

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE TYPES OF EADWEARD THE MARTYR AND ÆTHELRÆD II.

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IN this paper an attempt is made to arrange the types of the coinages of Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelræd II in their proper chronological sequence of issue, and to apply those principles and facts disclosed by combined types, or mules, and by overstruck specimens, which were utilised by the writer in his "Eadward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, pages 179-205, and in his *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II*.

Hildebrand's type C2 of Eadgar is so different in style and workmanship from any earlier Anglo-Saxon coin, whether of that king or of any predecessor, and is so like, in these respects, to the coins of Eadweard the Martyr and certain of those of Æthelræd II, that no reasonable doubt can exist as to its having been the last issued of Eadgar's coinages.

It, in fact, marks a period in the development of the Anglo-Saxon coinage in as definite a manner as does the introduction of the short-cross coinage of Henry II. Two of the chronological classifications hitherto attempted are 1, that of Hildebrand in his *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1881; and 2, that of Messrs. H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, in *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum Saxon Series*, vol. ii, 1893.

Hildebrand does not perhaps claim in express terms to have made such a classification, but the arrangement of the types made by him coupled with his notes, afford evidence of an intention so

to do. He does not appear to have fully understood the significance either of *a*, recurring types, or *b*, combined types, or mules, as is clearly shown by his treatment of a substantive type of Eadweard the Confessor, type X of my arrangement, as a mere variety of his type A of that king's coinages, and his classification of a mule of types IX and X of the same sovereign as a variety of his type A.

These instances will suffice to convey my meaning, but many could be added. Messrs. Grueber and Keary, however, on page xxvi, specifically claim to have made a classification in these words: "From the time of Ælfred an historical arrangement of the types seems possible, and from that period it has been attempted"

THE INSCRIPTIONS, OR LEGENDS.

Before passing to a consideration of the various types of coins issued during the period now under review, it may be useful to make a few remarks of a general character in regard to the nature and the form of the inscriptions which appear upon the obverse and reverse respectively.

As regards the obverse, the legend consists of the name of the sovereign written in English, or without the Latin termination—*us*, followed by the Latin word *Rex* and the further Latin word *Anglorum*, as, for instance, *Eadweard rex Anglorum*, Eadweard King of the Angles, or English, that is, King of the people of England rather than of the country so named. Certain coins of Eadweard the Confessor of the "sovereign" type, type VIII of my arrangement, present the name of the king in the Latinised form *Eadweardus*, but this is a late and exceptional form of treatment.

As regards the reverse, the legend consists of the name of the moneyer followed by an abbreviation signifying his office, and lastly the name of the mint. The coins struck prior to the year 1000 present the name of the moneyer in English and apparently, like that of the king on the obverse, in the nominative—although it should be in the ablative—case followed by an abbreviation of the Latin word *monetario* in the ablative case. Then follows the name of the

mint, which is generally rendered in English. The longer readings seem to disclose an intention to present the locative or ablative case. The longest form of *monetario* which has come to my notice is *moneta*. The full stop indicates that the word is abbreviated, whilst the form M-O, generally used, shows that the ablative case is intended.

To illustrate my meaning by an example: +LVDA M-O EAXACEAS TRE must, I think, be taken to mean [struck] by the moneyer Luda at Exeter, while +ÆDESTAN M-O ƿINTONI is an inscription of a similar character except that "at Winchester" is expressed in the Latin form ƿINTONI for *Wintonia*.

In or about the year 1000 the English word ON was introduced after the name of the moneyer. This word means *in*, in the sense of *at*. The word M-O, or some equivalent form, descriptive of the moneyer's office was sometimes retained immediately after the name of the moneyer and before the word ON, but eventually the reverse legend universally adopted consisted of the name of the moneyer in the nominative case, followed by the word ON and the name of the mint in the locative or ablative case. The following examples will illustrate my meaning:

+ODA ON ƿINCESTRE Æthelræd II.

+PINVS ON PILTVNE Eadweard the Confessor.

Here we have the name and place of work and residence of the moneyer:—Oda at Winchester, Winus at Wilton. The Latin form *Winus* clearly shows that the nominative case is intended.

It is interesting to note that the traders' tokens of the seventeenth century continued the use of the word ON, rendered in the English form of that time, IN. Upon these the name of the issuer followed by the word IN and the name of the place of issue almost universally appear.

For a more detailed statement of the various forms representing *monetario* and the time of user of the word *on*, readers are referred to table D at the close of this paper.

EADWEARD II, THE MARTYR, A.D. 975-978.

This king succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Eadgar, on the 8th of July, 975, and was murdered on the 18th of March, 978. His reign, therefore, extended over a period of a little more than two years and eight months. In these circumstances we should not expect to find that he issued more than one type of coinage, but he is in fact accredited by Hildebrand and others, both before and after Hildebrand's time, with two types, which are denominated by him type A and type B. With these I will deal in turn.

