

THE HIBERNO-NORSE ELEMENT OF THE LIST HOARD FROM SYLT

MARK BLACKBURN AND MICHAEL DOLLEY

IN May 1937, embedded in a sand dune on the beach of the North Frisian island of Sylt, a local farmer, Peter Dietrichsen, discovered a most remarkable hoard of Viking-Age silver. The hoard, which consisted of some 770 coins and fragments, was contained in a cow's horn provided with a lid of lead. The coins were listed by the great numismatist Erwin Nöbbe, but only after his death was it fully published by Dr. Peter La Baume.¹ On that occasion one of us (M.D.) saw and commented on the draft manuscript, but only recently was the opportunity taken by the other (M. B.) to see and photograph all the insular coins, now housed in Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig's Schloss Gottorp. The visit was arranged at short notice by Drs. Gert and Vera Hatz and facilitated by a grant from der Numismatische Kommission der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. We are very grateful to Dr. K. W. Struve for making this hoard available for study and permitting us to publish it further in this paper. However, it would not have been possible in the time available to review the whole hoard had it not been for the kindness of Dr. Jürgen Hoika who gave time from his prehistoric studies and from his weekend to show the material.

One of the unusual features of the hoard is its high proportion of English and Hiberno-Norse coins; in number they represent approximately 88 per cent. Its contents may be summarized as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| ANGLO-SAXON | |
| Æthelræd II | |
| First Hand | 4 |
| Second Hand | 1 |
| Crux | 61 |
| Long Cross | 580 |
| | — 646 |
| HIBERNO-NORSE | 29 |
| SCANDINAVIAN IMITATIONS ² | 5 |
| HEDEBY | 3 |
| GERMAN | 78 |
| BYZANTINE | 1 |
| ORIENTAL | 8 |
| | — |
| | 770 |
| | == |

¹ P. La Baume (nach E. Nöbbe), 'Sylt, List: Münzfund der Wikingerzeit', *Vorgeschichte der nordfriesischen Inseln*, ed. K. Kersten and P. La Baume (Neumünster, 1958), pp. 462-76, pl. 153; see also *SCBI* Copenhagen i,

p. 30, no. 38.

² Nos. 76, 91, 491, 602, and 609 are considered to be Scandinavian imitations.

La Baume has dated the deposit of the hoard *c.* 1000 on the basis of a *terminus post quem* of *c.* 997 given by the Long Cross coins of Æthelræd II and a *terminus ante quem* of 1002 from the absence of coins of the Emperor Henry II (1002–14). However, analysis of the English Long Cross coins suggests that the *c.* 1000 date was too early by perhaps three years. The Long Cross element is very similar in date to that of the Igelösa hoard³—both are late since they contain all the significant regional styles, including the ‘subsidiary’ style, and both hoards have the late coins of London with two pellets on the reverse which were struck to a higher weight standard.⁴ Accordingly, the latest English coins belong to the very end of the Long Cross issue, which, on the currently accepted chronology, must place the deposit of the hoard some time after 1002 or 1003. There is, thus, an apparent conflict in the evidence of the English and the German coins.

In reality the List hoard consists of two parcels, which together tell an interesting story. The English coins of First Hand, Second Hand, and Crux types are heavily pecked and bent, and some are fragmentary; while in contrast the Long Cross coins are all fresh and flat, and the only piece on which peck marks are visible is a palpable imitation of a coin of Bath, probably to be associated with a recognized workshop in Scandinavia.⁵ The earlier English coins clearly had passed through the Baltic where they had been used for trade, as presumably had the Hedeby, German, Byzantine, and Oriental coins. Viewed as a separate group, the proportions (50 per cent German and 42 per cent English) are much as one would expect of a hoard from Gotland or southern Scandinavia, and they probably represent the purse of a Viking trader.

