


## THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS OF HARTHACNUT.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

O the student who consults the two chief works of reference relating to the English coins of Harthacnut, the striking feature which presents itself is that so many Anglian types have been attributed to a reign which was one of the shortest in this country's history.

The first of these works is Hildebrand's comprehensive *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals in Stockholm*, 1881. The second is the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii, 1893. Both works give nine types to the reign with their varieties. It should be mentioned, however, that, from his remarks on the types, it seems that Hildebrand had some hesitation in ascribing the bulk of the different issues to England, and he clearly states that only his Types A and B are perfectly normal English types. On the other hand, in the introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue*, p. xcii, it is stated that "we need not question that the types described by Hildebrand are English," although in the catalogue itself the authors indicate that one of their types, together with a variety of another, may be Danish copies of English coins, and they further exclude, altogether, one of *Hildebrand's* types on the plea that it is Danish, p. 321.

From these remarks it will readily be seen that the published English issues of Harthacnut are the subject of considerable confusion and uncertainty, and it may at once be stated that before it is possible to be constructive it is necessary to be destructive. In other words, it will be incumbent upon us to review the claims to an English place of the published types and, where it is warranted, to sweep them away from the Saxon series.

In an examination of the actual coins of Harthacnut, or of their descriptions, the outstanding feature is that there are only three distinct issues of which coins have come down to us in any appreciable quantity. They are *Hildebrand's* Types A, A *var. a*, and B, corresponding, in the *British Museum Catalogue*, with Types I, I *var. a* and II, and it may be regarded as an axiom that these three are Anglo-Saxon issues, see Figs. 13, 16 and 17. The other published types are each represented by very few coins indeed, in some cases by one specimen only. There are none of these exceptional types or their varieties in the *British Museum Catalogue*, and it is believed that in no instance have they been found in this country.

It may be thought that the rarity of the coins of these so-called types can be accounted for by the earth failing as yet to yield a hidden store of specimens, but having regard to the many thousands of coins of our Danish kings which have come to us in finds, amongst which only the few coins of these types known have been present, it seems hardly probable that the proportion will be greater in hoards of the future. The conclusion is forced upon us that Harthacnut was responsible for three Anglo-Saxon issues only, and having regard to the length of the reign in this country, even this number involved re-coinage at remarkably frequent intervals.

The coins as to the English attribution of which doubt arises are given by *Hildebrand* as Types B *var. a*, C, D, F, G, G *var. a*, G *var. b*, H, H *var. a*, H *var. b*, I *var. a*, and E. In the *British Museum Catalogue* they correspond with Types II *var. a*, III, IV, V, VI, VI *var. a*, VI *var. b*, VIII, VIII *var. a*, IX and VII *var. a*, respectively. *Hildebrand's* Type E is excluded from the *British Museum Catalogue*.

In the mint-inscriptions of the doubtful Anglo-Saxon coins a very noticeable feature is in evidence. It is that the bulk of the specimens—sixteen out of the nineteen described in *Hildebrand*—discloses a mint-name which has been considered to indicate London. The significance of this feature will be at once apparent when it is stated, first, that the important city of Lund in Scania, part of the King's

continental dominions from which money is well known to have emanated in a plentiful degree, would be inscribed on coins in much the same way as in the case of London, then *Lunden*<sup>1</sup>; secondly, there are more undoubted coins known of this town of Lund than of any minting place of Harthacnut in Britain and, thirdly, the latter country having had a coinage for centuries would be less liable to issue a large number of aberrations than would be the case with Denmark which, but a few years before, had no native coinage, and which would therefore be more likely to be the home of curious and imitative types, as, indeed, is known to have been the case.

The remarkable feature referred to is, therefore, almost of itself sufficient to justify a transference of the unique or excessively rare types to Lund in Scania, rather than to allow them to remain attributed to London in Britain, but as one or two other mint-names are in evidence on them, and as it is desirable to bring the matter to a final issue, they will now be reviewed in all their aspects.

Before, however, considering the question of the doubtful Anglo-Saxon types it should be stated that a York coin, which alone constitutes Type I in *Hildebrand* and Type VII in the *British Museum Catalogue*, is incorrectly engraved and attributed in both works. The cast, kindly furnished to me by the Keeper of the Royal Cabinet of Coins in Stockholm, where the coin now is, clearly shows that the obverse reading is +NAPERD ERE, Fig. 1, the initial cross being to the left of the helmet.



FIG. 1.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, INCORRECTLY ASCRIBED BY HILDEBRAND TO HARTHACNUT. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

After the D there is some indication of an upright stroke, but it may be two pellets coalesced. This coin can, therefore, be no other

<sup>1</sup> For example, Lundenburg in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 851.

than a York penny of Edward the Confessor. It is similar to Type D *var. a*, in Hildebrand's arrangement of the Confessor's coins, Fig. 2.



FIG. 2.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR OF THE SAME TYPE AS FIG. 1.  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

On the obverse of the former is a helmeted bust to the left with sceptre, and on the reverse the letters PAEX in the angles of a short double cross, with an annulet in one quarter—Fig. 2, being of the Oxford mint, is, of course, without the annulet. The presence of the annulet in the third quarter of the reverse cross of Fig. 1 is additional evidence of the correct appropriation of the coin to Edward the Confessor, since this was a feature not generally introduced on York coins until the reign of that king. Indeed, it is entirely unknown on the coins of this city in the Anglo-Danish period.

With regard to the irregular form of the king's name, it should be mentioned that such irregularity was extremely common on otherwise well-executed specimens of Edward's money, especially in the early issues. The alien N may possibly be said to be a difficulty, but this letter is very frequently in evidence in Edward's name on the coins, including the initial place, see *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate 26, No. 3, also No. 1537 in the descriptive list, which also is a coin of the PAEX issue. On reference to the Confessor's coins in *Hildebrand*, we find a piece of the same variety and mint, reading NDPR REX AE. The form of the title, ERE, for REX, on the coin under notice, is also curious, but the E as the initial letter is a feature not uncommon on other coins of Edward. The following readings with E in the initial place are in evidence, E, EX, EE and E+I.

A further error in *Hildebrand's Catalogue* consists of an incorrect description of the type of the two Derby coins given in the list of mints, and in the summary. Instead of Type B *var. a*, the coins should have been shown as of Type B, see Figs. 3 and 4.



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—PENNIES OF HARTHACNUT OF THE DERBY MINT,  
INCORRECTLY DESCRIBED BY HILDEBRAND. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

The above illustrations, from casts of the actual coins, clearly show the characteristic sceptre of Type B—see Fig. 17—which Type B *var. a*, Fig. 5, is without, but the coins form slight unintentional varieties in so far as the arm and hand of Type B are wanting in the coin represented by Fig. 3, and most of the arm in that delineated by Fig. 4. The die-sinker evidently misjudged his distance, thus causing these details to be crowded out, wholly or in part.

