

## THE HIBERNO-NORSE COINS IN GOTLANDS FORNSAL, VISBY

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IN active preparation is a fascicle of the British Academy's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* wherein will be illustrated approaching 500 Hiberno-Norse pennies in the Royal Coin Cabinet (KMK) at Stockholm. More than 400 of these were struck during the first two decades or so of the eleventh century, and their neglect by Irish students over the past century and more can only be termed deplorable. The great majority of the Stockholm coins derive from discoveries of quite literally tens of thousands of Viking-age coins that have been made on Gotland, an island that geographically could be thought to occupy much the same position in the Baltic as Man in the Irish Sea. During two visits to Scandinavia in the late summer of 1976 the writer came to the conclusion that the time was probably ripe for an investigation of the Irish material actually preserved in the really quite magnificent museum at Visby known as Gotlands Fornsal (GF). Founded by local initiatives a century or so ago, this institution is a shining example of what can be achieved when public money at the national level is used judiciously to supplement insular resources and, above all, enthusiasms.

Disappointingly few locally found coins in fact are on exhibition at GF, official policy at government level being to send over on long-term loan from Stockholm a very limited number of the hoards which, under the Swedish law of treasure trove, all go in the first place to KMK. At present, too, even this number is artificially low because of the legitimate requirements of continuing work on the *Corpus Nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt* of which the first fascicle (edd. B. Malmer and †N. L. Rasmusson) appeared in 1975, the second in 1977. Published already by the present writer in the 1957 number of *Gotländskt Arkiv* (p. 50) were the two Hiberno-Norse pennies in the 1952 hoard from Gandarve in Alva parish (GF 9851; G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit* (Stockholm, 1974), no. 263), and vol. 98 (1968) of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (pp. 57-62) lists in a paper from the same pen the fifteen (*recte* fourteen?) Dublin coins from the 1966 discovery at Karls in Tingstäde parish (GF 10396; Hatz 232), while on pp. 197-9 of the same volume there are described the three (*recte* two) Hiberno-Norse pennies from the enormous Burge treasure of 1967 from Lummelunda parish (SHM Inv. 28830; Hatz 375), though this hoard has yet to be returned to the island. Interestingly, no Dublin coin appears to have been present in the most recent of all the Gotland hoards of the eleventh century, the discovery of 130 Viking-Age silver coins at Liffride in Lärbo parish duly noted by the excavator, Miss Anna-Lena Gerdin, on p. 116 of the 1974 volume of *Gotländskt Arkiv*. On the face of it, this hoard was concealed as late as the 1020s, in which case there should have been plenty of time for Hiberno-Norse coins to have

found their way into it, but an examination of the actual coins made possible by the personal kindness of *amanuens* Ragnar Engeström of the National Antiquities Service's special Gotland Excavations Unit (RAGU) revealed that it is essentially a hoard of Digeråkra type (SHM Inv. 18744; Hatz 104), with the insular element exhibiting an abrupt 'cut-off' c. 998, to which there was added at the time of concealment a handful only of later pieces. Recent work has suggested that the Hiberno-Norse coinage did not begin to be struck before the summer of 997, and it was quite literally only at the very end of the tenth century that Dublin coins began to reach Scandinavia in any quantity. We may disregard, then, any possibility that the major discovery of perhaps as many as 1,750 coins made c. 1973 at limestone workings at Smiss in Tingstäde parish included Hiberno-Norse pieces. Several hundred coins only from other series have been recovered to form the basis of a successful prosecution of the finders for non-disclosure, and these suggest that concealment took place no later than c. 999—information from Mr. Kenneth Jonsson of Stockholm who publishes the parcel in a forthcoming number of *Numismatisk Årsskrift*. For the sake of completeness, too, mention should perhaps be made of the July 1972 find at Burge in Lummelunda parish (SHM Inv. 29559–62; Hatz, p. 232) noticed by the present writer on p. 450 of the 1972 *Numismatic Circular* (cf. *Gotländskt Arkiv*, 1972, p. 111). The hoard appears to have been concealed at about the same time as the slightly larger find from Liffride, but with fewer than 100 coins present the absence of Hiberno-Norse coins could well be fortuitous.

