

“UNCERTAIN” ANGLO-SAXON MINTS AND SOME NEW ATTRIBUTIONS.

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PERUSAL of Hildebrand's useful work, *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish cabinet of medals at Stockholm*, 1881, and of *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii, 1893, has led me to think that some further help and guidance may yet be afforded to the student of our Anglo-Saxon coins by a careful reconsideration of the facts and circumstances relating to some of the pieces therein described or referred to, and by an examination of the inscriptions appearing upon those coins which are either not attributed to places of mintage, or are only doubtfully or tentatively so attributed. I cannot hope to be entirely successful in cases where others have entirely failed, but I trust that some measure of success will attend my attempt to elucidate these numismatic puzzles, and that the expression of my own views may induce students to examine more closely the questions remaining unsolved.

In dealing with these problems the following criteria are of importance :

1. The provisions made by the laws of Æthelstan enacted at the synod at *Greatanlege*, identified with Greatley, near Andover, in Hampshire. The date assigned to these enactments is given in the Introduction to vol. ii of the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins as A.D. 928, but Dr. Liebermann in his *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* does not venture to attribute them to a more definite date than from A.D. 925-935.

Set out below in parallel columns are such of these laws as concern our subject. In the first column is the Anglo-Saxon version, from the *Textus Roffensis*, in the second column the version in Latin from the *Quadripartitus*, and in the third my own rendering of these into English:—

<i>Textus Roffensis.</i>	<i>Quadripartitus.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
1. Oþer : þæt ælc ceap- ing sy binnon port.	1. Et omne mercatum sit intra civitatem (por- tum).	1. And let every market be within a borough.
2. Be myntherum. þrid- da : þæt an mynet sy ofer eall ðæs cynges onweald ; 7 nan mon ne mynetige buton (on) port.	2. De monetariis. Pla- cuit nobis, ut una moneta sit in totum regis im- perium (regno nostro) et nemo (nullus) monetet extra portum.	2. Concerning money- ers : It has been resolved on by us that there be one (kind of) money in all the empire of the king (throughout our kingdom) and that no one do coin money outside of a borough.
3. 7 gif se mynetere fúl wurðe, slea mon of þa hond, ðe he ðæt fúl mid worhte, 7 sette up on ða mynetsmiððan ; 7 gif hit þonne tyhtle sy, 7 he hine ladian wille, ðonne ga he to þam hatum isene 7 ladige þa hond, mid ðe mon tyhð, ðæt he þæt facen mid worhte ; 7 gif he on þam ordale fúl wurðe, dó mon þæt ilce, swa hit æt beforan cwæð.	3. Si monetarius reus fuerit, amputetur ejus (ei) manus et ponatur supra monete fabricam. Si in- culpatio sit, et se purgare velit, eat ad ferrum cali- dum et allegiet manum que inculpatur (adcausa- tam) quod falsum fecerit. Si in ordalio reus fuerit fiat ei quod supra dictum est.	3. If a moneyer shall be a condemned criminal, let his hand be amputated and let it be placed above the mint-smithy. If he be inculpated and he wish to clear himself, let him go to the heated iron and grasp it with the hand with which he is accused of having made what is false. If in the ordeal he shall be found a criminal, let it be done to him as above is said.
4. On Cantwarabyrig VII mynetaras : IIII ðæs	4. In Cantuaria septem monetarii sint : regis	4. In Canterbury let there be seven moneyers ;

<i>Textus Roffensis.</i>	<i>Quadripartitus.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
cynges 7 II (ðæs) bis- copes, I ðæs abbodes; to Hrofeceastre: II cynges 7 I (þæs) biscoes; to Lundenbyrig VIII; to Wintaceastre VI; to Læwe II; to Hæstinga- ceastre I; oþer to Cisse- ceastre; to Hamtune II; to Wærham II; to Exe- ceastre II; to Sceaftes- byrig II; elles to þam oþrum burgum I.	quatuor, episcopi duo, ab- batis unus; in Rove- cestria tres: regis duo, episcopi unus; in Lun- donia VIII; in Wintonia VI; in Lewis II; in Hastingcestre unus; in Cicestria unus; in Ham- tune duo; in Warham duo; in Dorecestria (Dorchecestre) unus; in Sceaftesbyri duo; in Exonia duo; et in aliis burgis unus.	four of the king, two of the bishop, one of the abbot: in Rochester three; of the king two, of the bishop one: in London 8: in Winchester 6: in Lewes 2: in Hast- ings one: in Chichester one: in Hampton two: in Wareham two: ¹ <i>in</i> <i>Dorchester one</i> : in Shaf- tesbury two: in Exeter two, and in the other boroughs one.

To state them shortly, the main points are that—

- (a) The type of coin was to be the same throughout the whole realm.
- (b) No one was to coin money except within a city or borough.
- (c) Except where distinctly specified to the contrary, each and every borough was to have one moneyer and no more.

2. In consequence of the enactments specified under head 1 above, it is of importance to show that a place to which it is sought to attribute coinage was a borough at the time that such coinage is alleged to have taken place.

This may be evidenced by :—

- a. A charter or other written evidence.
- β. The inception into the place-name of the word *ceaster* = city, *burh* or *burg* = borough, *port* = borough.

As regards *a*, the required evidence may be presented by (i) a charter, (ii) an entry in Domesday book referring to the place as *burgus*

¹ In the Latin version only.

or *burgum*, or to the presence there of one or more *burgenses* or *burgesses*.

As regards β , the required proof may be deduced from the ancient or present name of the place in question, or by the inscription upon the coin itself, where the descriptive word *civitas*, *ceaster*, *urbs* or *port* is not of infrequent occurrence:

In the case of the suffix *burg*, it is not safe to assume that it always indicates a borough, as the theme *burg* frequently has reference to a prehistoric encampment or fortification there existent.

3. By the way of additional or circumstantial evidence, the occurrence in a given district of the names of certain moneyers may be of use in the endeavour to locate a doubtful mint-reading. This is, of course, an uncertain test, but it is sometimes of value especially in the case of names of moneyers that are rare in form, or which are, apparently, not of wide distribution.

In the event of there being more than one place to which, on the strength of the reading indicating it, a coin may possibly be assigned, it is desirable to ascertain in which district the name of the moneyer appearing upon that coin is found upon other coins as to the attribution whereof there is no question involved or likely to arise.

4. If there exist only a single specimen, or if a given reading occur upon only one type of the coinage of a king, doubt and uncertainty may well arise :—

a. As to the correctness of the inscription itself.

β As to the correctness of the reading or rendering of that inscription as recorded in a book of reference or descriptive list.

Having regard to these points, and to the fact that the varying forms of Anglo-Saxon letters cannot well be faithfully recorded in print, the actual specimens should, where practicable, be examined. In this connexion I must express regret that I have not had the opportunity of inspecting some of the coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet, as to the correct reading of which I am in doubt.

For convenience of reference I propose to arrange the inscriptions

indicative of English mint-places, or the places now assigned as their modern equivalents, in alphabetical, though not strictly lexicographical order. The Hiberno-Danish and Danish sections will be separately treated.

Acxewo and **Agewor**, hitherto unattributed. At the outset I am met with a legend the solution of which has not yet been attempted.