Whilst on the subject of errors of description, mention may be made of a coin described and illustrated in the Montagu and Murdoch sale catalogues as of the reign of Harthacnut. It is identical in type with *Hildebrand's I var. b* of Cnut, corresponding with Type XIX in the *British Museum Catalogue*. For our present purpose we are concerned only with the obverse legend. In the *Montagu Catalogue*, second portion, lot 118, it is given as: +HRNENVTIEMI. In the *Murdoch Catalogue*, first portion, lot 148, it is printed: +HRNENVTIENTI, and from these two readings it will be seen that some uncertainty existed in the minds of the cataloguers as to how the inscription should be read. An examination of the illustrations fully justifies this uncertainty; but however obscure some of the letters may be, the initial stands out with absolute clearness, especially in the first-named catalogue, and it discloses not an H, but an N. Although the H of this period is often struck like an N, this forms no real reason for showing H in the descriptions instead of N, especially in the case of a doubtful coin.

After a close examination of both illustrations I feel convinced that a more probable reading of the whole inscription is +NRNENVTIENTI, and that the coin is not one of Harthacnut at all, but of his father, Cnut. Amidst a great crowd of hybrid forms of the obverse legends

on numerous coins of Cnut, the above inscription loses its strangeness and excites little comment. These forms include such inscriptions as: +NENDNVT REIC, *Hildebrand*, No. 2128, and further remark seems unnecessary.

Having now removed those errors of description which, whilst left uncorrected, rendered a satisfactory treatment of the real Anglo-Saxon types of Harthacnut impracticable, the way is clear to consider the question of the doubtful English issues.

A comparative examination of these doubtful coins causes me to think that their designs are divisible into three sections: first, purely Danish; second, mixed Danish and imitative Saxon; and third, purely imitative Saxon.

One type only can be placed in the first category, that is, *Hildebrand's* E. As before mentioned, this type is excluded by the compilers of the *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, vol. ii, and justly so, since the designs, both of obverse and reverse, are essentially Danish. I have not been able to obtain a cast of this coin for illustration but, to take the reverse first, we find a composition resembling four open kidney-shaped ornaments with a pellet between each, and another in the centre. This design is unknown on undoubted Anglo-Saxon types, but it is in evidence on Danish money of Cnut the Great and it is also common on silver pendants frequently found in Gothland and continental Scandinavia.

The type is represented in Stockholm by one coin only, and the reverse reading of this is +ASLÆ ON LWDEIO. A similar coin in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen discloses the same inscription. In the series of undoubted Saxon coins, the name Aslac appears to be known only on a few examples of Cnut, under Lincoln. It is not known on coins of Harold I., Harthacnut's immediate predecessor in England, but it does occur on the money of his two immediate successors in Denmark, viz., Magnus the Good and Sven Estridson; in both reigns, appearing on coins of Lund.

Adverting now to the obverse, we find a helmeted bust totally dissimilar from that on any undoubted Saxon coins, but which is absolutely



identical with some undeniable Danish pieces clearly struck at Gori, as well as in Lund. The inscription reads +HAR . . . . DECNV. It is pointed out by Hildebrand that the form of the king's name on Anglo-Saxon coins is usually Harthacnut, and on Danish money Harthecnut, and it will be observed that the piece under notice discloses the Danish spelling. Having regard to all the evidence, there can be really no doubt that *Hildebrand's* Type E must be transferred to Lund in Scania.

A consideration of the above type leads naturally to the second section of doubtful Anglo-Saxon coins, comprising those issues of mixed Danish and imitative Saxon designs. It does so because the obverse design of *Hildebrand's* Type E is identical, in all respects, with the obverses of the two types or varieties included in this section, and it seems hardly necessary to state that if Type E should be transferred to Lund, the other issues with similar obverses must also follow. These latter types are given by *Hildebrand* as H *var. b* and I *var. a*. In the *British Museum Catalogue* they appear as Types IX and VII *var. a* respectively, but in the descriptive section they are only doubtfully attributed to England. The inscriptions on the obverse of these coins vary but slightly from that of *Hildebrand's* Type E, and they are absolutely identical with each other, indeed, they appear to have been struck from the same dies. The inscription is +HARN . . . DECNV and we therefore see again the Danish form of the king's name.

Referring to the reverses, that of *Hildebrand's* Type H *var. b* is identical with the reverse of one of the well-known issues of Harold I., given by Hildebrand as Type B in his arrangement of the coins of that king. Having regard to the obverse being Danish it may reasonably be assumed that the reverse is merely a copy of one of the coins of Harold I.

There are two specimens of the type under discussion in the Stockholm collection, with the following reverse readings:—

+ANCETL ON LVD

+ARNCETL ON LVI

These disclose a Danish moneyer's name which, although known on undoubted Anglo-Saxon coins of York, Stamford and Nottingham, is also found on Danish coins struck by Magnus the Good, the successor

of Harthacnut. The form of the mint-name is most unusual for London, but it is common on undoubted coins of Lund.

In the Royal Collection at Copenhagen there is a similar coin to those under discussion with the reverse reading of +NITASOD ON L. This moneyer's name is quite unknown on Anglo-Saxon money of the period, but it is in evidence on the Danish coins of Magnus the Good, as also on those of Harthacnut, and it therefore further strengthens the attribution of the Arnctel coins to Lund in Scania.

The reverse of the second variety in this section, namely, *Hildebrand's* Type I *var. a*, *British Museum Catalogue*, Type VII *var. a*, exhibits a long double cross with the letters PACX in the angles. As before mentioned the obverse leaves no room for doubt that the coin is Danish, and there seems therefore to be no other conclusion than that the reverse design is an imitation of the variety of Cnut, with which it is identical.

Although *pacx*-, *paxs*-, or *pax*-type coins are in evidence in this country, of the reigns of Edward the Confessor, Harold II., William the Conqueror and Henry I., they are also known on undoubted continental coinages, as, for instance, on those of Magnus the Good.

The reverse inscription on the single specimen of *Hildebrand's* Type I *var. a* in the Swedish Royal Collection reads: +ARNCTEL ON LVI, and as this is the same moneyer's name as that on the type previously treated it is unnecessary to say anything further about it.

We now come to the third section consisting of coins of which both obverse and reverse are in imitation of Anglo-Saxon money. As the obverses of the first three are similar to one another they will be treated together. These three issues are given in *Hildebrand* as Type B *var. a*, our Fig. 5; C, and G, our Fig. 6; and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Types II *var. a*, III and VI respectively.



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—DANISH PENNIES HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ENGLAND.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.



The obverses, although somewhat similar to a type initiated by Cnut, more nearly resemble the first issue of Harold I., Fig. 7.



FIG. 7.—PENNY OF HAROLD I. H. A. PARSONS.

Of Type B *var. a* there are three specimens described in *Hildebrand*, and of Types C and G, one of each. The obverse inscriptions on all are exactly the same, and it will be seen that they read :  
+HAR : +ENVY +.

The reverse of *Hildebrand's* Type B *var. a* discloses a copy of the well-known Anglo-Saxon design initiated by Cnut, Fig. 8, in evidence on a rare mule-coin of Harold I., and repeated in Harthacnut's most common Saxon issue, Fig. 17.



FIG. 8.—PENNY OF CNUT. H. A. PARSONS.