The vast majority of the Long Cross pieces, on the other hand, appear to have come to Sylt directly from the Anglo-Celtic isles. The presence both of English and Hiberno-Norse coins suggests that the parcel is the proceeds of a successful trading expedition, rather than part of a Danegeld payment, and the composition of the English element also bears out this conclusion. Table 1 compares the compositions by mint of the Long Cross elements of the List and Igelösa hoards, which are almost identical in size, and, taken together, the coins in the Systematic Collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, and the Royal Danish Collection in Copenhagen.⁶ It must be remembered that this latter group is not wholly representative of Scandinavian hoards, and still less of English production, but the sample is large enough to form a basis for comparison sufficient for the present purpose. The correlation between the Igelösa hoard and the two Scandinavian collections is remarkably good; in certain cases they diverge, but these appear to be rather random. Compared with these two groups, coins of Stamford, London, Exeter, and Lydford appear to be over-represented in the List hoard; while those of Chester, Shrewsbury,

³ Igelösa parish, Skåne (1924, SHM inv. 17532); most of the coins are now on loan to Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum.

⁴ C. S. S. Lyon, ‘Variations in Currency in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, *Mints, Dies and Currency, Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Albert Baldwin*, ed. R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 101–20, at pp. 106–10.

⁵ M. A. S. Blackburn, ‘Some Early Scandinavian Imitations of Æthelræd II’s Long Cross Type’, *Nun-*

Circ. 1980, pp. 130–2.

⁶ Figures for the Igelösa hoard are taken from an unpublished listing by Mr. Kenneth Jonsson, to whom we are grateful for permission to use his work in this paper, and those for the Stockholm and Copenhagen collections are taken from B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, 2nd edn. (Stockholm, 1881) (cited below as *Hild.*) and *SCBI* Copenhagen ii, respectively, as amended to take account of subsequent reattributions.

Warwick, Worcester, Huntingdon, Leicester, Bath, Wilton, and Winchester are significantly under-represented. The consistent absence of coins from the smaller mints in the heartland of England (Bridport, Buckingham, Crewkerne, Cricklade, Dorchester, Guildford, Malmesbury, Milborne Port, Tamworth, Taunton, Totnes, Wareham, Warminster, and Winchcombe) is also worthy of note. Most striking is the small number of Winchester coins present in the List hoard—a mere two (0.4 per cent) compared with thirty-nine (7.3 per cent) from Igelösa and fifty-one (4.2 per cent) in the Stockholm and Copenhagen collections.

TABLE I

English Long Cross coins in the List and Igelösa hoards and in the Stockholm Systematic Collection and the Danish National Collection in Copenhagen

| | <i>List</i> | | <i>Igelösa</i> | | <i>Stockholm's Systematic Collection and Copenhagen</i> | |
|------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| | <i>No.</i> | <i>Per cent</i> | <i>No.</i> | <i>Per cent</i> | <i>No.</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
| Axbridge | — | — | — | — | 1 | 0.1 |
| Barnstable | 6 | 1.1 | 4 | 0.7 | 11 | 0.9 |
| Bath | 4 | 0.7 | 12 | 2.2 | 21 | 1.7 |
| Bedford | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.2 | 8 | 0.7 |
| Bridport | — | — | — | — | 3 | 0.2 |
| Buckingham | — | — | — | — | 2 | 0.2 |
| Cambridge | 7 | 1.3 | 9 | 1.7 | 18 | 1.5 |
| Canterbury | 13 | 2.4 | 15 | 2.8 | 38 | 3.1 |
| Chester | 10 | 1.9 | 23 | 4.3 | 41 | 3.4 |
| Chichester | 4 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.2 | 9 | 0.7 |
| Colchester | 10 | 1.9 | 5 | 0.9 | 15 | 1.2 |
| Crewkerne | — | — | — | — | 3 | 0.2 |
| Cricklade | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.2 |
| Derby | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.2 |
| Dorchester | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 3 | 0.2 |
| Dover | 6 | 1.1 | 4 | 0.7 | 13 | 1.1 |
| Exeter | 46 | 8.6 | 27 | 5.0 | 47 | 3.9 |
| Gloucester | 4 | 0.7 | 7 | 1.3 | 14 | 1.2 |
| Gothaburh | — | — | — | — | 3 | 0.2 |
| Guildford | — | — | 2 | 0.3 | 5 | 0.4 |
| Hastings | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 4 | 0.3 |
| Hereford | 7 | 1.3 | 5 | 0.9 | 17 | 1.4 |
| Hertford | 1 | 0.2 | — | — | 3 | 0.2 |
| Huntingdon | 2 | 0.4 | 11 | 2.0 | 21 | 1.7 |
| Ilchester | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.2 | 8 | 0.7 |
| Ipswich | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 7 | 0.6 |
| Leicester | — | — | 4 | 0.7 | 11 | 0.9 |
| Lewes | 5 | 0.9 | 7 | 1.3 | 21 | 1.7 |
| Lincoln | 74 | 13.8 | 82 | 15.3 | 145 | 11.9 |
| London | 204 | 38.0 | 155 | 28.8 | 276 | 22.7 |
| Lydford | 10 | 1.9 | 4 | 0.7 | 9 | 0.7 |