A single coin of Cnut, of Hildebrand's Type I, is recorded by him as reading on the reverse,

+ LEOFÞINE ON ACXEÞO

The penultimate letter of the mint-name is printed þ = w, but in my judgment it should be printed P as it doubtless appears upon the coin.

In conjunction with this reading it will be convenient to consider that appearing upon a coin of Edward the Confessor of Hildebrand's Type E (Type VI of my own arrangement), namely,

+ ÆGELÞINE ON AGEÞOR

Here again the P in AGEÞOR has, in my opinion, been wrongly rendered as a þ.

On the other hand, in *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 325, a coin of Harthacnut of Type I, Variety A, of that arrangement, and there illustrated as Plate XXI, No. 1, is correctly described as reading + GOLDA ON AXSAP:.

The final letter or syllable in each case indicates the word **PORT**, meaning a town or borough, while **ACXE** and **AGE** denote the river **Axe**. We have, therefore, to look for a town situate on a river **Axe**, which comprises in its designation a reference to a river of that name. Three towns, Axbridge, Axminster, and Axmouth fulfil these conditions. The first-named is situate on the **Axe** in Somersetshire which flows into the Bristol Channel. The other two places are on the similarly designated Devonshire river which discharges into the English Channel.

But of all the three, as Axbridge is the only town which was a borough, and it is so described in Domesday, I conclude that the coins inscribed *acxewo*, *ageþo* and *axapþ*, may safely be assigned to Axbridge.

Brige and *Bruge* had become part of the name at the time of the compilation of Domesday, but it is not unlikely that prior to the building of the bridge over the Axe, the town already existed under the appropriate name of Axport. It would be interesting to ascertain when the bridge in question was in fact constructed. Whether any additional evidence is in existence as to this point, or as to Axbridge having formerly been called Axport, I am unaware, but I commend the question to those who are especially engaged in the study of Anglo-Saxon diplomatics.

Axan, attributed to Axminster.

In the catalogue of the late Mr. Montagu's coins the following note is appended to Lot 669, which comprised a penny of Eadred, of the type bearing his bust.

* * Hawkins gives this and the next two coins to Exeter ; but Mr. Montagu with good reason attributed them to Axminster, thus supplying a new mint to the Anglo-Saxon series. The minster at Axminster was built by Æthelstan.

The reading of the reverse of this coin is given as + VINE MONET · A+, that of Lot 670 as + MANNÆ MONET · A, and that of Lot 671 as + MANNÆ MONET ∴ A.

In regard to the first, Lot 669, I think it probable that Hawkins was right in attributing it to Exeter, which was then known as Eaxanceaster, *the City of the Exe*, as well as Eaxeceaster, a later and less pure form.

The final A in the other two legends may also indicate Exeter, as we find that Manna was a moneyer at that place under Æthelræd II., but, on the other hand, the stops after the T in MONET may have no special significance, and the A's may only form part of the abbreviation of *monetarius*.

In this connection I refer my readers to the inscriptions on the coins of Eadred of Type V, that under consideration, set out on p. 155 of the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, where the form MONETA frequently occurs.

Hildebrand attributes a single coin of Æthelræd II. to Axminster. It is of his Type D and reads + ÆLFNOÐ MΩO AXA, but, on turning to his record of Exeter coins, we find nine varieties of pennies bearing that name undoubtedly struck at Exeter. Forms beginning EAX are most frequent, but we also find EXAN.

The same author attributes two coins of Cnut to Axminster, viz. :—

+ ÆLFRIE ON AXAN, Type E.

+ ÆÐE - - - - - AXA, Type G, a fragment.

Under Exeter ÆLFRIE may appear in the form of ÆFILL, but no moneyer whose name begins with ÆÐE is there recorded.

I have a coin of Cnut of Type E which was read by its vendor + LE:OFP:INE ON:Æ, and given to Axminster, but the true reading is + LE:OFP:INE OHÆ, and the mint-place is Hastings.

I regretfully conclude that the case for the existence of a mint at Axminster must be held to have failed, or at the best to rest only on very slight foundations.

If a distinction was in fact intended between AXAN and EXAN I make the suggestion that Axbridge was the place indicated by the former, and I refer my readers to what I have already written in regard to that ancient borough.

Æsthe[dune ?], assigned by Hildebrand and Messrs. C. F. Keary and H. A. Grueber to Ashdown in Berkshire.

A single coin of Æthelræd II. is tentatively attributed by Hildebrand to this suggested mint. It is of his Type C and is read on the reverse

+ EADSTAN M-O ÆSÐE.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xvii, 1854, p. 130, another coin of the same type, therein by error called the *Pax* type, is recorded from a find of coins of Æthelræd II. in the Isle of Man, and the reading is given as

EADSTAN M-O ESÐE.

In all probability it is a duplicate of the piece described by Hildebrand.

Although Eadstan is not recorded as having been a moneyer at Hastings, I have no hesitation in attributing the two specimens above described to that borough.

Under Æthelræd II. we have the forms ÆSTE and ÆSTL to denote that place, which dispose of the difficulty presented by the absence of the initial aspirate, while under Edward the Confessor we find the forms H/ESÐIN and H/ESTIEN, *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 377, Nos. 508 and 502 respectively, which remove the objection as to the concluding letters ÐE.

Mr. C. F. Keary remarks, *op. cit.*, p. cxi, in reference to Ashdown, "Why a mint should have been established at this place we have no evidence to show."

Æt[andun?], assigned by Hildebrand to Edington in Wiltshire.

Hildebrand records a single specimen of the coinage of Æthelræd II., Type B 2, as reading on its reverse side

+ ÞVLFS TAN M-O ÆT.

We obtain no help from Mr. Keary, who simply ignores the suggested mint at Edington and, I think, wisely.

The coin may be of Hastings, see my remarks above under *Æsthedune*, or even of Canterbury.

Wulfstan was a moneyer at that city under Æthelræd II., and ÆT may represent an imperfectly read, or an incompletely punched, L/ENT.

In any case the existence of the coin recorded by Hildebrand with so short a rendering of the mint-place as ÆT is not sufficient to establish satisfactorily that a mint ever existed at so unlikely and unqualified a place as Edington was in the time of Æthelræd II.

Barda[nig], formerly assigned to Bardney in Lincolnshire.

As coins bearing the inscriptions BARD, BEARD. etc., are still sometimes assigned, following the opinion of Hildebrand and other experts, to Bardney, I think it well to here refer my readers to my friend, Mr. L. A. Lawrence's paper in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, pp. 302-308, when he was the first to correctly attribute them to Barnstaple (*Bardestaple*, *Beardestapla*, etc.) in Devonshire.

Bridgnorth, in Shropshire.

There are a goodly number of coins of Æthelræd II. and Cnut which indicate this mint by forms varying from BRY to BRYDIEA and BRYDIE, and Hildebrand, followed by Messrs. Keary and Grueber, correctly assigns them to Bridgnorth.

My only reason for referring to the attribution here is to direct attention to the fact that although Bridgnorth is not mentioned in Domesday by that name, it is in fact therein referred to as "burgū QVATFORD," Fol. 254A. Now Bridgnorth is situate partly within the parish of Quatford, and even as Dr. J. H. Round showed that the castle of Wareham indicated Corfe Castle, so do I deduce that "burgum Quatford" indicates the Borough of Bridgnorth, where a burh was built by Æthelflæd in A.D. 912. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the place is called *Brigc*, *Brycg*, and *Brig*.