The readings on the three coins of *Hildebrand* B *var. a* in Stockholm are :—

+ALFPINE ON LVDI  
+OÐENCARL ON LV  
+VLFCETL ON LVDI

All three moneyers are in evidence on Danish coins issued both before and after the reign of Harthacnut. Othencarl is, indeed, known only on coins of Denmark ; for those of this moneyer given in *Hildebrand* to Athelred II. and Cnut belong to that country. The form of the mint-name, LVDI, also points to Lund in Scania.

The reverse of *Hildebrand's* Type C is a copy of the very common design on Anglo-Saxon money of a small cross within the inner circle. The one coin of this type in Stockholm reads : ðVREIL ON LVDI ••

It is absolutely identical with the reverses of two coins of Cnut, given by Hildebrand as Types A *var. b* and A *var. c* in his arrangement of the coins of that king. This moneyer's name is, it is true, in evidence on some Wilton coins of Edward the Confessor, but it is otherwise known only on coins of Denmark in the late Saxon period, those given in *Hildebrand* to Athelred II. and Cnut being continental.

We see again the Danish form of the mint-name, and there can be no hesitation in withdrawing the coin from the Anglo-Saxon series.

The reverse of *Hildebrand's* Type G, our Fig. 6, presents considerably more difficulty than was the case with the preceding coins; not because of the design, which is similar to one of Cnut's common issues, our Fig. 9, but in view of the inscription which reads: +ALFRIC



FIG. 9.—PENNY OF CNUT. H. A. PARSONS.

ON LINCOL. At first sight this appears to be a coin of Lincoln, the mint-name being clear, and the moneyer's name, Saxon. The identity of the obverse with those of the four preceding coins does not, however, admit of an attribution to Lincoln, and the difficulty of reconciling this with the theory of Danish origin is considerably lessened when one calls to mind the very intimate relation that seems to have existed between Lincoln and the courts of the northern kings, a connection which is indicated by the existence of coins of Magnus the Good—who never had any status in England—reading:—

+QINDI ON LINE  
+LEFPINE ON LINEO  
+LEFPINE ON L·NEOL

This intimate relationship is proved by the passage in *Ordericus* which, under the year 1103, states that a rich citizen of Lincoln kept the treasure of the King of Norway and supplied him with ornaments, plate, arms and furniture, and whatever else the service of the king

required. The existence of the Alfric coin under notice can be explained in one of three ways. First, that a Danish moneyer manufactured a reverse die, the design and inscription on which were copied exactly from an Anglo-Saxon coin of Cnut of the Lincoln mint. Second, that an old reverse die from Lincoln was in existence at the time at Lund, and was used in conjunction with a locally made obverse die. Third, that a Lincoln moneyer of the name of Alfric was employed in Harthacnut's mint in Denmark, and engraved his name and native place on a new reverse stamp.

A glance at the illustration, Fig. 6, will, it is thought, effectually dispose of the first possible explanation, and the second is much weakened by the non-existence, so far as I know, of any coins of Cnut of the same design and reading. The third explanation is the most feasible, and it is strengthened by the fact that, although an Alfric is in evidence on Cnut's early issues at Lincoln, the name is unknown on his later types and is absent on those of the intermediate king, Harold I. The name also fails to appear at that mint on undoubted Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut.

Another coin, Fig. 10, in this section of imitative money has a reverse struck from the same die as that of the piece just explained, Fig. 6, and the remarks made about the latter are equally applicable to it, for both are thus, as it were, tied together. Consideration will, therefore, be limited to the obverse of the coin in question, which is given in *Hildebrand* as Type G *var. b*, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type VI *var. b*, see Fig. 10.



FIG. 10.—DANISH PENNY HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ENGLAND.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

This coin discloses an imitation of the common "pointed helmet" type of Cnut, Fig. 11, and the obverse inscription is given in



FIG. 11.—PENNY OF CNUT. H. A. PARSONS.

*Hildebrand* as +ARTD+ENVT+. On examining a cast of the coin it would appear that the letters R T D are much blurred and scarcely decipherable. Except for these letters, the impression is identical with a Danish coin of Cnut given in *Hildebrand* as Type I *var. c* and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type XVIII of the coins of that king. Indeed, the letters N L O of the coin of Cnut appear to be more in evidence than the supposed letters R T D of *Hildebrand's* work.

A comparison of Figs. 10 and 11 will show that the execution of the coin we are considering, Fig. 10, is much inferior to that of the true Anglo-Saxon coins of Cnut of the same type, Fig. 11, and, apart from the question whether the former is a coin of Cnut or of Harthacnut, it is undoubtedly a Danish copy of two Saxon types.

By easy transition we are now led to a consideration of a further variety in this section of imitation Saxon coins. It alone comprises *Hildebrand's* Type F, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* is described as Type V, our Fig. 12.

FIG. 12.—DANISH PENNY HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ENGLAND.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

It discloses an imitative obverse design of the same character as that on Fig. 10. The legend, however, on this coin is unmistakably +H·A·R·E·C·N·V·T·R·, from which it will be seen that the characteristic Danish E in the spelling of the king's name is in evidence.

The reverse is similar to that normal type of Cnut, Fig. 11, from which the obverse was copied, and the inscription reads: +OVDCEL ON LVND·. The moneyer is unknown on Anglo-Saxon coins.

The next issue in this section to be considered is placed in *Hildebrand* as Type G *var. a*, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type VI *var. a*. It is an imitation of Cnut's Anglo-Saxon Type H, our Fig. 9. The reverse readings are :

+OSBRN ON SITVN  
+ALFVARD ON LV  
+OÐÐENCAR ON LVDI  
+VLFCETL ON LVNDE

The first reading has been fully explained in my preceding article in this volume, entitled "Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the Names of Æthelred, Cnut, and Harthacnut," and nothing further need be said on the subject here. The remarks under Fig. 5 on the moneyers Othencarl and Ulfcetel may be applied to the last two coins, leaving the reading +ALFVARD ON LV alone to be considered. This moneyer, although not unknown on Anglo-Saxon coins, is in evidence on the money of a long series of Danish kings and, having regard to the appropriation of the other coins of the same design to foreign mints, this must also follow.

The next of the series of imitations of Saxon coins is described in *Hildebrand* as Type D and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type IV. It is represented in the *Stockholm Catalogue* by one example only, but, unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a cast of the coin for illustration. Its prototype is to be found in the well-known CRVX issue of Ethelred II., and a comparison of a specimen of the latter with the illustration of the former in *Hildebrand's Catalogue* will at once show the inferiority of the copy. Reference to the reverse inscription discloses the reading : +ASLAE ON LVND : and as I have already discussed this moneyer and his mint, no further remarks are necessary concerning the coin.

The last issue of these imitative Saxon coins is presented in *Hildebrand* as Type H *var. a*, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type VIII *var. a*. It alone of all the copies we have reviewed includes a specimen undoubtedly emanating from a Saxon mint. This will, however, not be so much a matter for surprise when it is pointed out that the prototype is the last coinage of Harold. The coin in



question was issued from Norwich, but as it will find a place amongst the true Saxon types and varieties to be presently treated, it will not be further mentioned here. The appropriation of a specimen of this type to an English mint might be supposed to lead to the conclusion that the other coins of the same general design should be given to this country also, but the legends on the two remaining specimens known of the issue point strongly against such a supposition. The readings are :

1. *Obverse*.— +NARÐECNV  
*Reverse*.— +ALPARD ON LVDI *Hildebrand*, No. 105.
2. *Obverse*.— +NARÐECNV  
*Reverse*.— +TOEI ON LVDIFELAI *Hildebrand*, No. 143.