From the foregoing citation of the more recent finds it should be clear that over the last two centuries the soil of Gotland has given up Dublin pennies of Sihtric Silkbeard quite literally by the hundred, and it must be borne in mind that over the last few decades the incidence of discovery of hoards seems to have fallen sharply as against earlier experience. Sad to say, the Dublin series today is represented in the systematic collections of GF by no more than the odd specimen! Essentially, the Visby cabinet derives from the collections finally made over to it in the early part of this century by the old Grammar School of the city which in due course became known as *Visby Elementarläroverk* (VE). On the early history of the numismatic portion of these collections we are indeed fortunate enough to possess a remarkably detailed study from the pen of one of the more competent of Gotland's amateur antiquaries, Richard Steffen (1862–1948), who after his 1928 retirement from the headmastership devoted the rest of his life to the herculean task of bringing into order the island's archives, work recognized by the State two years before his death with the grant of the title of Professor (cf. *Gotländskt Arkiv*, 1948–9, pp. 7–12, and for a list of his earlier writings *ibid.* 1942, pp. 213–22). This history of the VE cabinet was published in 1928 in a limited edition (100 copies) as a separately paginated (1–38) supplement to the school's annual report (R. Steffen, 'Anteckningar om Visby högre allmänna läroverks Mynt- och antikvitetsamling', *Högre Allmänna Läroverkets i Visby Årsredogörelsen*, 1928). From it we learn of a manuscript fair copy catalogue, unfortunately incomplete, dating from the early 1840s and entitled *Inregistreringsbok för Visby Gymnasii Mynt, Medaljer och Antikviteter*. Kept now in GF, it suggests that the original collections were relatively richer then than at the time of their transfer. Listed by the honorary curator, the Revd. Dr. Johan Enequist (1787–1856), a member of the staff since 1821, are some 200 coins, mainly classical, oriental,

Anglo-Saxon, and medieval German, which were acquired between 1836 and the end of 1841. Nearly a third, 66 to be precise, purport to be English, and on this telling the tally of Hiberno-Norse coins (four—*recte* five) is somewhat higher than the normal proportion of Dublin coins to English in Scandinavian hoards of the period might have led one to suspect.

An analysis of the 1841 holdings of Anglo-Saxon coins is not without interest even to the Irish student, and makes it clear (*a*) that probably not all the coins then in the VE cabinet were registered before the catalogue's discontinuance, and (*b*) that those listed are likely to have derived from a number of parcels from different finds and not all from one particular, let alone identifiable, hoard. A listing by reigns, types, mints, and moneyers follows, and added (*a*) is the original catalogue number, (*b*) a letter to indicate the date when the entry was made, and (*c*) a + to indicate that a comparable piece still is to be found in the systematic collections of GF. The apparent total absence of Crux coins of Æthelræd II in itself should sufficiently indicate the artificiality of the original selection, but even so the further details are given in case a new generation of students one day may be able to marry up some of the more remarkable pieces with individual Gotland hoards from the critical quinquennium—Bror Emil Hildebrand records (*Anglosachsiska mynt*, 1st edn. (Stockholm, 1846), pp. liii–lxi) no fewer than eight significant hoards discovered on the island between 1836 and 1841.

The following is the alphabetical key to the dates of actual registration:

A	12 July 1836	D	5 July 1839
B	6 August 1837	E	3 August 1839
C	3 June 1839	F	20 December 1841

and the listing runs:

ÆTHELRÆD II			
First Hand		Helmet	
1. Chester, 'Leofstan' ( <i>recte</i> Leomman?)	14 A	10. Cambridge, Cnit	183 F
2. London, 'Algar'	89 C +	11. Hereford, Ælewine	181 F
3. " Godwine	90 C	12. Huntingdon, Æthelstan	131 E +
4. " Leofstan (?Second Hand)	91 C ?	13. London, Eadmund	184 F
5. York, Alfstan (under Second Hand!)	132 E	14. York, Arnthur	182 F +
Second Hand		Last Small Cross	
6. Winchester (??), 'Andgrim'	133 E	15. Cricklade, Ælwine	170 F +
7. " Regenulf (? First Hand)	134 E	16. Exeter, Carla	172 F +
		17. Idem	173 F
Long Cross		18. Lewes, Ælfwerd	169 F +
8. Lincoln, Æthelnoth	128 E +	19. Norwich, Eadwacer	175 F +
9. Shaftesbury, Goda	129 E +	20. Shaftesbury, Ælfwine	176 F +
		21. Stamford, Æthelwold	168 F
		22. " Godwine	177 F +
		23. Idem	178 F +
		24. Thetford, Wælgisth (var. Hild. A.c.)	180 F
		25. Winchester, Alfswold	171 F
		26. " Siboda	130 E +
		27. York, Thorolf	179 F

## CNUT

<i>Quatrefoil</i>				<i>Pointed Helmet</i>			
28. Cambridge, Ade	85	C		45. Chester, Leofwig	187	F	
29. " Leofsig	201	F	+	46. Lincoln, Leodmæc	189	F	
30. " Wulfsig	205	F	+	47. " Leofwii	186	F	
31. Dover, Leofwine	200	F		48. " Oslac	192	F	+
32. Hertford, Lifine	88	C		49. London, Leofstan	83	C	
33. " Wulfric	204	F	+	50. " Leofwold	84	C	
34. London, Ælfwold	206	F		51. " Wynstan	193	F	
35. " Elewine	87	C	+	52. <i>Idem</i>	194	F	
36. Lydford, Godric	198	F	+	53. <i>Idem</i>	195	F	
37. Shaftesbury, Ælric	197	F		54. Stamford, Leofwold	188	F	+
38. Shrewsbury, Grim	199	F	+	55. " Morolf	190	F	
39. Wallingford, Eadwine	196	F		56. " Morulf	191	F	+
40. Winchester, Godwine	208	F	+	57. Winchester, Godwine	185	F	+
41. York, Asgutr	86	C	+	58. York, Hildolf	82	C	+
42. " Colgrim	202	F					
43. " Ferthein	207	F		<i>Short Cross</i>			
44. " Outhgrim	203	F	+	59. London, Goman	209	F	
				60. " Leofwig	210	F	
				61. Stamford, Leofwine	211	F	
				62. York, Ræfen	212	F	

## EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

<i>Radiate Small Cross</i>				<i>Small Flan</i>			
63. Lincoln, 'Hotsian'	17	B		65. Lincoln, Godwine	109	D	
64. <i>Idem</i> . A dittography?	110	D					

A sixty-sixth coin (no. 174 in the *Inregistreringsbok*—20 December 1841) proves to be Hiberno-Norse and is discussed below.

Four other coins registered on 20 December 1841 were rightly recognized as belonging to the 'Irish' (Hiberno-Norse) series. All were described as of Long Cross type, and may be presumed in consequence to belong to Phase I (cf. M. Dolley, *The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1966), pp. 119-27) with a date no later than the first decade of the eleventh century. Two (nos. 227 and 228 in the *Inregistreringsbok*—20 December 1841) have the Dublin mint-signature in an unequivocal form, and so may be equated with a run of unprovenanced coins in KMK (e.g. B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska mynt*, 2nd edn. (Stockholm, 1881), nos. 34-55 and 19 respectively). A third (no. 229 in the *Inregistreringsbok*—again 20 December 1841) and likewise in Sihtric's name purports to have been struck in England by the Wilton moneyer Godwine, and so may be presumed to be a die-duplicate of BEH Sihtric 98—and of a coin now also in KMK *ex* the 1900 Mannegårda hoard from Lye parish on Gotland (SHM Inv. 11300; Hatz 359), if indeed it is not BEH Sihtric 98 itself. The fourth coin (no. 230 in the *Inregistreringsbok*—yet again 20 December 1841) appears to settle the matter quite conclusively. It is one of the rare pieces where the obverse legend begins not with Sihtric's name but + ðYMNROE+ ....., while the reverse with its particular degeneration of the Dublin mint-signature remains to this day unique for the particular combination. There seems little room for doubt, then, that the coin is BEH Thymn 8, and in the most

satisfying manner the writer's friend Mr. Kenneth Jonsson of Stockholm has been able to turn up archival evidence in the Statens Historiska Museum that in 1879 KMK acquired from VE four Hiberno-Norse coins (SHM Inv. 6359) which can be shown to comprise BEH Sihtric 1, 90, and BEH Thymn 8. Admittedly BEH Sihtric 1 and 90 do not conform to the *Inregistreringsbok* descriptions, but this is very plausibly explained by the supposition of their acquisition by VE after 1841 and before 1879. As it happens, too, BEH 90 is another great rarity in the Hiberno-Norse series, and the picture seems clear enough. In 1879 the ageing Bror Emil Hildebrand, reverting to one of his first loves, was bringing together material for the definitive second edition (Stockholm, 1881) of his *Anglosachsiska mynt*, and it is easy to imagine how the venerable *riksantikvarie* and secretary of the *Vitterhets akademie* was able to use the weight of his authority to persuade a doubtless deferential school-board in Visby to make over, in the interests of completeness, coins lacking in the national collections—BEH Sihtric 1 is relatively common today only because of examples which have come to light since 1881. This still leaves us, of course, with *Inregistreringsbok* nos. 227 and 228, but one suspects that the second, at least, was the subject of an earlier and perhaps less formal exchange with KMK—the unprovenanced BEH Sihtric 19 is another *hapax* coin where the Stockholm cabinet is concerned, while a high proportion of the coins listed as BEH Sihtric 34–55 still to this day cannot be duplicated.