Bruton or Brewton, in Somerset.

There are coins of Hildebrand's Types E, E variety *d*, G and H of Cnut whereon the mint-name is indicated by BRIV and BRIVT, and he ascribes them to Brewton in Somersetshire, Brighton in Sussex, or to Breedon in Leicestershire.

Messrs. Keary and Grueber properly select Brewton in Somerset as the place where these pieces were coined. The former, in the Introduction to vol. ii of the *British Museum Catalogue*, p. cxii, remarks: "It is probable that the mint belonged to the abbot of the monastery."

We learn, however, from Domesday that *Briuuetune*, as it is there called, was then, as it had been in King Edward's time, a royal borough, so it would seem that it had the right of coinage as such, and that it is not at all requisite or desirable to import the abbot into the case.

At fo. 86*b* of the same record *Briuuetone* is, by an error of the original copyist, rendered BRVMETONE.

The scribe, of course, had before him *Briuuetone*, which he imagined to be *Brumetone*.

Ceai, expanded to Cealchythe, and assigned by Mr. H. A. Grueber to Chelsea.

The late Mr. Montagu possessed a coin of Harold II. which formed Lot 162 at the sale of his collection. The reading, as disclosed by the letterpress and the illustration is + ÆLFNOÐ ON CEAƿ, and CEAƿ is explained to be "Cealchythe"—Chelsea.

A footnote is added :—

* * * From the Brice collection. This is the only coin known of this mint.

The coin was acquired at the price of £13 13s. by Messrs. Rollin et Feuardent, and is now in the National Collection.

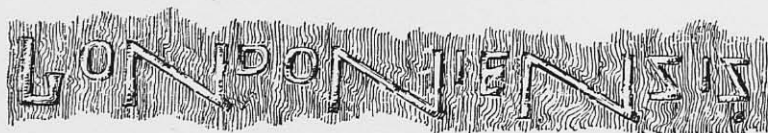
The mint of Chelsea, alias Cealchythe, is not referred to in the introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, but in the list of moneyers of Harold II., p. 460, we find Ælfnoð ["Ceai" = Chelsea?]: and when we turn to the "Map of England illustrating the Anglo-Saxon mints," inserted at the commencement of the *Catalogue*, we do find GEALCHYÐ, Chelsea.

The place is termed Chelched, with an alternative reading Cercehede, in Domesday. The manor then belonged to Edward of Salisbury, and in the time of Edward the Confessor it was owned by his man "Wluuene," who could sell it to whom he wished. There is no hint of any kind to suggest that there ever was a mint there, it was not a borough nor even a royal manor.

The explanation of the mint-place indicated by *Ceai* is comparatively easy. Ælfnoth is a very well-known Shaftesbury moneyer under William I., and this gives the requisite clue.

On turning to Hildebrand's record of Shaftesbury coins of Æthelræd II. we find CAFT and CEFT of frequent occurrence, CEFTEŠBI is in evidence under Cnut, and ꝥCEAFI under Edward the Confessor. These examples show that the initial S was often omitted, and if this be applied to the case of SCEAFI we obtain CEAFI, which may be shortened to CEAF.

The CEAƿ of the so-called Chelsea coin of Harold II. represents the letters CEA plus an upright stroke or incompletely punched F, and the inscription is shown to be CEAF = SCEAF = Shaftesbury.



REVERSE OF A SILVER PENNY OF ÆLFRED (ENLARGED TO $6\frac{1}{2}$ DIAMETERS) OF THE MONEVER ÆTHELUF WITH MONOGRAM OF LONDON ; AND A DIAGRAM EXPLAINING THE LETTERS.

Castle Rising.

In the catalogue of the late Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh's coins, Lot 219, illustrated in Plate V thereto, is described one of the three known specimens of the coinage of Alfred sometimes attributed to this mint. Those who support this attribution read the monogram ROISENG or ROISENGER. The Rev. D. H. Haigh (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., x, 31) so read it, and assigned the same to Castle Rising, giving the alternative suggestion of Rishangles, anciently Risanger, in Sussex. Mr. Kenyon read the monogram CROINDEN, and suggested Croydon as the mint intended. Mr. Keary in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. cxii, says: "With this reading [ROISENG] we are more inclined to agree, and the coin is ascribed to Castle Rising in this catalogue." Messrs. Spink and Son, in a note to the description of Lot 219 above-mentioned, record the fact that the late Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh in his memoranda remarked, "the monogram is supposed to be intended for Londini Sifitas." They, however, add, "but this supposition must be dismissed, as there is no possibility of reading it in this way."

In reference to this very point I wrote in this *Journal*, vol. i, p. 3, as follows: "On certain issues of Ælfred's coins we find the names of famous cities. London is represented by the monogram of Londonia, and the form Londoniensis also appears, the genitive being used in conjunction with the name of the moneyer ÆDELVF, the extended reading being, 'Æthelwulf the moneyer of London.' Special notice has been directed to this coin, as official numismatists have attributed it to Croydon and Castle Rising."

It is, of course, easy to understand that a sale catalogue is not a likely place wherein to find doubt cast upon an attribution of a coin to a rare mint, but, as the Castle Rising attribution has received an advertisement in connexion with the Rashleigh sale, I feel it to be my duty to numismatic science to again direct the attention of collectors to the fact that the obvious reading of the monogram is *Londoniensis*. The accompanying plate, with its enlarged photograph of the coin, will disclose the monogram in a form easier to follow than

in an ordinary illustration; and below it, in the hope of finally setting the question at rest, a reproduction of the letters in their order is also offered from the pencil of Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.

The misapprehensions of my predecessors seem to have arisen on account of the initial L having an upstroke attached to the horizontal stroke forming the base of the letter. This gives the initial the appearance of the lower portion of a \mathfrak{L} , but it is by no means an unusual feature of Saxon lettering.

Castle Rising undoubtedly possessed a mint under Stephen, but it is equally certain that it did not possess that distinction under Ælfred.

Darent. Urb., assigned by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Darenth in Kent, and by Signor di Rossi to Dartmouth in Devonshire.

The late Mr. Montagu possessed a coin of Æthelstan, the reverse reading of which appears in the sale catalogue of his collection, Lot 610, as

+ BEORTVLF MÖ DARENT · VRB.

This piece came from the Cuff, Dymock, York-Moore and Brice collections, and is described as being "probably unique, as no other coin of this mint is known." Ruding, plate C, 19, was engraved from it, although on referring to the illustration we find that the name of the moneyer varies slightly from that given in the catalogue. The actual reading is

+ BEORHTVLF MÖ · DARE · HT · VRB.

This closely agrees with the reading of a similar coin of Æthelstan recorded by Signor di Rossi in his account, published in 1884, of the large hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins discovered in the House of the Vestals within the Forum at Rome.

Signor di Rossi attributes this penny to Dartmouth, an attribution made also in Mr. Grueber's portion of the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 101, but which was altered by Mr. Keary in his introduction to the same volume, p. cxiii, to Darenth.

My own view is that neither attribution is right. Darenth was

never a place of marked importance, and was certainly not entitled to the description VRBS in common with Hampton, Lewes and Oxford. Urbs is the Latin rendering of the Saxon burh, and the modern equivalent is borough. It denoted a place next only in importance to a *civitas*, or city.