[Table continued overleaf]

| | <i>List</i> | | <i>Igelösa</i> | | <i>Stockholm's Systematic Collection and Copenhagen</i> | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| | <i>No.</i> | <i>Per cent</i> | <i>No.</i> | <i>Per cent</i> | <i>No.</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
| Lymne | 1 | 0.2 | — | — | 3 | 0.2 |
| Malmesbury | — | — | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.1 |
| Milborne Port | — | — | — | — | 4 | 0.3 |
| Niwan | — | — | — | — | 2 | 0.2 |
| Northampton | 7 | 1.3 | 15 | 2.8 | 23 | 1.9 |
| Norwich | 7 | 1.3 | 6 | 1.1 | 24 | 2.0 |
| Oxford | 6 | 1.1 | 9 | 1.7 | 25 | 2.1 |
| Rochester | 6 | 1.1 | 10 | 1.9 | 13 | 1.1 |
| Romney | 3 | 0.6 | 2 | 0.4 | 6 | 0.5 |
| Shaftesbury | 2 | 0.4 | 2 | 0.4 | 12 | 1.0 |
| Shrewsbury | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.2 | 17 | 1.4 |
| Southampton | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.2 |
| Southwark | 1 | 0.2 | — | — | 9 | 0.7 |
| Stafford | — | — | — | — | 4 | 0.3 |
| Stamford | 31 | 5.8 | 5 | 0.9 | 43 | 3.5 |
| Tamworth | — | — | — | — | 1 | 0.1 |
| Taunton | — | — | — | — | 2 | 0.2 |
| Thetford | 14 | 2.6 | 16 | 3.0 | 26 | 2.1 |
| Torksey | — | — | — | — | 1 | 0.1 |
| Totnes | — | — | 3 | 0.6 | 7 | 0.6 |
| Wallingford | 6 | 1.1 | 6 | 1.1 | 17 | 1.4 |
| Wareham | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 7 | 0.6 |
| Warminster | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 3 | 0.2 |
| Warwick | — | — | 5 | 0.9 | 12 | 1.0 |
| Watchet | 2 | 0.4 | 4 | 0.7 | 4 | 0.3 |
| Wilton | 1 | 0.2 | 3 | 0.6 | 17 | 1.4 |
| Winchcombe | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | 3 | 0.2 |
| Winchester | 2 | 0.4 | 39 | 7.3 | 51 | 4.2 |
| Worcester | — | — | 2 | 0.4 | 12 | 1.0 |
| York | 26 | 4.8 | 20 | 3.7 | 83 | 6.8 |
| Total | 537 | | 538 | | 1215 | |

The pattern shows a bias towards three regions—the north-east, London, and the south-west—and suggests that the depositor of the hoard had crossed the North Sea to trade principally with York, Lincoln, London, and Exeter, as well as taking the Irish Sea by the southern route to sell goods to the Ostmen of Dublin.