It is at this stage of the argument that account should perhaps be taken of the sixty-sixth of the coins reckoned as English by the 1841 cataloguer. The reverse legend was read by him (+)DLORNOLVNDRI, and it is described as of (Last) Small Cross type with, in theory, some sort of approximation to Æthelræd II's name and style. Nothing comparable is in the Visby cabinet today, but one suspects a duplicate of BEH Sihtric 83 *var.* in KMK which has the reverse legend +DGDOANOLVNDRIH, if it is not indeed the actual coin. The apparently too discrepant obverse legend of the Stockholm coin could be thought to militate against this, but frankly the competence of Dr. Enequist, as evidenced in the pages of the *Inregistreringsbok*, more than once leaves something to be desired. In fairness to his memory, nevertheless, one must recall that he was listing unfamiliar material at a period when the 1846 edition of *Anglosachsiska mynt* had still to appear. Nor should it be forgotten that he was very much an honorary curator of the school collections, and without neglecting his pedagogic and parochial charges he still found time to be a very fine amateur musician—one of his daughters, incidentally, became a professional singer under the name 'Biondini', settled in London as a music-teacher, and died there in 1899 (cf. E. Nyberg, *Gottländsk Släktbok*, Ekenäs (= Tammissaari), 1938, pp. 170 and 171). Regrettably, too, there cannot be found today the rough draft of the *Inregistreringsbok* seen by Steffen in the 1920s and apparently including provenances omitted from the fair copy. Further speculation is probably profitless, but what does seem certain is that not one of the five Hiberno-Norse pieces registered by Enequist in 1841 is in the Visby cabinet today. One hastens to add that the same holds good for perhaps half of the English coins recorded in the *Inregistreringsbok* begun in 1836, but in the case of these too there is not the least reason to suspect malfeasance. Down the years there has been a whole series of exchanges between VE and KMK, and the present strength of the Anglo-Saxon portion of the GF cabinet (cf. Appendix) should make it clear that



overall no advantage had been taken of the insular museum. It is just that the Hiberno-Norse element happens to have borne the brunt of the sacrifices, and it is only fair to add that until quite recently it was the Anglo-Saxon series which was prized academically, with the Dublin coins very much the poor relations. What one does very much regret, on the other hand, is that in so many cases individual hoard-provenances, or vital clues to the same, must have been lost, though even here patient archival research is doing much to redress the position. For example, in connection with the forthcoming *SCBI* fascicle devoted to the KMK's unrivalled collection of coins from the first part of the reign of Edward the Confessor, Mr. Kenneth Jonsson already has established VE provenances in respect of BEH Edw. Conf. 35, 51, 53, 61, 74, 177, 310, 412, 450, 598, 609, and 746, and work of this kind is only now beginning.

In the case of the present paper, all that now remains is to give details of the four Hiberno-Norse pennies in GF which have not been the subject of recent publication. Three (*a*, *b*, and *d*) are in the VE cabinet, and may be presumed to have been acquired by the school subsequently to 1841, and almost certainly before the beginning of this century. The fourth (*c*) was the sole Hiberno-Norse penny in one of the hoards first to be returned on long-term loan from KMK to GF, the 1920 discovery made at Österby in Othem parish (SHM Inv. 16450; GF C 1383; Hatz 160). Roughly 200 coins were involved, and there seems no record of any ornaments or of *hacksilver* accompanying the specie, nor indeed of any container. It seems, indeed, a hoard essentially of the same two-tier type as that from Liffride, though somewhat larger. Nearly a quarter of the coins (?) are Kufic, the latest apparently struck *c.* 1003, 3 are Byzantine *miliaresia* struck probably no later than the millennium, 39 German, of which 2 perhaps belong after 1024 though most of the others are substantially earlier, 1 Danish (*c.* 1015?), and 12 Scandinavian imitations (2 of them on square flans). The pattern presented by the 82 Anglo-Saxon pieces is as follows:

Second Hand	1	Last Small Cross	21
Crux	22	Quatrefoil	3
Long Cross	28	Pointed Helmet	5
Helmet	2		

so that the insular element at least may surely be thought to have been brought to the island no later than the third decade of the eleventh century.

Earliest of the four Hiberno-Norse coins is the unprovenanced penny of Sihtric Silkbeard's first coinage of Dublin [Fig. 1]. The prototype is one of the so-called



Fig. 1

Small Crux pennies of Æthelræd II, and so the imitation is unlikely to belong earlier than the summer of 997 (cf. M. Dolley, 'The Forms of the Proper Names Appearing on the Earliest Coins struck in Ireland', in F. Sandgren, ed., *Otium et Negotium*, Stockholm, 1973, pp. 49-65). It is from the same dies as two pennies listed there (p. 64, nos. 50a and 50b) as in the National Museum of Ireland (ex c. 1830 Clondalkin hoard) and the British Museum (ex R. C. Lockett sale). The weight is 1.47 g., and the die-axis 110°. Both the obverse and the reverse legends are largely unintelligible, but the obverse die is also known from coins with legends clearly incorporating the names of moneyers Fastulfr and Toki together with unequivocal Dublin mint-signatures. Omitted from the 1973 listing and only recognized as Hiberno-Norse in September 1976 and September 1977 respectively are two further coins from the same pair of dies in the University Museum at Lund and the University Coin Cabinet at Uppsala, and this means that the nine whole coins in Swedish collections and all presumptively found in Sweden include no fewer than one trio and two pairs of die-duplicates. The implications of this for the student are far reaching and will have to be discussed in another place. Here it is sufficient to note the likelihood that the coinage was one of very limited duration—just a few weeks in the summer of 997?—with the coins coming to Sweden on perhaps no more than one occasion. The rarity of the issue can be gauged, incidentally, from the circumstance that hardly any of the pieces are in private possession, while the total of those in public cabinets still does not extend beyond ninety.