The inscription DARENT · VRB will equally apply to Darentford, the Anglo-Saxon name of Dartford in Kent, so called, like Darenth, by reason of its situation on the river Darenth. In Domesday, the place is termed TARENTEFORT, and was the property of the king. The variation in spelling denotes the phonetic expression of the Domesday scribe's own pronunciation of the name. An Englishman would have said and written Darenteford.

Now Dartford was, and still is, a place of some importance and strategic value, placed as it is on the ford of a river and on the great road, the Roman Watling Street, leading from London to Canterbury and Dover.

If my view be correct, Dartford must have been a borough in Æthelstan's reign, as his laws enact that coinage was only to take place within cities and boroughs. It is not, however, designated a borough in Domesday.

Gothabyrig, attributed by Hildebrand and by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, Scotland, and by the late Sir John Evans to Idbury in Oxfordshire.

I need only here refer my readers to my paper on this mint which appeared in vol. iv of this *Journal*, pp. 33-45, wherein I have fully stated my reasons for concluding that the mint place indicated is Ythanceaster, near Bradwell, in Essex.

Gre[nawic ?], attributed by Hildebrand and by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Greenwich in Kent. Hildebrand makes this attribution on the authority of a single coin of Æthelræd II. of his type D, which reads

+ SĪÐĪNE M'O GRE.

Yet upon the same page (73) of the book we find Sidwine given as a moneyer of Cambridge.

+ SIDWINE M^{TO} GRANT, Type C.

It would seem to me to be obvious that both coins are of Cambridge, and so obvious as not to require further notice.

Hamwic, attributed by Hildebrand and by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Harwich in Essex.

Coins of Æthelræd II. only are assigned by Hildebrand to this place. The readings are full and clear, and range from HAM to HAMPE. The names of the moneyers also are distinctive: Æthelman, Æthelweard, Godman and Isegel. The first and last names occur only upon Hamwic coins.

Æthelweard was also a moneyer of Hertford, London and Sudbury, and Godman occurs at Canterbury, Dover, Hereford, London, Thetford and Winchester.

I have not been able to find any reference to Harwich in Domesday, but Camden derives the name from Harewic, signifying a harbour for soldiers. I am, however, quite unable to see any connexion between the word *Ham* in Hamwic and the entirely different word *Har* in Harwich.

It is difficult to imagine how Hildebrand arrived at this attribution, unless it was by a mere guess arising only from a superficial similarity of the two names. I make the tentative suggestion that the Hamwic coins may be of Droitwich in Worcestershire. The prefix "Droit" is of comparatively modern growth. In Domesday the place is designated *Wic*, *Wich*, *Wicha* and *Wiche*, and it was then, as also in the time of Edward the Confessor, a royal borough. "*Midelwic*" and "*Upeuwic*" are specified in that record in describing parts of *Wich* itself, but *Hamwic* is unfortunately not mentioned. One of the meanings of *wic* or *wich* is a salt-pit, and Domesday shows that *Wich* was then, as it is now, celebrated for its *salinæ*, or salt-pits.

Iort, not explained.

Hildebrand describes a single coin of Æthelræd II. of Type D as reading on the reverse.

+ GODRIC MŌO IORT

I consider that this reading signifies Heortford (Hertford). The moneyer Godric does not occur in his list of Hertford coins of Æthelræd II., but I possess a specimen of the same type, D, which is inscribed

+ GODRIC M'O HRT

a circumstance which I think definitely settles the point.

Lac and **Lag**, ascribed by Hildebrand to Lancaster.

Leng, not attributed.

In *Hildebrand* we find a fragment and a complete penny of Cnut, Type E, inscribed respectively

+ ÆÐ - - - - - LAG

+ GODPINE O LAC

also pennies of Harold I., Type A, reading

+ ÆGELPINE ON LAC

+ ÆLFBERD ON LANDE

Of the last form three specimens are described, with varying obverse legends, but with the same reverse readings.

Under Harthacnut, Type B, we find attributed to Langport in Somerset

+ DVNBERD ON LANGP

+ PVLFPINE ONN LA (?)

On turning to the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, under Cnut are of Hilbrand Type E

+ ÆÐ - - PINE O LAG

Hild. Type E

+ GODPINE O LAG

Ditto

These are ascribed with a query to Lancaster, but a footnote is added, "So attributed by Hildebrand; but very possibly for LANG= Langport."

Then come, under Langport

+ GODPINE ON LAMP Hild. Type E,

+ EDRIC ON LANCPOR, „ „ G,

and under Edward the Confessor we have

+ EIL-PINE ON LANCP, Hild. Type E, C-B, Type VI.

With the above may usefully be considered the coin of Æthelræd II. described by Hildebrand and reading

+ LEIFPINE M'O LENG Hild., Type E.

All the above-mentioned readings appear to me to indicate the Domesday borough of Langport in Somerset.

It was a borough in Æthelstan's time, as in the National Collection is a coin of this reign reading

+ VVYNSIGE · MO : LONGPORT

A similar coin is described by Signor di Rossi, *op. cit.*, and another specimen which reads

+BYRHTELM MO LANGPORT

We thus have a series of coins from Æthelstan, under whom mint-names upon the coinages first became general, to Edward the Confessor, which may I think be safely attributed to Langport.

The only unsatisfactory reading is that of LANDE under Harold I., but it is quite likely that an examination of the coins would show the correct reading to be LANGE, but even in A.S. manuscripts D is not infrequently written where G should properly appear.

"**Leigceaster**," more correctly, Legaceaster.

This, as is now well known, indicates Chester, and not Leicester, as was supposed by Hildebrand,

"**Leherceaster**" and "**Ligerceaster**," more correctly Leheraceaster and Ligeraceaster.

These forms, as is now also generally recognised, indicate Leicester, and not Chester, as was assumed by the same writer.

Limene, Limna.

Although Hildebrand was right in considering that the coins of Eadgar, Eadweard the Martyr, Æthelræd II., Cnut, and Edward the Confessor, inscribed LIMAN, LIMEN, LYMENA, LIMNA, LINEA, etc., were issued at Lyminge *or* at Lypne in Kent, he was wrong in assuming the identity of the two places. He regarded "Lyne," or Lypne, as the modern equivalent to "Liming," but they are in reality entirely separate.

The forms above cited can only indicate Lymne or Lypne, the Portus Limenus of the Romans, so Mr. Keary in the British Museum Catalogue, vol. ii, p. cxvi, rightly decides in favour of Lymne (Lypne) and makes no illusion to Lyminge, and Mr. Grueber in the catalogue portion follows suit.

Luueic, doubtfully ascribed by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Lowik or Luffwich in Northamptonshire.

In the National Collection is a coin of Eadweard the Martyr, illustrated vol. ii of the *Catalogue*, Plate XIV, 15, which is read

+ EDELN M T O LVVEIC :

As regards this piece Mr. Keary writes "of the early history of this place scarcely anything is known . . . The attribution of the coin reading LVVEIC to this place is therefore very doubtful."

In Domesday it is designated *Ludewic* and *Luhwic*, but there is nothing there to suggest a mint or the likelihood of such.

Although the reading is far from being satisfactory, I am much disposed to regard the coin as belonging to Lewes in Sussex.

There are Lewes coins of Eadgar and Æthelræd II., but, unless this is a coin of that mint, the intervening reign of Eadweard the Martyr appears to be numismatically unrepresented.