It will be observed that the obverse legends on the two coins are exactly the same, and they exhibit the characteristic Danish E which is not the case in the Norwich example. In a footnote *Hildebrand* also shows that the inscriptions commence in a different position to that on the Norwich coin.

The reverse legends disclose the Danish form of Lund, and in regard to the moneyers' names, the first may be said to be a corruption of Alfward, a coiner who has already been discussed, and the remarks then made apply equally to this case. The second name, TOEI, is unknown on Anglo-Saxon coins of the period in that form, although TOEA and TOEA are in evidence on some Anglo-Saxon pieces of Ethelred II. and Cnut. On the other hand, the name is well known on undoubted Danish coins from Cnut the Great to Cnut the Holy, and having regard to all the facts, there can be no doubt that the last two coins should be attributed to Denmark.

The doubtful types illustrated in *Ruding* on Plates D, E and H, and subsequently referred to in *Hawkins's Silver Coins of England*, have been adequately shown by *Hildebrand* to belong to Denmark, and although in the 1887 edition of *Hawkins* no cognizance of the matter is taken, it is not thought that the coins need here be further discussed. With the conclusions of *Hildebrand* I entirely agree. Before, however, closing this section of the subject, reference should be made to

the coin which *Hawkins* constitutes his Type 1. Judging from the description, this would appear to be a Danish coin similar to Fig. 15, Plate IV, in Hauberg's *Myntforhold og Udmintninger i Danmark, undtil 1146*.<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed on reference to a note contributed by its original owner, the Rev. T. F. Dymock, to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vii.

Another coin referred to in *Hawkins* should also be mentioned here. It is described under Harold I. as Type 5, and is placed in the *British Museum Catalogue* under the same king as Type III. The legends are :

*Obverse.*— +NAREII + RE

*Reverse.*— +OVÐNEAR ON LV

In reference to this piece *Hildebrand* says, "this coin belongs, without doubt, to Harthacnut and not to Harold." With this opinion I am disposed to concur, but whatever doubt there may be of the king to whom the coin belongs, there is none whatever regarding the place whence it was issued, as the name of the moneyer, Othencarl, clearly proves it to have been struck at Lund in Scania.

In concluding my remarks on these doubtful Anglo-Saxon types, it should be stated that Hauberg has also placed the bulk of the coins to Lund in Scania, but the matter has here been considered more fully and, to a large extent, independently.

Having cleared the ground of those coins which have hitherto, in some works of reference relating to Anglo-Saxon coins, been erroneously attributed to England, I will now proceed to a description of the true Saxon types and varieties of Harthacnut's reign in the order in which I think they were circulated, and under the dates of their issue. The reasons for the sequence and dates will appear later.

<sup>1</sup> Edition, 1900.

FIRST REGNAL PERIOD, A.D. 1035 TO 1037.

TYPE I ; *Hildebrand A* ; *British Museum Catalogue I.*

FIG. 13.—HARTHACNUT'S FIRST TYPE OF THE FIRST REGNAL PERIOD. H. A. PARSONS.

*Obverse.*—Helmeted bust to left, mantled.*Reverse.*—A cross formed of four ovals ; their bases united by circles enclosing a pellet.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1036.

The example illustrated as Fig. 13 reads : *Obverse* :—  
+H·ARÐACNVT : ; *Reverse* :— +LEOFFINE ON DOF ••

Mints represented :—

Axsport.

Dover.

Wallingford.

Bath.

Exeter.

Winchester.

Bristol.

London.

INTERREGNUM, MARCH TO JUNE, 1040.

Mule-type, Harthacnut—Harold, *Hildebrand H* ; *British Museum Catalogue VIII.*FIG. 14.—HARTHACNUT'S TYPE MULED WITH HAROLD'S.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.*Obverse.*—Helmeted bust to left, mantled, as before.*Reverse.*—Long cross, voided, the limbs united by a circle enclosing a pellet : in each of the angles, a fleur-de-lis terminating in pellets.The example illustrated as Fig. 14 reads : *Obverse* :—  
+HARÐACNVT R ; *Reverse* :— +GODRIC ON LVN.

Mint represented :—London.

IMITATION OF LAST ISSUE OF HAROLD I.

Imitation type, *Hildebrand H var. a*; *British Museum Catalogue VIII var. a*.



FIG. 15.—HARTHACNUT'S TYPE IMITATED FROM HAROLD'S.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

*Obverse*.—Helmeted bust to left, armoured; a sceptre in front.

*Reverse*.—Long cross, voided, the limbs united by a circle enclosing a pellet. A pellet at the end of each limb of the cross. In each of the angles a fleur-de-lis.

The example illustrated as Fig. 15 reads: *Obverse*.—+HΛÐENVT REX; *Reverse*.—+RINCVLF ON NOR.

Mint represented: Norwich.

SECOND REGNAL PERIOD, A.D. 1040 TO 1042.

TYPE I; *Hildebrand A var. a*; *British Museum Catalogue I var. a*.



FIG. 16.—HARTHACNUT'S FIRST TYPE OF THE SECOND REGNAL PERIOD.  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

*Obverse*.—Helmeted bust to right, mantled.

*Reverse*.—A cross formed of four ovals, their bases united by circles enclosing a pellet, as Fig. 13.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1040.

The example illustrated, Fig. 16, reads : *Obverse* :— +HARÐENVT  
RE ; *Reverse* :— +DÐERPINNE ON EO :

Mints represented :—

Axport.	Guildford.	Salisbury.
Bath.	Hastings.	Shaftesbury.
Bristol.	Ilchester.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	Lewes.	Steypning.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Warwick.
Dorchester.	London.	Watchet.
Dover.	Malmesbury.	Winchester.
Exeter.	Oxford.	Witham.
Gloucester.	Rochester.	York.

TYPE 2 ; *Hildebrand B ; British Museum Catalogue II.*



FIG. 17.—HARTHACNUT'S SECOND TYPE OF THE SECOND REGNAL PERIOD.  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

*Obverse*.—Helmeted bust to left, mantled. A sceptre, held by the left hand, in front.

*Reverse*.—Over a short voided cross, a quadrilateral ornament with a pellet on each point, and another in the centre. The whole within an inner circle.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1041.

The example illustrated as Fig. 17 reads : *Obverse* :—  
+HARÐENVT ; *Reverse* :— +ÆGELPINE ON OXA :



Mints represented :—

Bedford.	Huntingdon.	Shrewsbury.
Bristol.	Ilchester.	Southampton.
Buckingham.	Ipswich.	Southwark.
Cambridge.	Langport.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	Leicester.	Taunton.
Chester.	Lincoln.	Thetford.
Cricklade.	London.	Wallingford.
Derby.	Malmesbury.	Wareham.
Dorchester.	Norwich.	Wilton.
Dover.	Nottingham.	Winchcombe.
Exeter.	Oxford.	Winchester.
Gloucester.	Shaftesbury.	Worcester.
Hereford.		