Dr. Michael Metcalf recently has emphasized the velocity with which coin circulated in England at this period.⁷ From a consideration of certain English hoards and single finds he has shown that, while local products are usually better represented in such finds, often a good proportion of the coins have come from distant mints, suggesting a high level of medium and long-distance internal trade. The List hoard in part supports Metcalf's interpretation, but it suggests some limitations to it. Coins

⁷ D. M. Metcalf, 'The Ranking of Boroughs: Numismatic Evidence from the Reign of Æthelred II', *Ethelred the Unready*, BAR lix (1978), pp. 159–212, at pp. 168–71.

from the mints in the north-west (Chester and Shrewsbury), Mercia (Oxford, Gloucester, and Hereford), and possibly East Anglia (Norwich and Cambridge) had travelled many miles to the market-places of the north-east or London. In contrast, however, even after several years of circulation, very few Long Cross coins from the mints of Wessex had reached the centres of foreign trade, indicating a lower level of economic activity in this royal heartland than is to be found in the rest of England.

The North Frisian Islands may have been a staging-post for traders returning from Britain to the Baltic. The northern sea-route around Jutland was a dangerous one, and where light cargoes were involved a short cut across the base of the Jutland peninsula would have been preferable, even though it involved a short haul over land. By navigating the Treene as far as Hollingstede, the journey to Hedeby (Haithabu) involved a land crossing of only some 10½ miles (17 km.). List is situated directly opposite the mouth of the Vidaa, and List's sandy beaches would have offered a safe place to pass the night before embarking on the arduous journey over the peninsula. The other Viking-Age hoard from Sylt, that found at Westerland to the south of List in 1905, cannot be specifically associated with trade to Britain—only 5 of the 123 coins and fragments are Anglo-Saxon and they span some twenty years, from Cnut's Quatrefoil to Harold I's Fleur-de-lis issue—but some at least of the coins in this hoard must have come from the Baltic.⁸ More interesting is the somewhat shadowy Ütersum hoard from Föhr, the next island south of Sylt.⁹ The hoard, found c. 1815, is known from a brief account in K. I. Clement's *Die Lebens- und Leidensgeschichte der Friesen* (Kiel, 1845) where it is described as a hoard containing a large number of English coins of the eleventh century, and the inference is that it contained little else.

Interesting though the English and other elements of the List hoard are, and undoubtedly they deserve extensive discussion elsewhere, the principal purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the evidence which the hoard provides for the dating of the Hiberno-Norse series. Before looking at the coins in any detail, it is worth observing that Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Norse coins were being taken to Scandinavia in a common consignment, apparently treated as equals, and it should occasion no surprise, therefore, that Scandinavian workshops are to be found copying both English and 'Irish' prototypes without discrimination.¹⁰ All twenty-nine of the Hiberno-Norse coins belong to the Long Cross issue of Dolley Phase I, a fact somewhat surprising in itself, if this parcel can be taken as representative of the currency then circulating in the market-place of Dublin. A previous note has suggested that Sihtric's Crux coinage ceased being struck shortly after the introduction of Long Cross in England,¹¹ and the inference of the List hoard is that many of those Crux pieces were reminted as coins of the succeeding Long Cross type, although without necessarily implying a full *renovatio monetæ*. This would also help to explain the

⁸ P. La Baume (nach E. Nöbbe), 'Sylt, Westerland: der Münzfund von Westerland', *Vorgeschichte der nordfriesischen Inseln*, pp. 637–41, pl. 154; see also *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 35, no. 73.

⁹ *SCBI* Copenhagen i, p. 41, no. 110.

¹⁰ M. A. S. Blackburn, 'An Imitative Workshop Active During Æthelræd II's Long Cross Issue', and M. Dolley,

'Imitation and Imitation of Imitation: some problems posed by the non-English *Helmet* pennies with the name of Æthelræd II', both in a forthcoming fascicle of the Royal Danish Academy.