The coins of Æthelræd II. disclose many varieties of reading. In addition to the normal LÆFE we find LÆVE, LÆFVE, LÆFGE, LÆHFGE etc. From a close examination of the illustration I think that there are indications of the final letter in LVVEIC being in reality a Ƣ. This would give LVVEIƢ, a rendering not far removed in form from LÆFGE.

Meonre, not attributed by Hildebrand.

This place is represented only by a single coin of Cnut. It reads

+ ODA M'O MEONRE

and is of Hildebrand's Type B, which is recorded as occurring at seven mints only, namely, Bath, London, Norwich, Oxford, Rochester, Shrewsbury, and "Ustla."

I find it difficult to suggest a convincing attribution, but it may belong to one of the three Meons in Hampshire, namely, East Meon, West Meon, or Meon Stoke, which at the time of Domesday all belonged to the Bishop of Winchester.

In aid of the suggestion that MEONRE may signify MEON it is significant that the moneyer ODA coined only at MEONRE and Winchester, if we except for the moment a place read by Hildebrand, DNGENITI, as to which see p. 43.

In Domesday Meon is indicated by MENE and MENES, but in a grant by King Æthelstan dated 30th August, 932. The forms "ÆT MEONÆ," "ÆT MEONE," "TO MEONE," etc., occur, thus indicating the form MEONA in the nominative case.

Myle, ascribed by Hildebrand to Milton, called by him *Mylton*, in Kent.

One coin of Æthelræd II., reading

+ ÆDELRIE M'O MYLE, Type D,

and two pennies of Cnut, inscribed

+ GODFINE ON MYLE, Type G,

+ SÆTINE ON MYLE, Type H,

are attributed by Hildebrand to Milton in Kent.

To these examples I am able to add a specimen of Edward the Confessor, Type X, of my arrangement of his coinages, from my own collection. The reading of the reverse is

+ IELFPINE ONM, *Hild.*, Type A, variety C.

There are two pellets in the field of the reverse, one above and another below the central cross and near the inner circle.

In my opinion these coins were not issued at either the diminutive Milton near Canterbury, or at the more important Milton next Sittingbourne. The latter is in Domesday called Middeltun and Middeltune, and the name *Myle* upon the coins cannot have any connexion with the descriptive word *Middel*.

I have confidence in assigning them to Milborne-Port, in Somerset. This place is called *Mileburne* in Domesday, and it was then a borough in the ownership of the king. It returned members to Parliament from the 26th to the 35th year of Edward I.

An examination of the names of the moneyers also supports this attribution. We find that under Æthelræd II., Æthelric coined at Bath and Ilchester in Somerset, and at Shaftesbury and Wareham in Dorset; under Cnut, a Godwine coined, amongst other places, at Ilchester, while Swet, possibly a shortened form of Swetinc, is in evidence at Cadbury and Dorchester. In Edward the Confessor's reign we find that the name Ælfwine occurs as that of a moneyer at Exeter and Ilchester.

It must, of course, not be assumed that moneyers bearing the same name and coining at different towns were identical, but the occurrence of an Æthelric, a Godwine, and an Ælfwine at Ilchester as well as at *Myle* = Milborne-Port, is significant and important when we take into consideration the circumstance that these places are only about ten miles apart.

Newir.

Hildebrand does not attempt to assign to any mint the single specimen of Æthelræd II., Type A, which reads on the reverse

LEOFINE MΩO NEÞIR.

Messrs. Keary and Grueber do not allude to this coin, but they assign to Newark in Northamptonshire, or to Newark in Nottinghamshire, a coin of Eadwig which bears the inscription **HEÞE**.

I refer to this specimen and to a coin of the same king reading **NIÞE** under Newport, but the inscriptions **NEÞE** and **NIÞE** may apply equally to **NEWARK**.

But be this as it may, the legend **NEWR** can, I think, only be held to mean **NEWERGE** or **NEWERCHE** as Newark is designated in Domesday.

Newark in Northamptonshire does not appear to be noticed in Domesday, but Newark in Nottinghamshire is not only mentioned, but the account discloses that it was then a borough wherein Bishop Remigius, of Lincoln, had 56 burgesses. In Edward the Confessor's time it was worth £50, at the time of the survey £34.

There can, therefore, be no hesitation in determining that Newark in Nottinghamshire is the mint-place of the coin inscribed **NEWIR**, and possibly also of those reading only **NEWE** and **NIWE**.

Newport, ascribed by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Newport, in Shropshire, and by the late Sir John Evans to Newport, in Cornwall.

It will, I think, be convenient to consider under one heading the coins which bear a mint-name commencing **NIWE** or **NEWE**, or which bear some abbreviation of either form. Both are well recognised and equally used forms of the Anglo-Saxon word which represented our present word "new."

Other variants are *niowe*, *neowe*, and *niwo*.

The selection of this word as a descriptive epithet is very frequent in the composition of our English place-names and descriptions of local buildings. In the nature of things it must in time become inept. Thus the New Port at Lincoln is the most venerable antiquity in that ancient city. The Central Criminal Court at Newgate, in London, was familiarly known as the Old Bailey, and since its recent rebuilding we hear of the New Old Bailey.

I find that there are well over 200 towns or parishes in England alone that have the word New as the initial portion of their designations. The task, therefore, of correctly assigning the coins bearing the inscriptions which equate *New*, is not easy of performance.

In the first instance it is desirable to collect the numismatic evidence that is available by setting out the inscriptions of this class as they appear upon our Anglo-Saxon coins. Fortunately the list is short :—

Eadwig.

∴
CLAC
+ IIE + ðE
MONE
∴

Brit. Mus. Cat., vol. ii, p. 160, No. 13 and Plate XII, 12.

∴
CIGW
+ NI + ðE
MOIIE
∴

In my collection.

Eadgar.

+ ÆLFRIÐE MON · O · NIÐANPO,

Montagu, Lot 721, illustrated Plate VI of the sale catalogue.

Edward the Confessor.

+ · SIREÐ ON NIÐEÐORTE · *B.M.* type vii ; C.-B. type VII.
+ SIREDD ON NIPEPO : " " " " " "
+ S/EPAN ONN NPEP : " " xi ; " " IX.

Variety, pellet in the first and fourth angles of the central cross. In my collection.

The last four readings all clearly indicate a place called Newport, but the first two apply equally to Newark, as stated in my account of that mint.

The late Sir John Evans examined the claims of the various Newports to the coins in question, or some of them.¹ He eliminated the claims of all except Newport in Cornwall and Newport in Buckinghamshire, and decided, with doubt, in favour of the former.

I have shown in vol. iii of this *Journal*, pp. 115-116, that Newport in Cornwall cannot be the place of that name indicated on the coins, so Newport in Buckinghamshire remains as the result of the labours of elimination performed by Sir John Evans and myself.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885, pp. 256-258.

On turning to Domesday we find that *Newport* in Buckinghamshire was then held by William FitzAnsculf. In the time of King Edward his thane Ulf held it.

The burgesses, *burgenses*, are referred to, which shows that the place was, or had been, a borough, a circumstance which has escaped Mr. Ballard's attention, as he does not include Newport in his work, *The Domesday Boroughs*.

It is now called Newport-Pagnell, the appended name having been derived from the Paganells, to whom the ownership of the place descended from the Domesday owner, William FitzAnsculf.