The second of the systematic collection pennies in Visby is of Long Cross type, being also one of those which have the legend more or less faithfully copied from those of the English prototypes. It runs:

+ ÆDEL RÆÐRE + AICO

but the reverse reading:

+ FÆ | REMI | NM · O | DYFLI

is more than sufficient to give the coin to the Dublin series. The weight is 1.46 g. (22.5 gr.), and the die-axis 270°. A check against the coins in KMK in Stockholm reveals that the penny [Fig. 2] is a die-duplicate of BEH Ethelred 374 and of four other coins in that collection, at least two of them pieces found on Gotland. The obverse die, moreover, is one employed with quite another reverse to produce



Fig. 2

putative coins of Winchester, and the fact that one of these last occurred in the 1924 Igelösa hoard from Skåne (SHM Inv. 17532; Hatz 124) must suggest that all the coins of this grouping belong no later than 1005, and perhaps a little earlier.

The coin from the Österby find also is of Long Cross type, but here it is the obverse legend:

+ SIHTRCRE + DYFLNI

which gives it to the Dublin series. The reverse legend:

+ CIO|DFIN|EMIO|DEOR

apex one found on English pennies, and it was not until the beginning of this century that the Finnish numismatist Otto Alcenius (1838–1913) committed to paper, but not unfortunately to the printed page, a proper understanding of these pieces' place in the Hiberno-Norse series (cf. *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* 77 C 5 (1977), pp. 217–18). Comparison with coins in KMK reveals that the Österby coin (weight 1.33 g. or 20.5 gr., and die-axis 90°) [Fig. 3] is a die-duplicate of BEH Sihtric 1 and of half a dozen other coins in the same cabinet. In other words, the exchange of 1879 has come full circle, so that GF now possesses a replacement for one at least of the VE pieces so generously ceded to the great Swedish *riksantikvarie* in the interests of totality.



Fig. 3

The coin just described was presumably struck somewhere around the millenium. Chains of die-linking carry it into the Igelösa hoard which has a proportion of Hiberno-Norse coins that seem marginally later, and we may now turn to the third of the coins acquired by GF from VE in the early part of this century. It is one struck in the second half of the first decade of the eleventh century, and, as will be argued in another place, is a very close copy of an English penny of the so-called Helmet issue of Æthelræd II. Indeed, a die-duplicate in Stockholm (BEH Ethelred 672) was considered English by no less an authority than Bror Emil Hildebrand. It has been joined by a third specimen, also without hoard-provenance, and recent research has established that the same obverse die was used with three other reverses with variations of the same legend. Colgrim undoubtedly was a York moneyer in this type, but significantly the coins from this one obverse die do not link into his other pieces. Moreover, there are no die-links into the Scandinavian imitative series. The 'Irish'



traits of the obverse are particularly clear on the GF specimen which weighs 1.37 g. and has a die-axis of 300°, and the present consensus is that we are dealing with a particularly skilful copy done in Dublin c. 1010 of an English penny of a year or two earlier.

In conclusion, the writer would like to acknowledge generous grants from the British Academy and from the new Swedish numismatic foundation *Gunnar Ekströms Stiftelse* which made possible visits to Visby in September 1976 and in the same month of 1977. On both occasions he was received with the greatest possible courtesy at GF by *landsantikvarie fil. dr.* Gunnar Svahnström and by his wife *museiassistent* Karin Svahnström who put at his disposal not just the actual material but their unrivalled knowledge of the history of the collections, while another personal touch very deeply appreciated was the kindness of *antikvarie* Waldemar Falck and *amanuens* Ragnar Engeström of RAGU, the latter of whom gave up successive evenings to show him the actual findspots of a number of the Gotland hoards as well as a selection of the more notable antiquities of the north-west and north of the island.

#### APPENDIX

##### THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS IN GOTLANDS FORNSAL FROM THE FORMER VISBY HIGH SCHOOL COLLECTION

A total of 423 Anglo-Saxon silver pennies are registered as deriving from the former cabinet of Visby High School (VE). A few other pieces with the same provenance are now recognized as imitative, two being Hiberno-Norse (published *supra*) and the remainder Scandinavian. Of the authentic Anglo-Saxon coins, 274 were struck for Æthelræd II, 147 for Cnut, and one each for Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor. Eleven substantive types and three major varieties are represented, and the number of different mints stands at 51. To be remarked at once is the quite extraordinary imbalance of the collection. For example, the presence of the singleton Last Small Cross penny of London is even more curious than the total absence of Crux coins of York, and in this connection we do well to remember the *Inregistreringbok*'s apparent omission of Crux coins of whatever mint. The pattern of types and mints does suggest, however, that there may be a very simple explanation.