The events which occurred in England immediately after the death of Cnut, in A.D. 1035, are of considerable importance to an elucidation of the initial coinage of Harthacnut, and its extent. Unfortunately, some of the records recount the story of the election of a successor with much contradiction and confusion, but our own chronicles are the best guides, and from them it transpires that the provision in the will of the late king, that Harthacnut should succeed to the throne of England, was supported by Earl Godwine and the West Saxons, but the men of the North advanced a candidate in the person of Harold, the son of Cnut and Ælfgifu. The Witan of the whole country met in full council at Oxford in the winter of A.D. 1035, and there Godwine strove, with all the eloquence of which he was a master, to persuade the assembly to acquiesce in the late king's choice. He was only partially successful, since the Witan resolved, on the proposition of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, to divide the kingdom between the two candidates: Harold to reign over the North, and Harthacnut to take the South. London appears mainly to have sided with the South since, according to the *Peterborough Chronicle*, only a small part, the "lithsmen," or seafaring folk, declared for Harold. In the absence of Harthacnut in Denmark, his mother, Queen Emma,

appears to have been appointed to, or to have assumed, what we should term a regency, whilst Godwine still continued, as Earl of Wessex, to administer the affairs of the southern kingdom under the queen. Harthacnut, hindered in Denmark by his war with Magnus of Norway, was not at once in a position to enter into his kingdom, and the impatience of the West Saxons caused them, in A.D. 1037, to forsake Harthacnut "because he stayed too long in Denmark." This decision being confirmed by a vote of the Witan of all England, Harold was called, by universal choice, to the throne of the reunited kingdom.

The question now arises whether Harthacnut's brief reign over Southern England from A.D. 1035 to A.D. 1037 was marked by the issue of a coinage in his name. I think there can be little doubt that if a new coinage was initiated before A.D. 1037 the authorities of Southern England would have issued the money in the name of their specially chosen monarch, and not in that of the king of the northern part of the country. This is self-evident. The difficulty is to show that a new coinage was initiated before A.D. 1037. Direct proof is, at present, not possible, and one can deal only with the probabilities of the case. In the first place there was nothing in the state of the country at the time to prevent an immediate issue of a new coinage. Had this been a period of war or disorder, one can readily understand that a fresh general issue might be deferred, as was no doubt the case when Cnut himself ascended the throne of England. But for many years prior to the death of Cnut this country had enjoyed absolute peace and prosperity, and upon that event there was nothing to prevent an immediate recoinage if such a course had been conceived to be desirable. Although not absolutely necessary, the election of a new king, especially a disputed election, would render an immediate recoinage desirable. Secondly, the last type of Cnut, *Hildebrand K*, *British Museum Catalogue XX*, will be found to be of very considerable rarity. The scarcity of a type may, of course, be due to the "accident" of treasure trove, but such was not the case in this instance because, in the very numerous finds containing coins of Cnut, the number of specimens of this type is consistently small, or is

not represented at all. By analogy it is unlikely that the finds of the future will show any considerably greater percentage of coins of Type K than the finds of the past. In other words, there seems to be no doubt that the present proportion of Type K to the other types of Cnut will not materially alter, or at least will not change to an extent that will make it as plentiful as the coins of the common types of Cnut shown by *Hildebrand* as E, G and H and in the *British Museum Catalogue*, as Types VIII, XIV and XVI. It should perhaps be mentioned that the finds of this period very frequently contain a large number of types of several kings. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find together coins of all the monarchs from Ethelred II. to Edward the Confessor, the earlier being sometimes as plentifully represented as the later types.

The consistent rarity of Type K of Cnut in the finds must therefore, I think, be accepted to show that it was in operation for a very short time, and it is highly probable that not only was it initiated at the close of the reign, but that it ceased immediately, or almost immediately, after the death of Cnut. At least that seems to be the natural corollary. Admitting this deduction, it is highly probable that a new coinage was instituted before the period during which the kingdom was divided had expired. Such a coinage will, it is thought, be found represented in my Type I of the first regnal period. See Fig. 13 above. The existence of this type would be difficult to explain except by the assumption that it is an issue of the time when Harthacnut reigned jointly with his half-brother Harold, but the possibility of such a coinage appears hitherto to have passed unnoticed. It is placed by *Hildebrand* as the first substantive type of what I have termed the second regnal period, and he is followed by the authors of the *British Museum Catalogue*, with the result that they are thereby forced into the anomaly of showing, as a variety, an issue of coins which is of more frequent occurrence than the main type. This anomaly would be disposed of by making both issues substantive types. Objectors might of course quote the "accident of the find" to account for the anomaly, but any such suggestion would be answered by the facts quoted in connection with the rarity of Type K of Cnut, which

conditions equally apply to all the coinages of Harold and Harthacnut. The difference in the two varieties of coins in question consists in the busts engraved on the obverses, the one being in an opposite direction to the other, see Figs. 13 and 16. That such difference was not an uncommon form of variation in the Anglo-Danish period is admitted, and that in all other cases it marked a variation simply, and not a distinct issue, is abundantly evident from the extreme rarity of the varieties as compared with the types. But in the coinage in question the one issue is half as numerous as the other, and the difference in the way the busts are turned cannot, therefore, be attributed to accident or fancy as in the case of other variations of the same order. Now the type of Harthacnut, Fig. 13, is the same as the last type of Cnut, whereas the resemblance of the similar design of Harold, Fig. 7, is not always quite so precise. These coins of Harthacnut and Harold of the same general design as the last type of Cnut are therefore, I think, most reasonably accounted for by their issue at the same time, more especially as, although, after Harold's death, Harthacnut reigned over all England for twenty-four months only, two other very distinct issues are left to fill that short space of time. The conclusion is that Cnut initiated the type and, soon after his death, it was continued contemporaneously by both Harthacnut and Harold.

But it would, after all, be useless to argue on the probabilities of the case unless the coins themselves, in their mints, bear testimony to their allotted time of issue. Let us therefore examine the coinage in question with regard to the mints of which specimens are known. These mints are as follows :—Axford, Bath, Bristol, Dover, Exeter, London, Wallingford and Winchester. In addition, Hildebrand places a fragment of this type, on which the mint-name is missing, to Hereford, on the ground that the moneyer's name is similar, although not exactly so, to that on a Hereford coin of Harold I. But the same name appears on coins of Cnut under three other towns, including London, and no argument can therefore be based on the moneyer's name alone ; indeed the probabilities are in favour of the London mint. Another specimen of this type is assigned by Hildebrand to Stamford, but the obverse inscription is obscure, and that on the reverse is blundered in

the mint-name. It may not be a coin of Harthacnut at all, and if it is, it is no doubt one of the numerous imitations struck in Denmark, or elsewhere abroad.

It will be seen that all the undoubted mints are situated in Wessex, or upon or south of the line of the Thames—that is, within Harthacnut's division of the country. Further, they were not planted in any particular part of the south but were located at all points, from the extreme east to the confines of the west. It is true that the number of mints is not large, but it must be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut are all very rare, not even excepting those of London, and no doubt the fact that he was absent abroad during the whole period of this particular issue had some influence on the matter. The mints in evidence represent, however, in the main, very important and centrally situated cities and towns.