Oxford see *post*, pp. 44 and 45.

Pedr, extended to Pedredetūn, and now attributed to Petherton in Somerset.

I have in my collection a penny of Edward the Confessor of type II of my arrangement of that king's coins, and of Hildebrand's type A, which reads on the reverse

+ BRIHTRIC ON PEDR,

the mint-name being quite distinct. I submitted the puzzle to my friend, Mr. Anscombe, and soon received his reply as follows:—"I should extend the mint-name thus: ON PEDRedantūne, that is at Petherton. *Pedredan* is the genitive case of *Pedrede*, the river Parret. Compare *Pedredanmūpa*, the mouth of the Parret, annal 845, in the Peterborough *Saxon Chronicle*."

It is difficult to say whether the coin should be attributed to North Petherton or to South Petherton. Both are situate on the river Parret. Neither, however, is described as a borough in Domesday. North Petherton is therein called *Nordperet*, *Nordpereth* and *Nortperet*, and South Petherton is designated *Sudperet* and *Sudperetone*. *Peret*, *Peretune* and *Peritone* are also mentioned. Both were Royal Manors in the time of William the Conqueror and that of Edward the Confessor, and neither paid geld, nor was it known on what hidation either would be liable for the tax had it been payable.

We find that Brihtric was a moneyer under Edward the Confessor and Harold II. at Taunton, and a moneyer of the same name struck for Harold I. at Crewkerne.

Peresc extended to Perescôra, and now attributed to Pershore in Worcestershire.

I am also the owner of a penny of Edward the Confessor, of type IX of my arrangement, Hildebrand's type G, which reads on the reverse

+ PVLFRIC ONPERE ƿC

This reading caused me much reflection, but the mint Pershore in Worcestershire seemed obviously intended. I, however, included the query in my letter to my friend, Mr. Anscombe, and he wrote in reply as follows:—"I should extend the mint-name thus: ONPERE ƿC = on PERESCôran, that is 'at Pershore.' In MS. D of the *Chronicle* we get 'on Perscôre'; in MS. C 'on Perscoran.' The latter MS. is contemporary with annals 1053 and 1056, in which Pershore is mentioned. D was copied out *circa* 1100. I do not know of an eleventh-century MS. form parallel with PERESE. The reception into the word of the vowel E after PER tends to discredit the derivation in vogue, namely, 'Per-shore,' and suggests that the word is really 'Per's côr.'"

In Domesday Pershore was designated *Persore* and *P'sore*. It then belonged to St. Peter's, Westminster, to which foundation it had been given by Edward the Confessor "as quit and free from all claim as he himself used to hold it in his demesne." Domesday also records that "there 28 burgesses render 30s. and the toll renders 12s."

This attribution has given me much gratification, as it proves that coinage took place at yet another of the Domesday Boroughs.

Retef[ord?], assigned by Hildebrand to Retford in Nottinghamshire.

Hildebrand gives the following readings as occurring on coins of Cnut, Type E:—

+ LYFINC MON RETE.
" " " RETEF.
" " ON RETII.

There can, however, be little doubt that they really belong to Hertford. Under that mint we find numerous coins by the moneyer Leofinc, Lifinc, Lifnc and Lyfinc in conjunction with such readings as HEORT,

HEORTE and HEORTE, which can only signify Heortford = Hertford. Heorutford and Herutford are other forms indicating Hertford.¹

We, however, also find his name with such readings as HREOT, HRET, HREFOR and HRETOF.

The best instance is

+ LYFINE O HRETEF. Type E.

If we revise Hildebrand's list of "Retford" coins as follows—

+ LYFINE MO HRETE.

" " " HRETEF.

" " O HRETIL.

the case for that mint entirely disappears, and with it another unlikely name from our Numismatic Map. In Domesday, Retford is termed Redeford, Redford and Redforde, and there are no indications that it was then or had formerly been a borough.

"**Ricyebyrig**," assigned by Hildebrand to "Richborough," meaning thereby Prince's Risborough in Buckinghamshire, and by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to Richborough in Kent.

Hildebrand gives the following readings from reverses of coins of Cnut:—

+ SIRIC ON RICYEBII, Type E.

" " " RIE - - II, " "

" " " RIHBIIR, " " (two varieties of obverse).

" " OON RINHE, " "

" " ON RIEB - - II, " " E. h.

" " OON RINHE, " " "

" VLF ON RIEZZA, " G.

I leave the last-mentioned coin for consideration in that portion of this paper which deals with the Danish group.

From the National Collection I am able to add the following reading to the list:—

+ CNOFLN EN RIC, *Hildebrand*, Type E.

¹ See Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, vol. i, p. 49.

There are also three pennies of the "Sovereign" type of Edward the Confessor's coinage, Type VIII of my arrangement, to be dealt with.

The examples in the National Collection read

+ LEOFSTAN ON RIC
and + SPETRIC ON RIC

A third specimen in my cabinet reads

+ SPETRIC ON RIL

Mr. Keary writes in reference to this suggested mint, *Introduction*, p. cxviii:—"Richborough (Ricyeburh) in Kent is the Portus Rutupiae of the Romans. Traces of Roman work are discoverable in the ruins of the castle. There are, in fact, no evidences of Saxon occupation. . . . It is, therefore, with considerable doubt that the coins with the legend RIC have been attributed to this place. There is no mention of Richborough either in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or in Domesday."

The reading of my coin RIL, and not RIC, further confuses the matter, when we find that Swetric occurs as a moneyer on coins of Wilton of the same type of the Confessor's coins. The readings of these are:—

+ SPETRIC ON PILT: (two varieties of obverse readings),
and + SPETRIC ON PILTV.

A Swetric also occurs on a coin of the same type assigned to Maldon. It reads

+ SPETRIC ON MEL

and probably belongs in reality to Malmesbury. The name of the other moneyer, Leofstan, does not, however, appear at Wilton nor Malmesbury, but Lufstan occurs at Salisbury in Hildebrand's Type A.

On the other hand, the reading RIC, with a rounded c, seems to preclude the possibility of RIC having been punched into the die in mistake for PIL.

I share Mr. Keary's "considerable doubt" in regard to Richborough having been intended by these legends, RIC and RIE, but find equal difficulty in suggesting a convincing solution of the question.

Having gone through the list of possible claimants I feel that Ryburgh (Great Ryburgh) in Norfolk has the best claim. In Domesday it is designated by the following variants: *Reieborh*, *Reieburh* and *Reienburh*. These forms agree to a considerable extent with the variations disclosed by the coins of Cnut, the inception into the first part of the name of the letter N being especially worthy of notice.

The place would appear to have been of some importance, but there is no evidence to show that it was a borough at the time of the Survey, but the terminations *burh* and *burgh* may preserve the fact that it was at one time a borough, or they may merely indicate the presence of an ancient fortification.

Stanv[ic?], attributed by Mr. Grueber to Stanwick in Northamptonshire.

This attribution is made by Mr. Grueber in the catalogue portion of vol. ii of the *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, p. 235, but it is not alluded to by Mr. Keary in his *Introduction* to that work. STANVIC = Stanwick, is, however, inscribed on the numismatic map.

The authority for this attribution is a coin of Æthelræd II., Hildebrand Type B, 1, reading on the reverse

+ ALFƿALD M-O STANV.

There is nothing in the position or history of the unimportant country village of Stanwick to warrant the suggestion that it ever could have possessed a mint.