¹¹ M. Dolley, 'Neglected Evidence from Ireland for Periodicity of Type in the English Coinage of Æthelræd II', *Irish Numismatics*, 1978, pp. 278–81.

rarity of Dublin Crux coins in continental finds, since they would only have been available in large numbers to foreign traders for as little as perhaps a year or two.¹² The List coins are illustrated on Plate I and may be described as follows:¹³

With the royal name SIHTRC, title REX, and the Dublin mint-signature

| | | |
|---|------------------------|------------------|
| 1. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFL·INGI La B. 660 | +FÆI REMI NM·O DYFLI | 1·37 g./21·1 gr. |
| 2. +SIHTRC RE DYFLII Cross formed of 5 pellets behind bust. La B. 661 | +FÆI REMI NMO DYFLI | 1·49 g./23·0 gr. |
| 3. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFII La B. 662. <i>Same dies as 4 below and SCBI Copenhagen, v. 15</i> | +F·Æ MEN MNO DYII | 1·28 g./19·7 gr. |
| 4. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFII La B. 663. <i>Same dies as 3 above and SCBI Copenhagen, v. 15</i> | +F·Æ MEN MNO DYII | 1·21 g./18·7 gr. |
| 5. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNI La B. 664 | XF·Æ REM NHO DYEH | 1·34 g./20·7 gr. |
| 6. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNI La B. 665 | +FÆ NME ONM DYFI | 1·39 g./21·4 gr. |
| 7. +SIHTRC REX DYFLIN La B. 666 | +FÆ REM NMO DYFL | 1·41 g./21·7 gr. |
| 8. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLIN Pellet in 3 terminal ornaments of reverse cross. La B. 667 | +F·Æ REMI NMO DYFLI | 1·24 g./19·1 gr. |
| 9. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNI Pellet in 2 terminal ornaments of reverse cross. La B. 668 | +FÆ REMI NMO DYFLI | 1·25 g./19·3 gr. |
| 10. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNI Pellet in 3 terminal ornaments of reverse cross. La B. 669 | +F·Æ REMI NM·O DYFLI | 1·14 g./17·6 gr. |
| 11. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNM Two pellets below brooch on bust. La B. 670 | +FÆ RENI DYMI | 1·26 g./19·4 gr. |
| 12. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNM Two pellets below brooch on bust, and a pair of pellets in 2 terminal ornaments of reverse cross. La B. 671. <i>Same dies as SCBI British Museum (Hiberno-Norse) 21. Same obverse as Hild. (Sihtric) 86 and Leningrad 7</i> | +F·Æ REMI NMO DYFLI | 1·34 g./20·7 gr. |
| 13. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLMNO Pellet in each terminal ornament of reverse cross, and pellet in 4th heraldic quarter. La B. 672 | +F·Æ NEMI NMO· DYEH | 1·35 g./20·9 gr. |
| 14. +SIHTRC R . . . Cut halfpenny. La B. 674 | . . . , REMI NMO . . . | 0·59 g./9·1 gr. |
| 15. (+Sihtrc r)E+ DYFLNI Cut halfpenny. La B. 675. <i>Same dies as SCBI Edinburgh 748 (ex Inch Kenneth hoard)</i> | (+F·æ remi) NM·O DYFLI | 0·77 g./11·8 gr. |
| 16. +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNI La B. 673. <i>Same dies as SCBI British Museum (Hiberno-Norse) 22</i> | +SIEL ODYF+ LNIEI MTIV | 1·29 g./19·9 gr. |

¹² A catalogue of Hiberno-Norse Crux coins can be found in M. Dolley, 'The Forms of the Proper Names Appearing on the Earliest Coins Struck in Ireland', *Otium et Negotium*, ed. F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), pp. 49–65; supplemented with particular reference to continental finds by M. Dolley, 'The First Coin from Ireland to Reach the Continent of Europe', *Festoen*, ed. J. S. Boersma *et al.* (Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 223–6, and M. Dolley, 'Sveriges första import av irländska mynt', *Mynt*

Kontakt, 1978, pp. 102–3, 119.

¹³ In this listing the following abbreviations are used: La B. — number given in La Baume, 'Sylt, List: Münzfund der Wikingerzeit'; Leningrad — Hermitage Museum, reference to those published in [R. H.] M. Dolley, 'The Dublin Pennies in the Name of Sihtric Silkbeard in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad', *JRSAL* xciii (1963), 1–8; Lund — University Historical Museum: Stockholm — Royal Coin Cabinet.