The suspicion of the writer is that at the end of the last century there may have been some plan to make the collection more representative of the later Anglo-Saxon coinage as a whole, and that to this end it was hoped to exchange coins on the face of it common for similar pieces from mints not yet represented in the VE trays. To this end, long runs of common coins, for example Crux coins of York—particularly apt because unregistered by Enequist—and Last Small Cross coins of London, were submitted to a potential benefactor, but for some reason the balance of the parcels was never retrieved. The arrangement may have been terminated by the death of one or other of the principals, or alternatively VE may have hoped that replacements for the common coins would be forthcoming from future hoards discovered on the island. One thing is certain. There has been no culling of the collection's rarities—too

	First Hand	Second Hand	Benediction Hand	Crux	Small Crux	Intermediate Small Cross	Long Cross	Helmet	Last Small Cross	Quatrefoil	Pointed Helmet	Short Cross	Arm-and-Sceptre	Trefoil-Quadrilateral
Barnstaple	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Bath	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	2	1	—	—	6
Bedford	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Cambridge	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	7
Canterbury	1	—	—	2	1	—	2	—	2	—	—	1	1	10
Chester	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	1	3	3	2	—	—	13
Chichester	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Cissbury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Colchester	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	7
Cricklade	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Dorchester	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dover	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	1	—	2	—	8
Exeter	2	1	—	2	—	—	8	1	3	1	—	—	—	10
Gloucester	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Guildford	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
Hastings	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	3
Hereford	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Hertford	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
Huntingdon	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	4
Ilchester	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3
Ipswich	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Leicester	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3
Lewes	—	—	—	4	—	—	6	—	2	—	—	—	—	12
Lincoln	—	—	—	4	—	—	8	2	3	5	7	5	—	34
London	5	2	—	9	1	—	17	9	1	14	23	11	—	92
Lydford	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	4
Maldon	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
Northampton	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	1	—	5
Norwich	—	1	—	1	—	—	3	—	1	1	1	—	—	8
Nottingham	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Oxford	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	1	2	—	—	—	8
Rochester	—	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Salisbury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Shaftesbury	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	5
Shrewsbury	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	4
Southwark	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	9
Stafford	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Stamford	—	—	—	2	—	—	3	2	4	5	4	1	—	22
Steyning	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Tamworth	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Taunton	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2
Thetford	—	—	—	3	—	—	3	—	3	—	1	5	—	15
Totnes	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
Wallingford	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Wareham	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Warwick	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Watchet	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Wilton	—	—	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	6
Winchester	—	—	—	18	—	—	8	2	7	2	2	—	—	39
Worcester	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
York	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	3	4	6	4	6	—	31
	10	5	1	75	3	1	110	28	41	60	48	39	1	423

many of the pieces left in the trays would have been prime targets for any criminally disposed visitor—or curator—of the post-Enequist era. One hastens to add, too, that there seems no possibility that the pattern of the collection has been distorted by its absorption of any atypical and undigested find such as the 1851 hoard from Valldarve in Eskelhem parish (SHM Inv. 1712; Hatz 190). The folded papers that still enclose a number of the VE coins show that it was put together piecemeal with gifts from a range of disparate sources—for example, it has already been possible to associate a handful of the coins with the 1893 Myrände find from Atlingbo parish (SHM Inv. 9392/3; Hatz 209; *CNS* 1.1, 19), while other coins seem certainly to belong to the years immediately following the discontinuance of the *Inregistreringsbok*. This is work to be done that is, of its nature, time-consuming, but pending the definitive recovery of individual provenances English students may find it useful to have a summary listing with metric weights of the 423 Anglo-Saxon pieces by mints, reigns, types, and moneyers, in the ordering of the British Museum trays:

#### BARNSTAPLE

Æthelræd II Crux: Ælfsige 1-66, 1-59.

#### BATH

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Edstan 1-79, Wynstan 1-74. Helmet: Æthelric 1-46.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Ælfwald 1-16, Æthestan 1-16. Pointed Helmet: Ælfric 1-12.

#### BEDFORD

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Gunni 1-70, Leofnoth 1-72.

#### CAMBRIDGE

Æthelræd II Crux: Edric 1-25, Eadwine 1-22. Long Cross: Godric 1-73. Helmet: Leofsige 1-49, Wulfsige 1-22.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Leofsig 0-92, Wulfsi 1-00.

#### CANTERBURY

Æthelræd II First Hand: Boia 1-35. Crux: Duda 1-66, Leofric 1-65. Small Crux: Leofsan 1-41. Long Cross: Ælfred 1-66, Leofstan 1-59. Last Small Cross: Godman 1-43, Leofstan 1-38.

Cnut Short Cross: Winedæi 1-09.

Harthacnut Arm-and-Sceptre: Godsunu 0-96.

#### CHESTER

Æthelræd II Crux: Eadric 1-72. Long Cross: Ælewine 1-71, Othulf 1-63, 1-59, Swegen 1-63. Helmet: Leofnoth 1-39. Last Small Cross: Ælfstan 1-70, Leofnoth 1-57, Leofwine 1-21.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Croc 1-11, Godwine 1-06, Wulsi 1-06. Pointed Helmet: Ælfsige 1-05, Leofnoth 1-04.