On turning to Hildebrand's list of Stamford coins of Æthelræd II. we find

+ ALFƿOLD M-O STAN, Type B, 1.

"	"	"	"	"	C.
"	"	"	STF,	"	"

The misapprehension seems to have arisen by reason of the use of a v instead of an F in the rendering of the mint-name.

Although another instance is not recorded by Hildebrand in his specification of Stamford coins of Æthelræd II., we find two instances

of the use of *v* as the equivalent to *F* in his list of the coins of that mint under Harold I., namely:—

902 + LEFRIC ON STANVO, Type A,

913 + SPERT ON SANVO, " "

Other readings, such as STANF and STANFOFO, on coins by the same moneyers, make it quite clear that Stamford (Stanford) is the place indicated.

Ton and **Tomw**, assigned by Hildebrand to Tonbridge in Kent. Under Æthelræd II. Hildebrand records

+ EADFINE ON TOM, Type A,

+ GODFINE M'O TON, Type E,

and, under Cnut,

+ ÆLFSTAN ON TOMF, Type H.

TOM and TOMF cannot possibly equate Tonbridge. They indicate Tomweorthig, Tameweorthig = Tamworth. In his account of "Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Meath" the late Sir John Evans¹ records a penny of Æthelstan reading + MANNA MOT ON TOMIEARÐGE, and a coin of Eadgar in my cabinet reads + EOFERMVND IN T · OMF. These examples clearly indicate that the vowel *o* in the initial theme is in evidence as well as the form in *A*, which at a later date became more usual.

Two of the three "Tonbridge" readings therefore belong to Tamworth, and I am inclined to think that the third reading, Ton, would, on inspection, prove to be Tom, and should therefore also be assigned to Tamworth.

Ustl, Ustla, Ustli.

No attempt is made by Hildebrand to locate the place indicated by these inscriptions, nor do Messrs. Keary and Grueber attempt any solution.

The readings recorded by Hildebrand are, under Æthelræd II.,

+ VLFEETEL M-O VSTLA, Type A,

+ VLFEETL MO VSTLI, " D,

and, under Cnut

+ VLFEETL MO VSTL, Type B.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, vol. v, p. 131.

We therefore have coins of this place under two successive kings and of three distinct types.

There can be little doubt in assigning them to Islip in Oxfordshire, an alternative name of which is Gyslepe.

Æthelræd II. erected a palace there, and in it his son Edward the Confessor was born.

Kemble prints the charter¹ of the last-named king, whereby he gives to "Crist and sainte Petre intô Westminstre 8at cotlif 8e ic was boren inne bi nāman Giðslepe."

On turning to Domesday we find the place-name *Wistelle*, a form which corresponds very satisfactorily with that disclosed by the coins, and there, folio 158*b*, one burgess, *unus burgensis*, is mentioned. I think that this is another rendering of Gyslepe. The LETELAPE of Domesday is, however, usually identified with Islip. Possibly the initial L is written in mistake for E, and both entries relate to Islip. If this be so it would seem that Islip was a borough at the time of Domesday, although much decayed, but the circumstances of some of the boroughs abolished by the Reform Act of 1832 were precisely similar.

Wansford, or "**Welmesford**," in Northamptonshire.

In the National Collection is a single coin of Cnut, of Hildebrand's Type E, which is attributed by Messrs. Keary and Grueber to this always unimportant village.

The piece is illustrated in Plate XIX, Fig. 14, of the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, and reads on the reverse

+ MÆN ON PELMIÆF

There are coins of Cnut of the Wallingford mint which read ÆELINÆ and ÆELINÆF, where MÆN also appears as a moneyer.

The piece nearest in reading to the alleged Welmesford coin is one also of Hildebrand's Type E, which presents

+ MÆN ON PELINÆ

In my opinion the only reasonable explanation is that we here have a

¹ No. 862, vol. iv, p. 215.

case of misinscription on the part of the moneyer, who punched into the die **M** instead of **IN**.

Mr. Keary is unable to give any reason for there having been a mint at Welmesford, and he concludes that the attribution "is open to doubt."

The place is now known as Wansford. The only authorities for *Welmesford* and *Walmisford* respectively are a passage interpolated in *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* MS. E, and a spurious charter of Eadgar printed in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iii, p. 92. It is not even mentioned in Domesday.

Weybridge, see *post*, p. 45.

Wincel[combe?], ascribed indiscriminately to Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, and to Winchelsea in Sussex.

As I have written a full account of the Winchcombe mint.¹ I will here content myself by stating that in my opinion all the coins ascribed to Winchelsea really belong to Winchcombe, and that in addition to those heretofore attributed to Winchcombe and Winchelsea there are certain other coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods that are properly attributable to Winchcombe.

Winchelsea as a mint-place should, undoubtedly, be removed from the numismatic map of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods.

Worime, attributed by Hildebrand to Warmington in Northamptonshire, and by Mr. Grueber to Worcester.

Hildebrand gives the following readings for this suggested mint, namely :

Æthelræd II. :—

+ ALFƿOLD M^{no} ƿORI, Type D.
 " " M^{no} " " "
 " GODIƿNE ON ƿORIME " A.

Cnut :—

+ LEOFSIGE MON ƿOR, Type G.
 " ƿINEGOD ON ƿORI, " "
 " " " " " H.

Harold I. :—

+ ƿVLSTN ON ƿORIM, Type A.

¹ See *The Winchcombe Mint*, pp. 49-54 of this volume.

To these I am able to add from my own collection the important reading for Æthelræd II., Type A, variety B.

+ OSMVN MO ꝥORIMEN.

This adds one letter to any reading before recorded, and furnishes the name of an additional moneyer for the mint.

There appears to be nothing in the history or circumstances of the small country village of Warmington, in Domesday called *War-mintone* and *Wermintone* to lead us to conclude that it ever possessed a mint. Mr. Keary, however, accepted Hildebrand's suggestion without question.

In the case of the early designations of Tamworth we have seen the change from *Tomweorthig* to *Tamweorthig*, and a similar modification of vowel sound may have taken place in the case of *Worimen*, which would then become *Warimen*. Indeed such a change is assumed by both Hildebrand and Mr. Keary in making and accepting the attribution of the coins in question to Warmington.

My own suggestion is that the place indicated by *Worimen* = *Warimen* is Warminster.

In Domesday this ancient borough is called *Guerminstre*, the Norman French equivalent to *Werminstre*, if indeed it be not an actual translation by the Domesday scribe of the Saxon word *war* into the French *guerre*.

It may be urged that the readings upon the coins should more correctly be *Worimin*, or *Worimyn* instead of *Worimen*, but there does not seem to be any insuperable difficulty in assuming the change of a weak *i* or *y* to a weak *e*. Indeed, absolute proof of this very point is afforded by the notice about the "menster æt Glæstingabyrig" interpolated at annal 688 by the original scribe of the Parker MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was written in A.D. 892, and, it is believed, at Winchester.

From Domesday we learn that the king then held Warminster, and that Edward the Confessor had also so held it. Thirty burgesses are recorded as being there and it is stated that the manor rendered the *firma unius noctis* with all its customs.

I submit that a place which was both in Saxon and Norman times a Royal Borough is one which we should expect to possess a mint, and consequently that my attribution to Warminster is sound on historical and numismatic grounds alike, whereas the former suggestion of Warmington has nothing whatever to support or recommend it.