TYPE I.—Hildebrand, type A; British Museum Catalogue, type ii.

This has upon the obverse a draped bust of the king turned to the spectator's left, the head filleted, with a plain inner circle, surrounded by the name and title of the king, all within an outer dotted circle.

The reverse has a small cross pattée within a plain inner circle, surrounded by the names of the moneyer and his mint, within an outer dotted circle.

As regards the types of obverse and reverse this coinage is entirely similar to the last issue of Eadgar, namely, Hildebrand, type C2, and British Museum Catalogue, type vi.

THE ALLEGED TYPE II.—Hildebrand, type B; British Museum Catalogue, type ii.

This "type" is represented by a single specimen from the Cuff, Murchison, Ford, Brice and Montagu cabinets. At the sale of the lastly mentioned collection it realised £12 and was acquired by the British Museum.

It is of the type of Æthelræd II, Hildebrand B1; obverse +EADWEARD REX ANGLORUM, with bust to the spectator's right, filleted; reverse, +PINE M-O CÆNTA Hand of Providence pointing downwards, between $\bar{\alpha}$ and $\bar{\omega}$.

The illustration of this piece in Ruding, plate C20, was made when it was in the collection of Mr. Cuff, and from this Hildebrand's illustration of it was copied. The wood block illustration in the British Museum Catalogue, II, page 192, was prepared from the piece when it was in the late Mr. Montagu's possession. The Editors append a note that "This unique coin was probably struck at Canterbury, the inscription on the reverse being PINE MO NAENTA (Caenta ?)": but the readings which I have given above are taken from the autotype illustration in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, plate 6, 751; confirmed by an inspection of the piece itself. Wine struck coins of Eadgar's last type and of type I of Eadweard II at Canterbury. We have no evidence that he continued to coin there for Æthelræd II, but the same name occurs at Lymne on coins of type B1 of Hildebrand's arrangement.

Having carefully examined this unique piece I have come to the conclusion that it is one of the series of clever forgeries exposed by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1897. These were from forged dies and were mostly overstruck on genuine coins, as is the piece now under consideration.

I have already remarked that it is not likely that Eadweard II would have issued in his reign of two years and eight months more than one type of coinage, as the normal duration of a type was at this period three years. It is also matter for remark and inference that no coin of this alleged type is recorded to have been found in any of the hoards of coins of Æthelræd II discovered either in this country or abroad, but its absence from the hoard of coins of Eadgar, Eadweard II and Æthelræd II found at Chester in August, 1914, is very strong presumptive evidence against the authenticity of the specimen in the National Collection. An account of this hoard is given by Mr. G. F. Hill in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1920. From this it appears that the hoard comprised the following coins:—

Eadgar, Hildebrand C2; British Museum Catalogue,	
type vi	24
Eadweard II, Hildebrand A; British Museum	
Catalogue, type i	52

Æthelræd II, type I of my classification	.. ..	33
Æthelræd II, mules of types I-II of my classification		3
Æthelræd II, type II of my classification	.. ..	8

In addition to these the hoard contained a penny of Stamford of either Eadgar, Hildebrand C2, or of Eadweard II, Hildebrand A, and a penny of Canterbury of Æthelræd II, described by Mr. Hill as "Type I variety; not in the British Museum or Hildebrand." To this last I will refer later in its proper place.

Appended is a list of the known mints of Eadweard II.

The Mints of Eadweard II.

Bath	Guildford ²	Rochester ²
Bedford	Hertford	Southampton ³
Buckingham	Ipswich	Stamford
Bury St. Edmunds ¹	Lewes	Tamworth
Cambridge	Lincoln	Thetford
Canterbury	London	Totnes
Chester	Lydford	Warwick
Derby	Lymne	Wilton
Exeter	Norwich	Winchester
Gloucester	Oxford	York

ÆTHELRÆD II, A.D. 978-1016.

Æthelræd II, commonly called the Unready, or "The Redeless," succeeded his half-brother Eadweard II on the 18th of March, 978, and continued to occupy an uneasy throne until the winter of 1013 when Swegen, King of Denmark, obtained the government until his death on the 3rd of February, 1014. On the decease of Swegen his son Cnut was elected king of England by the Danes, but Æthelræd II was restored to power. Upon the happening of this event there was a contest between Æthelræd II's son, Eadmund II,

¹ Ruding.

² Chester hoard.

³ or Northampton.

commonly called Ironside, on the part of the English, and Cnut, son of Swegen, on the part of the Danes. This struggle continued after Æthelræd's death until November, 1016, when, by treaty between Eadmund and Cnut, the former received Wessex, and the latter Mercia and Northumbria. Eadmund, however, was assassinated on the 30th of November, 1016, whereupon Cnut became king of all England.