#### CHICHESTER

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Ælfwine 1-69, Æthestan 1-71.

#### CISSBURY

Æthelræd II Last Small Cross: Ciolnoth 1-84.

#### COLCHESTER

Æthelræd II Crux: Swetinc 1-42, Wulfnoth 1-34, Wulfwine 1-45. Long Cross: Leofwold 1-22. Last Small Cross: Godric 1-37.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Ælfwine 1-08. Short Cross: Godric 1-10.

#### CRICKLADE

Æthelræd II Last Small Cross: Ælwine 1-42.

#### DORCHESTER

Æthelræd II Crux: Wulfnoth 1-27.

## DOVER

Æthelræd II Second Hand: Osferth 1-13. Long Cross: Godwine 1-60, Leofhyse 1-51. Helmet: Cynsige 1-29, Mannine 1-29.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Eadwine. Short Cross: Boga 1-12, Leofwine 1-14.

## EXETER

Æthelræd II First Hand: Godwine 1-20, Luda 1-46. Second Hand: Leofric 1-15. Crux: Edric 1-55, Tuna 1-45. Long Cross: Ælfnoth 1-69, Byrhtic 1-40, Dunstan 1-42, God 1-66, Godric 1-76, Manna 1-38, Wulfsige 1-71, Wunsige 1-71. Helmet: Wulfstan, 1-42. Last Small Cross: Carla 1-44, Isegod 1-17, 1-07.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Isegod 1-06.

## GLOUCESTER

Cnut Quatrefoil: Leofsige 1-13.

## GUILDFORD

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Duncild 1-70.

Cnut Short Cross: Blacamon 0-93.

## HASTINGS

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Leva 1-70.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Elfweard 0-99. Pointed Helmet: Etsige 0-91.

## HEREFORD

Æthelræd II Crux: Leofgar 1-69. Long Cross: Æthelwi 1-45, Byrhtstan 1-54.

## HERTFORD

Æthelræd II Crux: Æthelwerd 1-57, Wulfic 1-20.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Wulfic 1-29.

## HUNTINGDON

Æthelræd II Crux: Ælfic 1-67. Long Cross: Ælfic 1-57. Helmet: Ælfstan 1-27, Æthelstan 1-43.

## LICHESTER

Æthelræd II Crux: Leofric 1-65.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Oswi 0-95, Wulfelm 1-02.

## IPSWICH

Cnut Quatrefoil: Leofric 1-22.

## LEICESTER

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Ælfic 1-67, Thurulf 1-61.

Cnut Short Cross: Wulnoth 1-13.

## LEWES

Æthelræd II Crux: Leofnoth 1-68, 1-48, 1-43, Leofwine 1-55. Long Cross: Ælfgar 1-58, Godefrith 1-51, Herebyrht 1-69, 1-48, Merewine 1-70, 1-67. Last Small Cross: Ælfwerd 1-37, Liofwine 1-21.

## LINCOLN

Æthelræd II Crux: Garfin 1-41, Stignbit 1-43, Theodgeld 1-49, Ulf 1-52. Long Cross: Æthelnoth 1-71, 1-18, Colgrim 1-63, Dreng 1-73, 1-58, Grim 1-73, Osgut 1-73, Wulfic 1-57. Helmet: Æthelnoth 1-47, Osferth 1-12. Last Small Cross: Othgrim 1-40, Sumerleth 1-43, Wulfbern 1-13.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Iustan 1-29, Matethan 0-93, Osferth 0-84, Osgut 1-11, Wulfgat 1-14. Pointed Helmet: Aslac, etc. 1-16, 1-08, Godric 0-78, Iustan, etc. 1-16, 1-14, Leofing, 1-03, Swartebrand 1-19. Short Cross: Godric 1-18, Godwine 1-14, Oslac 1-16, Wadlos 1-09, Wulfic 1-17.