In default of the explanation that *Hildebrand* Type A, *British Museum Catalogue* Type I, was issued during Harthacnut's contemporaneous rule with Harold, no satisfactory reason would be forthcoming to account for the absence of coins of this type from mints north of the Thames, especially Lincoln. Next to London, Lincoln was responsible for the largest output of coins in the Anglo-Danish period. The absence of any of this type from the northern mints must be accounted for most feasibly by the explanation that Harthacnut had no authority in that part of the country when the type in question was put into circulation. Such a time occurred during his first regnal period, and then only.

The unique "mule" coin, which is shown as Fig. 14, is confirmatory evidence of the early issue of *Hildebrand* Type A, *British Museum Catalogue* Type I. I think it probable that it was struck in the interval between Harold's death, on the 17th of March, 1040, and Harthacnut's accession to the whole kingdom in the following June, whilst the latter was still abroad at Bruges, in Flanders, where he was, after long delay, on his way to dispute with his half-brother the possession of England. That he had partisans in this country upon whom he relied appears clear from the comparatively small force that he had collected to war against Harold, and from the fact that, on



the latter's death, he was unanimously elected to the vacant throne without his knowledge. It is not an unreasonable conjecture that the supporters of Harthacnut would at once take steps to have his name placed upon the coinage. The dies of his first issue were no doubt still in existence, and one of these was accordingly used for the obverse in conjunction with a reverse die of the type of Harold which was universally current at his death.

At this point the second unique coin, Fig. 15, should be considered. It might be argued that this piece is, in common with the two somewhat similar examples of Lund,<sup>1</sup> simply a Danish imitation, but I do not think the evidence is in support of such a view. The coin is of good Saxon work, of large size, and discloses the British form of the king's name. But more especially, the moneyer's name, RINEVLƿ, is very uncommon, and is almost unknown on coins other than of the Norwich mint. On the money of this mint it is in evidence not merely before the time of Harthacnut, but also in the early types of Edward the Confessor, from which fact I think we must conclude that Rinculf was in England during the reign of Harthacnut. Amongst the issues known of this moneyer is the similar type of Harold I., and a close inspection of the actual coin of Harthacnut might possibly disclose that it is from a die of Harold's last issue, with the letters forming HADACNVT REX punched over those of HAROLD REX. Quite the most likely time for the issue of this imitation, or altered coin, is the interregnum between March and June, A.D. 1040, and we may confidently expect, in time, to see coins of this moneyer forthcoming of the issues of Harthacnut's second regnal period.

In the description of the types it will be seen that we have two issues, Figs. 16 and 17, to fit into this second regnal period. Fig. 16 is substantially the same as the issue of Harthacnut's first regnal period, Fig. 13. It differs from the latter in the bust, which is engraved to the right, instead of to the left. I think that this issue may safely be placed first, not only because it is, in general, similar to the preceding coinages, but by reason of the fact that the type which

<sup>1</sup> See p. 34.

thereby falls into the second position, Fig. 17, was continued by Edward the Confessor, and was the only type of Harthacnut continued by him.

Harthacnut's first act, after his arrival in England in June, 1040, was to wring a heavy tax from his new subjects to pay the Danes who had accompanied him from Flanders. It is only reasonable to conclude that the coins of this first type of his second regnal period were issued in the course of this payment, although I have no doubt that it was also largely made in former types of coins still in currency.

In regard to the time of issue of the remaining and last type, Fig. 17, I think it highly probable that the change took place in A.D. 1041, when another payment of Danegelt, larger than the first, was levied. At least it may be said that this is the most likely reason for a recoinage. There appears to have been no regular change of coin-types in the Anglo-Danish period, and this, it may be remarked, is common to the money of to-day. Expediency, or necessity, alone seemed to govern the question of the issue of another type, and the enormous payment demanded, amounting to over thirty-two thousand pounds, would certainly render the supply of new dies necessary, although it is probable that the coins of previous issues still in circulation, were also largely utilised. The fact that specimens of the second type are commoner—if such a word can be applied to the coins of Harthacnut—than those of the first, points in the same direction. In general the finds also tend to show that Type 2 is the last, because specimens of this issue are more in evidence in the deposits. At the same time it will be evident from the remarks already made that no great value can be attached, in this connection, to the record of finds. The axiom that has sometimes been adopted that the types of which specimens are most in evidence in the finds are the latest, cannot be applied to this period with safety since, were it carried out to its logical conclusion without reference to other sources of information, the order of the kings, and, in many cases, the types of the different monarchs, would be assumed to be exactly opposite to the sequence which we know, on historical or other grounds, to be correct. For this reason, amongst others, no good object would be served in

furnishing a list of the finds of coins of Harthacnut, but it is thought that sufficient evidence, in other directions, has been adduced to show, not only how many types were issued by that king, but when, and in what order.

#### THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS OF HARTHACNUT.

The following is a list of all the mint-readings which I have been able to collate :—

A = The first regnal period, 1035—1037.

B = The second regnal period, 1040—1042.

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	Axport <sup>1</sup>	1A	+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFRIC ON CAXNP
2		1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+GOLDA ON AXSAP <sup>2</sup>
3			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GOLD·CYTA ON CAX <sup>2</sup>
4			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFRIC ON CAXNP <sup>3</sup>
5			Unascertained.	+ . . . . . N CAXSA <sup>3, 4</sup>
6	Bath	1A	+HARÐACNVT RE	+PÆDEL ONN BAÐA
7		1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELMÆR ON BAÐ
8	Bedford	2B	+HARÐENVT R	+SPOT ON BEDEFO
9			+HARÐCVT RE	+SPOT ON BEDEVOR
10	Bristol	1A	Unascertained.	+LEO[FRIC ON] BRIC <sup>4</sup>
11		1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+HPATEMAN ON BR
12		2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON BRIES
13			Unascertained.	+ÆÐE[LPINE ON B]RYCS <sup>4</sup>
14			+HARÐACNV	+SÆPINE ON BRXIEST
15	Buckingham	2B	Unascertained.	+ [BRIHTPI]NE ON BVCIN <sup>4</sup>
16	Cambridge ...	2B	+HARÐCNV	+ÆLFPIG ON GRANT
17			+HARÐACNVT	+GODSVNE ON GRANT

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
18	Canterbury ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON CANE
19			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLFRED ON CENT
20			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LÆFPI ONN CENT
21			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFPINE ON CENT
22			+HARÐACNVT RE	+PINEDI ONN CENT
23		2B	+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFNOÐ ONN CEN
24	Chester ...	2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ÆLSIG ONN LEICES <sup>5</sup>
25			+HARÐACNVT	+ÆLFSTAN ON LEGES <sup>5</sup>
26			+HARÐACNV	+CILLECRIST ON LEGIC <sup>5</sup>
27			+HARÐACNVT	+LE[OFN]OÐ ONN LEIC <sup>5, 6</sup>
28			+HARÐENVT RE	+LEOFPINE ON LEIC <sup>5</sup>
29			+HARÐACNVT	+SNELL ONN LEIC <sup>5</sup>
30	Chichester ...	1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+LEOFPINE ONN CIE
31	Cricklade ...	2B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ONN CROC
32	Derby ...	2B	+HARCNVT	+SPERTINE ON DEOR <sup>7</sup>
33			+HARCNVT	+PVLFEH ON DEORB <sup>7</sup>
34	Dorchester ...	1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ÆGELRIC ON DORC
35			Unascertained.	+BLAE[... ON D]OR <sup>4</sup>
36		2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+GODPINE ON DORCE
37	Dover ...		+HARÐENVT RE	+CINSTAN ON DOFRA
38			+HARÐENVT	+LEOFPINE ON DOF
39			+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFFPINE ON DOF
40			+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFPINE ON DOF
41		1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+BOGA ONN DOFRAN
42			+HARÐENVT RE	+ETTSIGE ONN DOFRA
43		2B	+HARÐENVT	+CNINESTAN ON DO