From the date of Æthelræd's succession on the 18th of March, 978, to the date of his death on the 23rd of April, 1016, there is a period of a little over thirty-eight years, without deduction of the time occupied by his temporary deposition and flight to Normandy. A study of the number of the substantive types of the coinage of the later Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish kings leads me to the general conclusion that the normal time for the issue of each was a term of three years, and that the commencement of that term was Michaelmas, which marked the close and beginning of the financial, or, in later days, the Exchequer year.

If we apply this rule to the case of Æthelræd II's reign of thirty-eight years we should expect to find that there were thirteen substantive types of his coins, and there are in fact that number.

THE COINS OF ÆTHELRÆD II.

TYPE I.—Included in Hildebrand's type A, and in the British Museum Catalogue, type i.

Note.—The specimen selected by Hildebrand for illustration is of type X of my present arrangement.

Obverse.—Bust of the king turned to the spectator's left, filleted, within a plain inner circle surrounded by his name and title; all within an outer dotted circle.

Reverse.—A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle, which is surrounded by the names of the moneyer and mint, within an outer dotted circle.

This issue was, in effect, a reproduction of the sole type of Eadweard II, which it so closely resembles that, without deciphering

the name of the king, specimens of it would be mistaken for coins of Eadweard.

Like those of Eadweard II, the coins of this type nearly always give a lengthy rendering of the word *Anglorum*, usually *ANGLOV*. In like manner the names of the moneyer and mint are separated by the contraction *M-O*, for *monetario*, in the form, with few exceptions, customary on the reverses of Eadweard II's pennies. In a few instances *M-O* is rendered *N-O* through a die-sinker's error. As Hildebrand recognized such a point of custom has some bearing upon the determination of the order of the types of the coinages, and it is of particular importance in regard to the separation into distinct types of the several issues which are now classed together as type A of Hildebrand's arrangement.

This is a matter not easy of accomplishment in the absence of an inspection of the actual coins, and it is made less easy by reason of the fact that innovations in form were not speedily adopted in northern mints such as Lincoln and York. At these, and perhaps also at other mints, old dies seem to have been used whenever the moneyers were able to avail themselves of them without any great danger of detection, so that probably many unsuspected mule coins help to deter the disentanglement of the various issues comprised in type A.

Hildebrand, on page 29 of the 1881 edition of his work, repeats a remark made in the edition of 1846, page 23, in reference to type A.

"The type appears to have been in continuous use, together with the later ones, during the whole of King Æthelræd's reign, in consequence of which the coin has varied much in regard to size, weight and inscription."

Such a view may well have been in accord with the knowledge of numismatics which had been attained in 1846 and even in 1881, but it does not accord with the ideas now generally entertained and accepted.

As has already been remarked, Hildebrand does not appear to have recognized the existence of mule coins as such, nor do his words

"*in continuous use together with the later ones*" admit of the construction that he intended to convey the idea of several intermittent issues of coins of a similar type.

The coins illustrated by him as type A, varieties C and D, I regard as local varieties of types I, VII and X of my arrangement, to be assorted according to their reverse inscriptions. Of these, together, 19 varying specimens are recorded, the mints represented being Colchester, Ipswich, Stamford and Thetford. The variation from the substantive type consists of the addition of four smaller crosses pattées placed around the central cross pattée of the reverse design.

Hildebrand B_I, variety a, is a mule of obverse type I with reverse type II, and examples of it emanating from the mints at Canterbury, Chester, Southampton,¹ Hereford and Shrewsbury are known to us.

TYPE II.—Hildebrand's type B_I, British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety a.

Obverse.—Bust to the right, filleted. The folds of the drapery are in rounded curves. Around, inscription between two circles.

Reverse.—Hand of Providence issuing from clouds and pointing downwards; on either side $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$; around, inscription between two circles.

The abbreviation M-O is almost invariably used, but the form MONETA occurs in two or three cases, and that of M-O not quite so rarely.

Hildebrand records 291 varying specimens of this type, his type B_I, occurring at in all 40 different mints, so I have thought it reasonable to regard this as the second substantive type of the reign, rather than to follow the compilers of Volume II of the British Museum Catalogue who have adopted the rare mule, Hildebrand B_I, variety a, as type ii of their classification.

¹ "Hamwic."

There are, however, included in Hildebrand's type B₁ many examples having the general characteristics of his illustration B₁, variety c, except that the letters $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ are normally placed. These, I think, represent a later issue of dies, but do not constitute a separate type. On the obverse, the central portion of the drapery is shown in V-shaped folds, instead of in rounded curves, while on the reverse the hand issues from a sleeve, like that of a bishop, instead of from "clouds." Of this later issue of Type II, I had specimens struck at Bedford, Chester, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Norwich and Thetford. Also there are coins of the York mint composed of the obverse of the earlier issue of dies showing the drapery in rounded curves, and the reverse of the later issue with sleeve in lieu of clouds.

Hildebrand B₁, variety c, is a variety of the second issue of my type II, whereon the letters α , ω are placed in the reverse order ω , α . Specimens struck at Cambridge, Ipswich and Norwich are recorded by him, and coins of this variety of the two lastly mentioned mints were included in the Ipswich hoard.