In addition to the coins dealt with above, all of which may be regarded as being English, there are two groups of coins which appear to me to be

1. Hiberno-Danish, or Irish.
2. Danish or Scandinavian.

I propose to consider these in turn.

1. HIBERNO-DANISH COINS.

Dngeniti.

Hildebrand gives a single coin of Cnut, Type G, read by him.

+ ODA ON DNGENITI.

A similar coin is in the British Museum, the reading given in the catalogue, vol. ii, p. 300, being

+ ODA ON DNCENITI.

In a footnote is added "Winchester?" My explanation is that the coin is a Hiberno-Danish copy of a Winchester penny of Cnut reading

+ ODA ON PINCESTR.

The initial letter D is a badly formed P, NEE are normal, the N is Z wrongly placed, the I is misplaced, T is normal, and the final I is an incomplete R.

Læmi.

Hildebrand records one coin of Æthelræd II., Type D, which reads

+ LOIGRM NOH LÆMI.

This I regard as a Hiberno-Danish copy of a Lincoln coin of the same king and of the same type reading

+ COLGRIM MNO LINE

Mieglmi.

Hildebrand records a single example of the coinage of Æthelræd II., Type A, reading

+ SIHLODIL MIEGLMI

With this I can only compare the following :—

Sihtric III, Type A, of Æthelræd II.

+ SIHLODIL MIEGLMI

On the *obverses* of coins attributed to Thymn we get MNEGLHM, MNEGLMI etc., and on the reverse of a coin ascribed to Ogsen +ESLFINOÐ HO EGM.

Rini.

This reading as indicating a mint-name occurs on two coins of Æthelræd II., of Hildebrand's Type D, which read

+ BYRHTIOÐ M'O RINI

Some half a dozen examples of pennies of Sihtric III., of the same type have, substantially, the same renderings of moneyer and mint. All of these are, I think, copies of Winchester coins of Æthelræd II. which read

+ BYRHTNOÐ M'O RINT, etc., etc.

2. DANISH.

Olthus not attributed by Hildebrand, and **Othn** [ford ?] ascribed by Hildebrand and by Messrs. Keary and Grueber, to Otford in Kent.

Hildebrand records a coin of Cnut, Type E, which reads

+ EOLÐ ON OLÐVS

In conjunction with this let us also consider a penny of Æthelræd II., Type D, reading +LEIFÐOÐ MO OÐN, and another of Sihtric III., with a similar reading.

I am disposed to think that these readings represent Odense in Fyen.

Hauberg in his *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Copenhagen, 1900, gives at p. 73 the following readings of this

mint place : OÐSVIC, OÐSVI, ODSVIDI, OÐSV, OÐSIC, ONSIC, OÐSI, OÐS, OÐNS, OÐEN, OÐE and OÐN.

If these coins of Æthelræd II., Sihtric III., and Cnut are not Danish, they are probably Hiberno-Danish.

Otford in Kent should certainly be eliminated from any future edition of numismatic works.

"Ricyebyrig," so expanded by Hildebrand and attributed by him to Rising Castle in Norfolk or to Richborough (thereby meaning Risborough) in Buckinghamshire.

As already quoted on p. 36, Hildebrand gives the following readings of coins of Cnut :—

+	SRIC	ON	RICYEBII,	Type E.
"	"	"	RIE - - II,	" "
"	"	"	RIHBVR,	" " (two varieties of obverse).
"	"	OON	RINHE,	" "
"	"	ON	RIEB - - II,	" " variety h.
"	"	OON	RINHE,	" " "
"	VLF	ON	RICZZA,	" G.

Hauberg, *op. cit.* pp. 76–77, ascribes all save the last example to Ribe in Jylland, but no confirmation is derived from the inscriptions upon coins of any other king than those of this Cnut, who was also king of England. I venture to disagree with his conclusion as it is clear that Edward the Confessor had no right of coinage in Danish Ribe.

The coin reading + VLF ON RICZZA he assigns to Ringsted in Sjælland, pp. 72 and 73, and with this attribution I concur.

The remainder of the list has already been sufficiently discussed.

Wibr[icg ?], attributed by Hildebrand to Weybridge in Surrey.

Hildebrand records three specimens of Cnut, Type A, reading as follows :—

+	SVARTEOL	M - O	ÞIB	(two varieties).
"	"	MO	ÞIBR.	

These are assigned by Hauberg, *op. cit.* p. 74, to Viborg in Jylland, and I agree with his conclusion.

He gives the following, amongst other readings, ÞIBERGA, VIBERGA, ÞIB, ÞIB.

SUMMARY.

The following summary embodies the result of the suggested changes and fresh attributions made in the course of the foregoing paper, and may, it is thought, prove to be of use for ready reference.

Old attributions.	New attributions and suggestions.
Acxewo, none	Axbridge, formerly Axport.
Æsthe[dune], Ashdown	Hastings.
Æt[andune], Edington	Canterbury, or Hastings.
Agewor, none	Axbridge, formerly Axport.
Axan[minster], Axminster	Exeter, or Axbridge.
Barda[nig], Bardney	Barnstaple (L. A. Lawrence).
Bridgnorth	Identified with the borough of Quatford.
Bruton, or Brewton	Shown to be a borough.
Ceai, Chelsea	Shaftesbury.
Castle Rising }	London.
Croydon }	
Darenth }	Dartford.
Dartmouth }	
Dngeniti, none	Hiberno-Danish copy of a Winchester coin.
Gothabyrig, Jedburgh }	Ythanceaster.
" Idbury }	
Gre[nawic], Greenwich	Cambridge.
Hamwic, Harwich	Droitwich, anciently Wich?
Iort, none	Hertford.
Lac } Lancaster	Langport, Somerset.
Lag }	
Læmi, none	Hiberno-Danish copy of a Lincoln coin.
Leng, none	Langport, Somerset.
Liman, Lympne or Lyminge	Lympne.
Lowick, or Luffwich	Lewes.
Mieglmi, none	Hiberno-Danish.

Old attributions.	New attributions and suggestions.
Meonre, none	One of the Meons, Hampshire.
Mylton, Kent	Milborne-Port, Somerset.
Newir, none	Newark, Nottinghamshire.
Newport, in Shropshire <i>or</i> Cornwall	Newport-Pagnell, Buckinghamshire.
Olthus, none	Odense, in Denmark.
Othn[ford], Otford	„ (P. Hauberg).
Pedr, new discovery	Petherton, Somerset.
Peresc, new discovery	Persnore.
Rete[ford], Retford	Hertford.
“Ricyebyrig,” Risborough in Bucking- hamshire, <i>or</i> Castle Rising ...	Ryburgh, in Norfolk.
Rissa, <i>or</i> Rista, ditto	Ringsted, in Denmark (P. Hauberg).
Richborough, in Kent	Ryburgh, in Norfolk.
Rini, none	Hiberno-Danish copy of a Winchester coin.
Stanwick	Stamford.
Tonbridge	Tamworth.
Ustl, Ustla, Ustli, none	Islip, Oxfordshire.
Wansford, “Welmesford”	Wallingford.
Warmington	Warminster, in Wiltshire.
Weybridge	Wiborg <i>or</i> Viborg, in Denmark (P. Hauberg).
Winchelsea	Winchcombe.