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
44	Exeter ...	1A	+HARÐENV T RE	+ÐEƆNPINE ON EXC
45			+HARÐACNV T R	+PVLNOÐ ON EXEC
46		1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+EADMÆR ON EXEC
47			Unascertained.	+G[ODMA]N O[N] EX <sup>4</sup>
48			+HARÐACNV T RE	+HÆRRA ON EXC
49			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÐEƆNPINE ON EXE
50		2B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+PVLNOÐ ON EXCE
51			+HARÐACNV T	+ÆLFSTAN ON EXECS
52			+HARÐACNV T REX	+DODDA ON ECEXECE
53			+HARÐENV T R	+DODDA ON EEXEEST
54			+HARÐACNV T	+DODE ONN EXECE
55			+HARÐENV T REX	+EDMÆR ON EXCESR
56			+HARÐACNV T REX	+EDMÆR ON EXCESR
57			+HARÐACNV T	+GODPINE ON EXE
58			+HARÐACNV T RE	+MANLEOF ON EEXEC
59	Gloucester ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆLFSIG ON GLEOCE
60			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODRIC ON GLEOVV
61			+HARÐACNV T R	+PVLFRED ON GLEO
62			Unascertained.	+PVLNOÐ ON GLEOV
63		2B	+HADAENV T RE	+ÆELRIC ON GLEPEP
64			+HADAENV T RE	+ÆELRIC ON GL·EPEP
65			+HADAENV T RE	+ÆELRIC ONN GLEPEC
66			+HADAENV T RE	+GODRIC ON GLEPECE
67			+HARÐACNV T RE	+LEOFNOÐ ON GLEP
68			+HARÐACNV T RE	+LEOFNOÐ ON GLEPE
69			+HARDAENV T REX	+PVPERD ON GEEP
70	Guildford ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+BLACAMAN ON GIL
71			+HARÐACNV T RE	+BLACMAN ON GIL



No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
72	Hastings ...	1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ALFRED ON HÆS
73			+HARÐENVT RE	+BRIDD ON HÆS
74			+HARÐACNVT RE	+BRIDD ON HÆS
75	Hereford <sup>8</sup> ...	2B	+HARÐENVT REX	+EARNPI ON HEREV
76			+HAR:ÐEN RE	+LEFENOÐ ON HERE
77			+HARÐENVT RE	+LEOFENOÐ ON HER
78			+HARÐECNVT RE	+ORDREL ON HEREFO
79			+HARÐECNVT REX	+ORDREL ON HEREFO
80			+HARÐENVT REX	+PVLSICEOD ON HERE
81	Huntingdon	2B	+HARENVT	+ÆLFPI NE ON HVNT
82			+HARÐENVT	+PVLFPINE ON HVNTA
83			+HARÐENVT	+PVLFPINE ON HVN
84	Ilchester ...	1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ÆGELPI ON GIEEL
85			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON GIFE
86		2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+GODRIC ONN GIFELE
87	Ipswich ...	2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+LIFINE ON GIPESPIEL
88	Langport ...	2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+DVNBERD ON LANGP
89			+HARÐENVT	+PVLFPINE ONN LA
90	Leicester ...	2B	+HARÐENVT	+SÆVINE ON LEHER <sup>13</sup>
91			+HARÐACNVT	+PVLFPINE ON LERE <sup>13</sup>
92	Lewes ..	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+EDPERD ON LÆPE
93			+HARÐACNVT RE	+NORÐMAN ON LÆ
94	Lincoln <sup>9</sup> ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON LINC
95			+HARÐACVT	+HILDVLF ONN LINC
96		2B	Unascertained.	+[ÆGEL]PINE ON LI[NC] <sup>4</sup>

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
97	Lincoln, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HARÐAEN	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LINE
98			+HARÐAEN	+ALFNOÐ ON LINEO
99			+HARÐENV T R	+ALFNOÐ ON LINEO
100			+HARÐAENV	+EOLGRIM ON LINE
101			+HARENV T	+EOLGRIM ON LINEO
102			+HARÐAENV	+CONRINCEOF ON LIN
103			+HARÐENV T R	+GODRIC ON LINEO
104			+HARÐENV T R	+LEONIG ON LINEOL
105			+HARÐAENV T R	+LIFINE ONN LNEOE
106			+HARÐENV T R	+OSFERÐ ON LINEO
107			+HARÐENV T R	+OOSMVND ON LIN
108			+HARÐENV T R	+OSMVND ON LINEO
109			+HARÐENV RE	+RVLNOÐ ON LINEOL
110			+HARÐENV T RE	+SPERTINE ON LINE
111			+HARÐENV T	+ÐVRGRIM ON LINEO
112			+HARÐENV T R	+ÐVRGRIM ON LINEO
113			+HARÐAENV	+PVLBERN ON LINEO
114	London <sup>10</sup> ...	1A	+HARÐAENV T R	+LEFSAN ON LVND
115			+HARÐAENV T RE	+LEOFRED ON LVNDON
116			+HARÐAENV T	+LEOFSTAN ON LVND
117		1B	+HARÐAENV T RE	+DVDINE ON LVND
118			+HARÐAENV T RE	+BRVN ONN LVNDE
119			+HARÐAENV T RE	+GOD ONN LVNDEN
120		2B	+HARENV T R	+ÆDELPINE ON LVND
121			+HARÐENV	+ÆGELPARD ON LV
122			+HARAV	+BRVN ON LVN
123			+HARÐENV T R	+EORF ON LVNNDE
124			+HARÐENV T	+EDRIC ON LVNDE
125			+HARÐENV T RE	+EDPIG ONN LVNDE
126			+HARÐENV T R	+GODMAN ON LVND