Sometimes an annulet, a small cross, or a pellet, is placed in the centre of the "clouds." I had a Derby coin with the first, and coins of Canterbury, Gloucester, London, and Tamworth, with the third of these minor variations.

TYPE III.—Hildebrand, type B₂. British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety d.

Obverse.—Bust to the right, filleted. The folds of the drapery are in rounded curves. In front of the bust a sceptre pommée. Around, inscription between two circles.

Reverse.—Hand of Providence issuing from clouds, on either side of which are lines curving outwards, between $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ beneath each of which is a pellet; around, inscription between two circles.

The abbreviation M-O is almost invariably used, but M $\bar{\omega}$ O occurs occasionally.

Of this type Hildebrand records 192 varying specimens coined at 32 different mints, so again I do not hesitate to regard this as a substantive type, and to disregard the British Museum classification of it as a "variety."

Hildebrand, type B2, variety a, is a mere variety of type II, the $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ and their pellets being in this case omitted. This is type ii variety e, of the British Museum Catalogue. There is only one specimen known and that is of the Chester mint. The variation is probably due to the carelessness of the die-sinker. The coin is of barbarous work, indicating local preparation of the dies.

Hildebrand, type B1, variety d, British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety c, is a mule of the obverse of type III and the reverse of the later issue of type II of my arrangement. One specimen only, of the Ipswich mint, is known to us, and this may be regarded as due to the use by the moneyer of a reverse die of type II, which is very like that of type III.

TYPE IV.—Hildebrand, type B3. British Museum Catalogue, type ii, variety f.

This, to a great extent, resembles types II and III, but the head of the king is not filleted and the sceptre is surmounted by a cross pattée. On the reverse the Hand of Providence is represented in Benediction, namely, with the third and fourth fingers closed. The letter $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\omega}$ are absent. A small cross pattée is placed in the centre of the "clouds." The form M-O is almost invariably used.

Specimens of this type are much rarer than those of its two immediate predecessors. Hildebrand records 36 varying specimens, representing in all thirteen mints. To these I can add Gloucester and Shrewsbury from specimens formerly in my own collection, and Ruding, plate 22, figure 15, adds Worcester, and plate D, figure 37, Lewes, to the list. It is not unlikely that other mints are represented, but as we here have, without an exhaustive search, a total

of 17 mints from which this type emanated, we may with safety regard this as substantive type, and not as a variety.

Hildebrand, type C, variety c, is a mule of obverse type III and reverse type V of my arrangement. Hildebrand records specimens struck at Lincoln, London, Lydford and Winchester.

Hildebrand, type C, variety d, is a mule of obverse type IV and reverse type V. It occurs of the Barnstaple, Norwich and York mints.

TYPE V.—Hildebrand, type C, variety b. British Museum Catalogue, type iii.

Obverse.—Draped bust to the left, filleted. Around, inscription between two circles. Similar to type I.

Reverse.—Short cross voided, generally with a pellet in the centre; in the angles \square RVX commencing in the second heraldic quarter. Around, inscription between two circles.

The form M-O continues in general use, but M^oO is sometimes substituted for it.

Hildebrand records 23 varying specimens of this type, the mints represented being

Exeter	Wareham	Winchester
Hereford	Wilton	York
London		

TYPE VI.—Hildebrand, type C. British Museum Catalogue, type iii, variety a.

Obverse.—Draped bust to the left, without the fillet; in front, sceptre pommée; around, inscription between two circles.

Reverse.—The same as that of type V.

The full form *ANGLOX* is continued to be generally employed on the obverse of this issue, and the abbreviation *M-O* on the reverse, but the forms *M^oO*, *M^oO* and other forms sometimes occur.

Of this substantive type Hildebrand records so many as 790 different specimens, assigned to 55 mints. His type C, variety a, represents a later and separate issue of dies, and he records 78 differing specimens of it attributed to in all 14 mints. The coins are of smaller module, the workmanship is of a neater character and the first letter of the word *CRVX* is sometimes placed in the first heraldic quarter of the voided cross, instead of in the second.

I disagree with the classification of the British Museum officials of this very common substantive type—type VI—as a mere “variety” of a type.

Hildebrand, type A, variety b, is a mule of the obverse of type VI and the reverse of type VII. He records 13 varying specimens, the mints represented being Lincoln, Lymne and York. To these I can add Porimen, for Warminster, from a coin formerly in my own collection.

The Canterbury coin referred to by Mr. Hill in his account of the Chester hoard as a variety of British Museum Catalogue type i not in the British Museum or Hildebrand, is a mule of types VI and VII of my arrangement, but differing from Hildebrand's illustration of type A, variety b, in having a pellet off the end of each arm of the small central cross. I think it very unlikely that this coin formed part of the hoard, but that it was included from another source by one of the gentlemen who used their best endeavours to collect from all sources the coins comprised in the find. The facts as narrated by Mr. Hill fully cover the likelihood of such an accidental inclusion.