With the royal name SIHTRC, title REX, and an 'English' mint-signature

17. 'Derby' +SIHTRC RE+ DYFLNI +GIO DFIN EMIO DEOR 1.15 g./17.8 gr.
La B. 659. *Same dies as SCBI British Museum (Hiberno-Norse) 23, Hild. (Sihtric) 1, and 5 other coins in the Stockholm cabinet*
18. 'London' (+Sihtr)C REDX DMN +ÆIL (rnie mioL) VND 0.70 g./10.8 gr.
Cut halfpenny; crook behind bust. La B. 680. *Same dies as SCBI British Museum (Hiberno-Norse) 26*
19. 'Winchester' . . . TRC RE RINI 0.31 g./4.8 gr.
Cut farthing. La B. 681

With the name ðYMN, title ROEX, and the Dublin mint-signature

20. +ðYMN R·OE+ MNEGMI +F·Æ MEMI NMO ðYFL 1.22 g./18.8 gr.
Three pellets on neck and 3 pellets behind bust; pellet in 3 terminal ornaments of reverse cross, and a small cross in 1st and 4th heraldic quarters. La B. 678. *Same dies as Hild. (Thymn) 7, and same obverse as 21 below, Hild. (Thymn) 11, and, before the addition of 2 pellets behind the bust, as Hild. (Thymn) 4 and 8*
21. +ðYMN R·OE+ MNEGMI +F·Æ REMI NMO ðYFL 1.21 g./18.7 gr.
Three pellets on neck and 3 pellets behind bust. La B. 679. *Same obverse as 20 above, and same dies as Hild. (Thymn) 11 (?)* [photograph not available]

With the name ðYMN, title ROEX, and an 'English' mint-signature

22. 'London' +ðYMN R·OÆ+ MNEGMI +EMI RNIE MIOI VND. 1.26 g./19.4 gr.
Pellet surrounded by 8 small pellets behind bust; and pellet in 3 terminal ornaments of reverse cross. La B. 677. *Same dies as Hild. (Thymn) 5*
23. 'London' +ðYMN R·OE MNEDI +EMI RNIE MIOI MND 1.32 g./20.4 gr.
Small cross on neck, and bust reminiscent of an English style found at Lincolnshire mints. La B. 676. *Same reverse as Hild. (Thymn) 2, 3, and 4, and SCBI Copenhagen, v. 22 and 23*

With the name of ÆDELRAED and the Dublin mint-signature

24. +·ÆDELRAED RE+ ANGO +F·Æ REMI NM·O DYFLI 1.61 g./24.8 gr.
Pellet in 2 terminal ornaments of reverse cross. La B. 656

With the name of ÆDELRAED and an 'English' mint-signature

25. 'Lincoln' +ÆDELRED RE+ ANGO +OS. GVN MGO. LINO. 1.27 g./19.6 gr.
La B. 237. *Same dies as 26 below, Hild. (Ethelred) 1841, and Stockholm—ex Kviende hoard (Inv. 21613); and from the same reverse die as Hild. (Sihtric) 78*
26. 'Lincoln' +ÆDELRED RE+ ANGO +OS. GVN MGO. LINO. 1.47 g./22.7 gr.
La B. 238. *Same dies as 25 above*
27. 'Stamford' +ÆDELRAED RE+ AGL·O +AS C7GE MGO STA 1.13 g./17.4 gr.
La B. 537. *Same dies as a coin in the Lund Systematic collection*

With the name of ÆDELRAED and a blundered reverse legend

28. +ÆDELRED REX ANGHIL·O +FDI EMGI SNEO LRHO 1.32 g./20.4 gr.
La B. 658. *Same reverse die as Hild. (Ogsen) 2*

One other coin bearing Æthelræd's name, no. 657, is attributed by Nöbbe and La Baume to the Dublin mint. It is a cut farthing with a reverse legend which they record as . . . RENI . . . , but which may equally well be . . . RE MO It is, in fact, from the same obverse die as no. 600 ('Oban' of 'York'), and it is clear that the bust and epigraphy, although unusual, are not Hiberno-Norse. One cut halfpenny, which bears only a portion of the moneyer Leofstan's name and on which the mint-signature has been lost, is recorded by Nöbbe and La Baume amongst the 'unascertainable fragments'. Leofstan was a moneyer in Long Cross at Canterbury, London, and

York, but his name is not otherwise recorded in the Hiberno-Norse coinage. However, the serified epigraphy, the blundering of the ethnic, and the style of such of the bust as is visible, suggest that the coin may be from Dublin, and we record it here in the hope that a die-link will be found which would settle its attribution.

