the abandonment cannot be established with quite the same precision since it did not coincide with a change of type, but we will not be far wrong if we place it not later than 1020—we have to allow time for one moneyer, Ælfwine, to



strike at both Bruton and Ilchester coins of Cnut's first type. It may well be that the exodus from Cadbury was earlier, only two Cnut coins of Cadbury are known, one in Stockholm and one in the British Museum, and a date as early as 1017 would be by no means impossible. However this may be, the evidence is pretty conclusive that Cadbury was occupied for only a very few years, and the numismatist would suggest that the site is one that might provide the archaeologist with some nicely dated sherds.

The privilege of minting, however, was too valuable to be surrendered when once conceded, and hence doubtless the establishment of the valley mint at Bruton at the same time as the return to Ilchester—we may recall that Salisbury continued to strike after the reopening of the mint at Wilton. Whether Bruton was already a burgh in its own right, or whether it merely perpetuated on a more convenient site the privileges that strictly attached to Cadbury, is perhaps an open question. Whatever the answer, Bruton is described in Domesday as a borough, and no such status attaches to the windswept hilltop once more deserted and given over to the shepherd and the wild bird. Dare one hope, too, that this note may have cleared up the problem inherent in Sir Frank Stenton's remark¹ that Cadbury was not even a royal manor in 1066 though it had struck coins for both Æthelræd II and Cnut? If so, the numismatist has still to solve the mystery of Horndon until this year known from but a single coin.

KEY TO PLATE V

THE MINT OF CADBURY

1. Æthelræd II, Last Small Cross, Ælfwine (Hild. —)
2. " " " " God (Hild. 117)
3. " " " " God (Hild. —)
4. " " " " Winas (Hild. 119)
5. " " " " Winas (Hild. 120)
6. " " " " Wulfelm (Hild. 121)
7. " " " " Wulfelm (Hild. 122)
8. Cnut, Quatrefoil, Ælfelm (B.M.C. 24)
9. " " " " Winas (Hild. 119)
10. Æthelræd II, Last Small Cross, *Lewes*, Godefryth (Hild. 118)
11. " " " " Helmet, *Ilchester*, Winas (Hild. 1043)

THE MINT OF CREWKERNE

12. Æthelræd II, Long Cross, Winas (Hild. 344)
13. " " " " Winas (Hild. 345)
14. Cnut, Quatrefoil, Winas (Hild. 263)
15. " " " " Winas (Hild. 264)
16. " " " " Winas (Hild. 265)
17. " " " " Winas (Hild. 266)
18. " " " " Winas (Hild. 267) (same obv. die as preceding)
19. " " " " Winas (Hild. 268)
20. " Pointed Helmet, Winas (Hild. 269)
21. " Short Cross, Winas (Hild. 270)
22. " " " " Brihtwi

Coins 2, 4-7, 9-22 from photographs supplied by the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm; coins 1 and 3 from photographs supplied by the Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen, and coin 8 in the British Museum.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 529.