TYPE VII.—Included in Hildebrand's type A, and in the British Museum Catalogue, type i.

This issue is of the same general design as type I, and, as regards the obverse, type V, but a shorter rendering of the

word ANGLORVM is usually adopted, and on the reverse the forms $\text{M}\cdot\text{O}$, $\text{M}-\text{O}$, $\text{M}^{\text{O}}\text{O}$ are used, instead of the earlier form $\text{M}-\text{O}$, which, however, appears to have been in rare instances retained at the Northern mints.

TYPE VIII.—Hildebrand, type G. British Museum Catalogue, type x.

This type has on the obverse the *Agnus Dei* to right; below are the letters $\text{A}\cdot\text{E}$ or AEN within a dotted compartment. Around, are the name and title of the king. There is no inner circle, but, as is usual, an outer dotted circle completes the design.

On the reverse is represented the Holy Dove. Around are the names of the moneyer and mint, occasionally the intermediate particle ON , signifying at, is introduced. There is no inner circle, but the usual dotted outer circle completes the design.

Hildebrand on page 32 refers to specimens of this type struck at Hereford, Malmesbury, Nottingham, Southampton, Stafford and Stamford. A fine specimen of the Derby mint, dug up in Gracechurch Street, London, formerly in the collection of the late Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, was in my own collection; so the list of mints known to us is as follows:—

Derby	Nottingham	Stafford
Hereford	Southampton	Stamford
Malmesbury		

A broken coin of this type of the Malmesbury mint formed lot 298 at the Rashleigh Sale; and would appear to resemble No. 3086 of Hildebrand, but it is remarkable in that it discloses the letter o of the word ON , but the letter n and the first two letters of the mint-name are broken out of the coin. The coins of Hereford and Stafford recorded by Hildebrand also have the word ON .

Hildebrand, type G, variety a, is classed by the compilers of

the British Museum Catalogue as a type of itself, namely, type xi, but the only specimen known of it is a cut half-penny, probably of Stamford. It is a mule of the obverse of type VIII and the reverse of type X.

The presence of this officially issued cut half-penny shows conclusively that type VIII was issued and used as a current coin of the realm and not, as has been suggested, as a medal, ornament, or commemorative issue. Finally, if this type was not current coin in England, why was it imitated for currency in Ireland? I need instance only the coin, formerly in my collection, illustrated as number 182, and a second in the British Museum, illustrated as number 183, in the careful monograph by the late Mr. Bernard Roth, F.S.A., "The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland," in volume vi of this *Journal*, as ample evidence of this fact.

According to my schemes of arrangement and computation, the dies for type VIII were issued about Michaelmas 999 and the unusual and markedly sacred character of the designs of both obverse and reverse would seem to have relation to the nearly approaching year of 1000 A.D., when it was then generally believed that the second coming of Christ might be expected to take place.

TYPE IX.—Hildebrand, type E, variety c. British Museum Catalogue, type vii.

Obverse.—Bust to the left in armour and radiate helmet. Around, inscription divided by the bust: an outer circle.

Reverse.—Long cross voided extending to the edge of the coin; pellet in the centre; in the angles CRVX, commencing in the second heraldic quarter. Around, inscription; an outer circle.

Of this issue only two specimens are recorded by Hildebrand. They are of the Bath and Salisbury mints respectively.

Hildebrand, type E, variety a, represents a mule with the obverse of type IX and the reverse of type X. He records only one specimen struck at Worcester. I had another, struck at Lincoln, whereon the inner circle is omitted from the reverse.

It will perhaps be objected that the paucity of specimens preserved to us presents a reason for not regarding this type, and its predecessor, type VIII as substantive types of the coinage of Æthelræd II. I can only reply that such matters depend upon the accident of discovery. At one time, prior to the Beaworth find, the *pax* type of William I, type VIII of his money, was so rare that a specimen which happened to have been struck at Exeter, was regarded as a local issue commemorative of the truce between the King and the Citizens after his capture of the City.¹ Again, the specimens of some of the types of Henry I are so rare that they may be counted on the fingers of one or both hands.

Much has been made of the finding of hoards, principally of the money of Æthelræd II and Cnut, in Sweden and around the shores of the Baltic, and connexion between these comparatively insignificant hoards and the huge sums paid to the Danes has been inferred. Down to 1881 Hildebrand, in his preface, gives the numbers of coins discovered as follows :—

Æthelræd II	..	..	..	..	..	4389
Cnut	..	..	..	..	..	3904
						<hr/> 8293 <hr/>

If we double these, and allow a liberal margin, we have only a total of under 20,000 coins for the two reigns together.