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
127	London, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HARÐENV T R	+GODRIC CALIC ON LV
128			+HARÐENV T R	+GODPINE ON LVNDE
129			+HARÐENV T	+GOLDOSIGE ON LVN
130			+HARÐENV	+GOLDOSIGE ON LVND
131			+HARÐENV	+GOLDOSIGE ON LVNDEN
132			+HARÐENV T	+LEFSTAN ON LVN
133			+HARÐENV T E	+LEFSTAN ON LVNDE
134			+HARÐENV T	+LEOFRED ON LVNDE
135			+HARÐAENV T	+LEOFRED BRVN ON LV
136			+HARÐENV T	+LEOFSTAN ON LVNDE
137			+HARÐENV T	+LIFINE ON LVND
138			+HARÐENV T	+LIFINE ON LVNDENE
139			+HARÐENV T RE	+PVLFRID ONN LVNDE
140			+HARÐAENV T RE	+PVLFRID ON LVNDEN
141		Fig. 14	+HARÐAENV T R	+GODRIC ON LVN
142	Malmesbury	1B	+HARÐAENV T RE	+HVNNA ON MEA
143		2B	+HARÐAENV T RE	+HVNNA ONN MEALMES
144	Norwich ...	2B	+HARÐAENV	+LEOFPIN ON NORÐ
145			+HARÐAENV	+LEOFPINE ON NOR
146			+HARÐENV T	+OSMVND ON NORP
147		Fig. 15	+HARÐAENV T REX	+RINEVLF ON NOR
148	Nottingham	2B	+HARENV T	+BLACAMAN ON SN
149			+HARÐENV T	+BLACAMAN ON SNO
150			+HARÐAENV	+PVLNOÐ ON SNOT
151			+HAROVENV	+PVLNOÐ ON SNOVT
152	Oxford ...	1B	+HARÐAENV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ON OCXE
153			+HARÐAENV T RE	+ÆGELPI ON OEXE
154			+HARÐENV T RE	+GODPINE ON OEX

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
155	Oxford, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HARÐENV T R	+ÆGELRIC ONN OXAN
156			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ONN OEXEN
157			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGLPINE ON COX
158			+HARÐENV T	+ÆGLPINE ON OXA
159			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGLPINE ON COXE
160			+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGLPINE ON COXE
161			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆLRIIC ONN OEXENA
162			+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆLPINE ONN OEXENE
163			+HARÐACNV T	+EDVIC ON DROXANA
164			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON COXE
165			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON OEXENE
166			+HARÐACNV T REX	+GODPINE ON OEXENE
167			+HARÐACNV T REX	+GODPINE ONN OEXENE
168			+HARÐENV T R	+LIFINE ONN OEXEN
169	Rochester ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON ROF
170	Salisbury ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON SERE
171	Shaftesbury	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ON SLEFT
172		2B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ONN SLEFT
173	Shrewsbury	2B	+HARÐACNV	+ÆLFFEH ON SCRO
174	Southampton	2B	+HARÐACNV T R	+ÆLFPINE ON HÆMTV
175			+HARÐACNV T	+GODRIC ONN HAMTV
176	Southwark ...	2B	+HARÐENV T	+ÆGELVINE ON SVÐ
177			+HARÐENV T	+ÆLVII ON SVÐGER
178			+HARÐACNV	+BRVHRED ON SVÐ
179	Stamford ...	1B	+HARÐACV T	+GODRIC ON STANF
180			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON SANI

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
181	Stamford, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HAŁENVTT	+BRVNPINE ON STA
182			+HAĐENV T R	+BRVNPINE ON STA
183			+HARĐENV T RE	+GODRIC ON STANFO
184			+HARĐEVT RE	+GODPINE ON STANCO
185			+HARĐVT RE	+GODPINE ON STANCO
186			+HARĐVT RE	+GODPINE ON STANFO
187			+HAECNV T	+LEFPNE ON STANE
188			+HAĐENV T	+SPERTT ON STANFO
189			+HARĐACNV T RE	+ĐVRSTAN ON STA
190			+HARĐENV T RE	+ĐVRSTANN ON STAN
191			+HARENVTT	+ĐVRVLF ON STANF
192	Steyning ...	1B	+HARĐACNV T RE	+FRID I ON STÆNIGE
193	Taunton ..	2B	Unascertained.	... ON TAN <sup>t</sup>
194	Thetford ...	2B	+HVRĐACNV T	+ÆLFFPINE ON ĐEOT
195			+HARENV T RE	+BRVNSTAN ON ĐEOTF
196			+HARĐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON ĐEOTVO
197			+HVRĐACNV T	+LEOFPINE ON ĐEOT
198	Wallingford	1A	+HARĐACNV T	+BVRPINE ON PELII
199		2B	+HARĐACNV T	+ÆLFRIC ON PELINC
200			+HARĐACNV T	+ÆLVIONPII ON PEL
201			+HARĐENV T RE	+BRVNPINE ON PELI
202	Wareham ...	2B	+HARĐENV T RE	+ISIDEMAN ON PERHA
203	Warwick ...	1B	+HARĐACNV T RE	+LEOFPN ON PERNC
204			+HARĐACNV T RE	+SIPERD ONN PAR
205	Watchet ...	1B	+HARĐACNV T RE	+GODEILD ON PELED

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
206	Wilton ...	2B	Unascertained.	..... ON PILTV <sup>4</sup>
207	Winchcombe	2B	+HARÐACNVT	+PRACA ONN PICE <sup>11</sup>
208	Winchester...	1A	Unascertained.	+GO[DPINE ON] PINE <sup>4</sup>
209			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE CEO ON PI
210		1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELRIC ON PINE
211			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLFRED ON PINE
212			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLFPINE ON PICE
213			Unascertained.	+ÆST[AN ON] PIN <sup>4</sup>
214			+HARÐCNVT RE	+GODPINE ON PINE
215			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE ON PINE
216			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE CEO ON PI
217			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE PVDI ON PI
218			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LADMÆR ON PINE
219		2B	+HARÐCNVT	+ÆLFPINE ON PINCES
220			+HARÐCNVT RX	+SÆVARD ON PINE
221			+HARÐCNV REX	+SÆPINE ON PINCEST
222			+HARÐCNV REX	+SÆPINE ON PINEEST
223			HARÐACNVT RE	+PINER ON PINCESTR
224	Witham ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON PIÐA
225	Worcester ...	2B	+HARÐCNVT RE	+LEFSTAN ON PIHER
226	York <sup>12</sup> ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFRIC ONN EOIFE
227			+HARÐCNVT RE	+PÐERPINNE ON EO
228	Unknown ...	1A	Unascertained.	[+L]EOFÐEG[EN] ..... <sup>4</sup>
229			Unascertained.	[+P]VLSIGEE ON ..... <sup>4</sup>
230		1B	Unascertained.	+ÆLFSTA[Ń] ..... <sup>4</sup>



NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> For evidence of the mint at Axport, now Axbridge, see vol. vi of this *Journal*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Erroneously attributed to Exeter in the *British Museum Catalogue*.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously attributed to Canterbury and Oxford respectively in *Hildebrand*.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment.

<sup>5</sup> Erroneously attributed to Leicester in *Hildebrand*.

<sup>6</sup> Moneyer's name obscure.

<sup>7</sup> Erroneously described in *Hildebrand* as Type B *var. a*.

<sup>8</sup> No. 68 in *Hildebrand* is not considered to be of Hereford.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 87 and 88 in *Hildebrand* are Danish.

<sup>10</sup> Nos. 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 115, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, and 145 in *Hildebrand* are Danish.

<sup>11</sup> For the appropriation of this reading to Winchcombe, see vol. vi of this *Journal*, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> No. 41 in *Hildebrand* is a coin of Edward the Confessor.

<sup>13</sup> Erroneously attributed to Chester in *Hildebrand*.