29. *Uncertain mint* . . . + ANGNLO + LEO ESTA 0.85 g./13.1 gr.
Cut halfpenny; two pellets in each quarter of reverse. La B. 627

Three coins in the name of the York moneyer Hildulf, nos. 593–5 in La Baume's list, are described as *irländischer Typ*. They are struck from a common obverse die which displays certain 'Irish' features, but recent research has shown that these pieces are, nevertheless, genuine products of the York mint.¹⁴ Similarly, certain coins in the name of Thurulf of York (from the same obverse die as no. 613) have been considered Hiberno-Norse, but for them also an English origin is now preferred.¹⁵

Most of the important varieties of the Phase I Long Cross issue are found represented in the List hoard. There are coins in the name of Sihtric with both Dublin (moneyers Færemin and Siel) and English mint-signatures, including the common 'Giodwine' of 'Derby' and the RINI ('Winchester') series. Coins in the name of Æthelræd, again with Dublin and English mint-signatures, are present, as also the enigmatic 'Thymn', represented in no less than four specimens. Some of the List coins have additional symbols on the obverse or reverse; convincing evidence that these varieties do indeed belong to Phase I and not Phase II. There are no specimens with the rare 'Ogsen' obverse legend, but their association with the List group of Hiberno-Norse coins is demonstrated by one piece in the hoard (28) which die-links directly into the 'Ogsen' series. The absence of any of the so-called 'Sisig' pieces need not concern us, since they have now been reattributed to the Scandinavian imitative series.¹⁶ The only significant variety which is absent from List is that which gives Sihtric the Old Norse title 'Cununc'. Apart from being notably rare, these pieces are of heavy weight and thought to belong early in the Long Cross series.

It has been recognized for some years that copying of Long Cross commenced in Dublin shortly after the type's introduction in England. This is shown by insular hoards such as Inch Kenneth and Derrymore, as well as a number of foreign hoards, including Igelösa, List, Gaulverjabær, and Sand. However, the evidence of the List hoard goes further. It completes the picture by showing that broadly all the Long Cross coins of Phase I were in issue by the time our Viking trader came to Dublin, probably in the year 1002 or 1003. The period from c. 997 to c. 1020 is now emerging as one in which there were five discrete issues, each closely contemporary with the currency of its prototype in England. In contrast to some, but not all, Scandinavian centres, Dublin wished only to copy coin that was current in England; a situation which reflects the presence in England of a *renovatio monetæ* system.¹⁷

The illustrations of the List coins on Plate I remind us of the essential homogeneity of this issue. Although the presence of an + in the king's title *rex* can no longer be relied on *per se* as an infallible indicator of the 'Irishness' of a piece, it remains true that the vast majority of Dublin coins do exhibit this feature. The form of the

¹⁴ M. A. S. Blackburn, 'Thoughts on Imitations of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *SCBI* 1977, pp. 344–50.

¹⁵ M. A. S. Blackburn, 'An Imitative Workshop . . .',

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ M. Dolley, 'Neglected Evidence from Ireland . . .',

bust and the shape of the epigraphy betray characteristics which derive partly from the freehand style of Sihtric's die-cutter and partly from peculiarities of the tools and punches which he used. There remain in the series a number of anomalous pieces which do not conform in style to this main group, some of which are remarkably similar to work of certain English die-cutting centres.¹⁸ Their full significance must await further research, but already the chaos which prevailed as regards the Hiberno-Norse coinage until after the Second World War is being dispelled to reveal a rational and remarkably well-ordered system, at least during the first twenty-five years of its existence.

¹⁸ e.g. *SCBI* British Museum (Hiberno-Norse) 28, and pl. D, fig. 5; *SCBI* Copenhagen v, p. 24.