Now the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the payment of tribute to the Danes during Æthelræd's reign of 130,000 pounds. The words "of silver" are not used, so the inference is that the payments were in coined money. To make these 32,880,000 pennies would be required. Then, again, in A.D. 1018, under Cnut, a tribute of 72,000 pounds was levied in addition to 10,500 pounds contributed

¹ "Ruding," vol. II, p. 302, note 6.

by London. To effect these payments in coin 19,800,000 pennies were requisite. We thus have recorded payments under Æthelræd and Cnut requiring 52,680,000 coins, and it cannot be supposed that these represented anything like the total number issued. How small a total of coins 20,000 specimens appears in connection with these millions ! Can we therefore reasonably continue to be surprised that when so few coins have been found some of the types represented may be of extreme rarity ?

It is not improbable that the hoards discovered in Sweden represent moneys paid to or taken by Danes and other Northmen, possibly traders, possibly mercantile sailors or even marauders. The point is that the total number of coins of this period discovered in all the hoards of the kind, is insignificant when it is compared with the number required to make those payments only of which we have a record in history. I do not suggest that large payments in coins of types VIII and IX may not have been made. Hoards comprising all or any of them may have been concealed. The only accident is that they have not yet been unearthed, but, having regard to the figures and facts quoted above, time and further discoveries may well be expected to remedy the present lack of specimens.

In connection with the question of the number of coins issued it may be of interest to note the quantities of sixpences coined during the pre-war years 1907, 1908 and 1909 and the averages of pieces struck per pair of dies, and I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Hocking, C.B.E., of the Royal Mint, for the following figures :—

Year.	Total struck.			Average per pair of dies.		
1907	8,884,479	..	..	89,742
1908	6,892,951	..	..	98,471
1909	6,688,929	..	..	101,347

I selected the sixpence as a case for comparison as being the nearest modern silver coin in diameter to the silver penny of the Anglo-Saxon period. It must, however, not be forgotten that the

weight of silver in the sixpence of to-day is twice that in an Anglo-Saxon penny, and that this gives a great advantage to the dies for sixpences in point of endurance. The difference in the methods of striking has also to be taken into account. Hildebrand alone records 4523 varying coins of Æthelræd II and 3953 of Cnut. As it was, I believe, the custom to supply two reverse dies to each obverse die issued to the moneyer, and as our existing specimens of coins show us that the moneyers working at the same mint not infrequently interchanged their dies, a critical and minute examination of all the specimens noted would have to be made to arrive at the exact number of pairs of dies that these specimens disclose to have been in use.

If, however, we take two-thirds of the total of 8476, that is, 5650, as representing the number of pairs of dies, and take the moderate estimate of 10,000 as the number of coins produced by each pair, we find that the 8476 coins recorded by Hildebrand point to a total issue of not less than 56,500,000 pennies. These figures are, of course, only very roughly approximate, but they afford some confirmation and illustration of the truth of the payments to the Danes recorded by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and give support to the suggestion that they were made in coined money.

For the Anglo-Saxon period there are, unfortunately, no records which disclose the number of pennies struck in any reign or year, but the following figures from the mint accounts, which have been furnished by Mr. Shirley Fox, show the amount of silver in pounds Tower coined during certain years of the reign of Henry III at London and Canterbury. From these figures I have calculated respectively, on the basis of 240 pennies to each pound Tower, the number of pennies which were struck.

The last five years of issue of the short-cross coinage, 1243 to 1247, and five consecutive years of issue of the long-cross money, 1261-1265, have been selected as sufficient for illustration :—

SHORT-CROSS PENNIES.

Year.	London. Pounds Tower.	Canterbury. Pounds Tower.	Number of Pennies Struck.
1243	23,128	16,797	9,582,000
1244	37,623	34,827	17,388,000
1245	29,252	18,874	11,550,240
1246	24,713	28,373	12,740,640
1247	38,663	27,975	15,993,120
5 years.	153,379	126,846	67,254,000

LONG-CROSS PENNIES.

Year.	London. Pounds Tower.	Canterbury. Pounds Tower.	Number of Pennies Struck.
1261	{ 26,524 23,907 }	{ 31,374 36,459 }	28,383,360
1262	2,139	634	665,520
1263	26,163	24,008	12,041,040
1264	{ 34,621 6,558 }	{ 18,081 813 }	14,417,520
1265	{ 5,389 16,933 }	{ — 14,752 }	8,897,760
5 years.	142,234	126,121	64,405,200

I will add one example from the reign of Edward I. From September, 1306, to September, 1307, no fewer than 106,830 pounds Tower were issued at London alone, producing 25,639,200 pennies.

Although there is a difference of some 250 years in period between the date of these issues and the reign of Æthelræd II, I claim that the figures given above throw a strong light upon the earlier period and afford ample confirmation of the views and figures I have ventured to state in regard to the vast quantity of money coined under Æthelræd II and Cnut.

TYPE X.—Included in Hildebrand's type A, and in the British Museum Catalogue, type i.

This issue is of the same general design as types I and VII, and, in the absence of an examination of the coins recorded by Hildebrand, it is difficult to define in words which specimens belong to type VII and which to type X.

The forms M·O, M·ON, M-O, M^oO, M^oON, etc., which also appear in types XI and XII, are largely in evidence and the word ON alone is of very frequent occurrence.

Hildebrand, type D, variety a, is a mule composed of the obverse of type X and the reverse of type XII. He records three examples of it and they are of the Canterbury, Norwich and Winchester mints. I am able to add two further examples formerly in my collection. The legends of the reverse are not well defined, but one of them discloses the Lincoln mint and I think that the other denotes Shrewsbury. This rare mule forms type iv of the British Museum classification.

TYPE XI.—Hildebrand, type E. British Museum Catalogue, type viii.

Obverse.—Similar to that of type IX.

Reverse.—Quadrilateral ornament with incurved sides and three pellets at each corner; over it, bisecting the sides, a long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; pellet in the centre; around, inscription, and outer circle.

The forms M^oO and M·O are most frequent of occurrence, but other forms are used.

Hildebrand records 524 varying specimens of this type, allocated to 51 different mints.

His type E, variety b, is a mule of the obverse of my type XI and the reverse of type XII. Two specimens of it are recorded by him of the Lincoln and Wallingford mints respectively.

I possessed a specimen, believed to be unique, having the obverse of type XII and the reverse of type XI. Although of good workmanship the inscription of the reverse is not intelligible, so this irregular mule must be regarded as an illicit piece copied by Danes or Hiberno-Danes from coins of Æthelræd II.

TYPE XII.—Hildebrand, type D. British Museum Catalogue, type iv, variety a.

Obverse.—Bust to left, no fillet or diadem, the hair is stiffly brushed up and resembles a comb or helmet; inscription, not divided by bust, and outer circle.

Reverse.—Long cross voided, generally with a pellet in the centre, each limb terminating in three crescents; around, inscription, and outer circle.

This design is similar to that of the reverse of type XI, except that the quadrilateral ornament is absent.

The forms M^oO, M[•]O, MO are usual, but other varieties occur.

Hildebrand records 940 varying specimens of this type, assigned to no fewer than 68 different mints, so I may perhaps be excused for dissenting from the views of the compilers of the British Museum Catalogue who have classified this substantive type as a mere variety of the very scarce mule Hildebrand D, variety a, which they regard as the substantive type, type iv of their arrangement.

Hildebrand, type A, variety e, of which he records three specimens, all of the London mint, is a mule of a variety of type XII having an inner circle on the obverse. The specimen illustrated by Hildebrand also shows a further variation in that the obverse inscription begins at the top of the coin and is divided by the bust. The reverse is of type XIII. This variety forms type i, variety d, of the British Museum Catalogue.

Hildebrand, type A, variety f, is a mule of the obverse of type XII and reverse of type XIII. It forms type i, variety e, of the British Museum Catalogue.

Hildebrand records three specimens of it, two of London and one of Wilton. To these I can add from my former collection two more specimens, one of London and the other of Dublin.

TYPE XIII.—Hildebrand, type A, variety a. British Museum Catalogue, type i, variety a.

The designs of the obverse and reverse of this issue resemble those of types I, VII and X, except that the bust of the king is represented as turned to the spectator's right instead of to his left. On the reverse the forms M·O, M^sON, M·ON, and ON occur.

Hildebrand records eight varying examples of this type, the mints represented being Canterbury, Dover and Thetford.

I regard Hildebrand type F, and type F, variety a, as foreign pieces struck at Lunde in Scania, and only one variety of each is recorded by him.

It is hoped that the following tables, A, B, C and D, may be of use to the reader for reference and for the purposes of study.

TABLE A, SHOWING THE SEQUENCE OF AND THE NAMES SUGGESTED FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE TYPES OF ÆTHELRÆD II AND THEIR PERIODS OF ISSUE.

Number and name of type.	Hildebrand's reference.	British Museum reference.	Period of issue.
I. 1st small-cross type ..	Included in A	Type i	18th March, 978, to 29th Sept., 981.
II. 1st Hand type	B1	Type ii, variety a	29th Sept., 981, to 29th Sept., 984.
III. 2nd Hand type	B2	Type ii, variety d	29th Sept., 984, to 29th Sept., 987.
IV. Benediction type ..	B3	Type ii, variety f	29th Sept., 987, to 29th Sept., 990.
V. 1st <i>Crux</i> type	C, variety b	Type iii	29th Sept., 990, to 29th Sept., 993.
VI. 2nd <i>Crux</i> type	C and C, variety a	Type iii, variety a	29th Sept., 993, to 29th Sept., 996.
VII. 2nd small-cross type ..	Included in A	Included in type i	29th Sept., 996, to 29th Sept., 999.
VIII. <i>Agnus Dei</i> type	G	Type x	29th Sept., 999, to 29th Sept., 1002.
IX. Helmet <i>Crux</i> type ..	E, variety c	Type vii	29th Sept., 1002, to 29th Sept., 1005.
X. 3rd small-cross type ..	Included in A	Included in type i	29th Sept., 1005, to 29th Sept., 1008.
XI. Helmet long-cross type	E	Type viii	29th Sept., 1008, to 29th Sept., 1011.
XII. Bare-headed long-cross type.	D	Type iv, variety a	29th Sept., 1011, to 29th Sept., 1014.
XIII. 4th small-cross type, bust to right.	A, variety a	Type i, variety a	29th Sept., 1014, to 23rd April, 1016.

The coins attributed by Hildebrand and others to Bridgenorth have recently been assigned to Bridport, and those attributed by Hildebrand to Harwich have been given to Southampton. See Notes by Mr. L. Woosnam in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1921, pages 92-99.

The latter attribution gives point to the long-existing question as to whether the coins bearing the place-name HAMTVNE and its variants should not be transferred from Southampton to Northampton. I confess that I am of that opinion.

TABLE C, SHOWING THE MINTS AT WHICH COINS OF EADGAR'S LAST TYPE, OF EADWEARD II AND OF ÆTHELRÆD II'S FIRST TYPE ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK.

Mints.	Eadgar.	Eadweard II.	Æthelræd II.	Mints.	Eadgar.	Eadweard II.	Æthelræd II.
Barnstaple	—	—	×	Lydford	—	×	—
Bath	×	×	—	Lymne	×	×	—
Bedford	×	×	×	Maldon	×	—	—
Buckingham	—	×	—	Malmesbury	—	—	×
Bury St. Edmunds	—	×	—	Norwich	×	×	×
Cambridge	×	×	×	Nottingham	—	—	×
Canterbury	×	×	×	Oxford	×	×	—
Chester	×	×	×	Rochester	×	×	—
Chichester	×	—	—	Shaftesbury	×	—	—
Derby	×	×	×	Shrewsbury	×	—	—
Dover	×	—	—	Southampton	×	×	×
Dublin	—	—	×	Stafford	×	—	—
Dunwich	—	—	×	Stamford	×	×	×
Exeter	×	×	×	Tamworth	—	×	×
Gloucester	×	×	×	Thetford	×	×	×
Guildford	—	×	—	Torksey	—	—	×
Hereford	×	—	—	Totnes	×	×	×
Hertford	—	×	—	Wallingford	×	—	—
Huntingdon	—	—	×	Wareham	×	—	—
Ilchester	×	—	×	Warwick	—	×	—
Ipswich	×	×	×	Wilton	×	×	×
Islip	—	—	×	Winchcombe	×	—	—
Leicester	×	—	×	Winchester	×	×	×
Lewes	×	×	×	Worcester	—	—	×
Lincoln	×	×	×	York	×	×	×
London	×	×	×				

TABLE D, SHOWING THE PERIODS OF USER OF THE FORM M-O AND ITS VARIANTS AND OF THE FORM ON FROM THE LAST TYPE OF EADGAR TO THE LAST OF ÆTHELRÆD II.

Reign.	Type.	Usual forms.	Exceptional forms.
Eadgar ...	Last type Hild. C2	M-O	MONETA, M ^o , M-ON, M ^o N, M ^o O, M ^o O, -O
Eadweard II	I	M-O	META-O, M-ON, M ^o O
	II	M-O	
Æthelræd II	I	M-O	N-O, M ^o O, MOT,
	II	M-O	MONETA., M-OTO, M ^o O, M-ON, M ^o O, -O,
	III	M-O	-O, M ^o O,
	IV	M-O	M ^o ,
	V	M-O	M ^o O, N-O,
	VI	M-O	M ^o O, M-OO, -O, M ^o O; MO·ON and M-O ON, at Oxford only.
	VII	M-O, M ^o O, M ^o O, MON,	M·ON, M ^o ON,
	VIII	ON or blank	
	IX	M ^o O and M ^o O	Only two specimens known.
	X	ON	Many variants.
	XI	M ^o O, M ^o O, M·O, MO	M-O, M ^o O, M ^o :O
	XII	M ^o O, M ^o O, M ^o O, MO	M-O, M·O, M ^o oO, °O.
	XIII	ON, M ^o O, M ^o ON, M·ON	

In reference to the above table of forms, it will be noticed that the form M-O is nearly constant throughout the issue of types I to VI. In type VI the word ON occurs after M-O and MO at Oxford only. This word also occurs upon specimens of type VII and VIII. In type X ON comes into general use, but a reversion to the older word *monetario*, with a difference in its forms of representation, occurs in types XI and XII.

If the coinages of Cnut be examined it will be seen that, although the form ON has then become of general use, the forms of *monetario* in use upon coins of types XI and XII of Æthelræd II are of frequent occurrence, and that older forms are still occasionally met with.