## LONDON

- Æthelræd II First Hand: Ælfgar 1-58, Ælfwold 1-58, Æthered 1-09, Cynsige 1-55, Osulf 1-55. Second Hand: Leofstan 1-23, Wulfmæc 1-36. Crux: Ælfnoth 1-57, Ælfwerd 1-56, Ceolnoth 1-30, Deorsige 1-48, Edwine 1-59, Eadwold 1-49, Goldwine 1-33, Lifinc 1-60, Osecytel 1-61. Small Crux: Drhwold 1-34. Long Cross: Ælfric 1-65, Ælfryd 1-49, Æthelwerd 1-65, 1-39, Brihtlaf 1-58, Brunstan 1-56, Eadwine 1-56, Eadwold 1-41, Godman 1-57, Godwine 1-42, Heawulf 1-40, Leofric 1-56, 1-46, Leofwine 1-68, Lyfinc 1-63, Osulf 1-59, Sibwine 1-67. Helmet: Æthelwerd 1-35, Eadwold 1-41, Goda 1-46, Godric 1-46, Leofwine 1-44, Leofwold 1-45, 1-41, Swetinc 1-48, 1-38, Last Small Cross: Æadwine 1-29.
- Cnut Quatrefoil: Ælfwine 1-43, 1-01, Æthelwine 1-15, Borstig 1-36, Eadwold, etc. 1-09, 1-05, Ealdred 1-13, Godere 1-42, Leofsig 1-10, Leofstai 1-15, Liofwine 1-11, Osulf 1-04, Swetinc 1-14, Wulfwine 1-05. Pointed Helmet: Ælfgar 1-08, 1-05, Ælfric 1-02, 1-01, Ælwerd 1-06, Elfwig 0-95, Elewine 1-13, Bruninc 1-06, Edric 0-95, Etsige 1-03, 1-01 (2), Edwerd 1-11, Edwine 0-89, Godwine 1-05, Lifinc 1-08, Leofric 0-96, Leofstan 1-03, 1-01, Leofwold 1-06, Thorcetl 1-00, Wulfric 0-95, Wynsige 0-99. Short Cross: Ælfwig 0-89, Brihtmæc 1-08, Brunman 0-96, Edmund 1-00, Edwerd 1-17, Eadwold 1-15, God 1-03, Godric 1-02, Leofwold 1-16, 1-00, Swan 1-12.

## LYDFORD

- Æthelræd II Crux: Goda 1-23, Godwine 1-54. Long Cross: Ælfstan 1-63.
- Cnut Quatrefoil: Godric 0-97.

## MALDON

- Æthelræd II Crux: Ælfwine 1-46.
- Cnut Quatrefoil: Ælwine 0-76.

## NORTHAMPTON

- Æthelræd II Long Cross: Æthelnoth 1-84, Bruninc 1-69, Leofwine 1-56.
- Cnut Pointed Helmet: Leofwine 1-13. Short Cross: Leofwine 1-14.

## NORWICH

- Æthelræd II Second Hand: Brantinc 1-43. Crux: Eadmund 1-43. Long Cross: Ælfric 1-71, Hwateman 1-28, Swertinc 1-44. Last Small Cross: Eadwac 1-27.
- Cnut Quatrefoil: Eadmund 1-09. Pointed Helmet: Manna 1-05.

## NOTTINGHAM

- Cnut Quatrefoil: Oswold 1-04.

## OXFORD

- Æthelræd II Long Cross: Ælfmæc 1, Æthelwine 1-63, Godinc 1-68, Wulfwine 1-66. Helmet: Coleman 1-46. Last Small Cross: Brihtwine 1-69.
- Cnut Quatrefoil: Coleman 1-11, Sæwine 1-14.

## ROCHESTER

- Æthelræd II Benediction Hand: Sidwine 1-70. Small Crux: Eadsige 1-33. Long Cross: Eadwerd 1-68, Edwine wnr.

## SALISBURY

- Cnut Short Cross: Godwine 1-10, 1-04.

## SHAFTESBURY

- Æthelræd II Crux: Goda 1-63. Long Cross: Goda 1-48, Lufa 1-72, Last Small Cross: Ælfwine 1-27.
- Cnut Short Cross: Ælric 1-08.

## SHREWSBURY

- Æthelræd II Long Cross: Ælfheh 1-74, Oswold 1-79.
- Cnut Quatrefoil: Grim 1-29—var. with sceptre, Etsige 1-08.



## SOUTHWARK

Æthelræd II Crux: Ælfric 1-03, Æthelwerd 1-40, Byrhtlaf 1-45, Byrhtic 1-31, Godric 1-47, Tuneman 1-49.  
 Cnut Quatrefoil: Ælfwine 1-23, Wulfic 0-97, Wulfstan 1-57.

## STAFFORD

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Ægenulf 1-74.

## STAMFORD

Æthelræd II Crux: Alfwold 1-37, Cristin 1-26. Long Cross: Godæg 1-29, Godeleof 1-74, Swertgar 1-65. Helmet: Æscwig 1-45, Escea 1-35. Last Small Cross: Æthelwine 1-20, Godæg 1-07, Godwine 1-20, 1-17.  
 Cnut Quatrefoil: Æscman 1-08, Brunstan 0-96, Godeleof 0-91, Godric 0-96, 0-93. Pointed Helmet: Leofric 0-96, Leofwold 1-02, Morulf 1-08, Thurulf 0-97. Short Cross: Oswald 0-96.  
 Edw. Conf. Trefoil Quadrilateral: Leofwine 0-96.

## STEYNING

Cnut Short Cross: Frthiwine 1-08.

## TAMWORTH

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Ælfgar 1-58.

## TAUNTON

Æthelræd II Last Small Cross: Eadric 1-18.  
 Cnut Quatrefoil: Eadric 1-11.

## THETFORD

Æthelræd II Crux: Folcard 1-58, Leofwine 1-41, Swyrlinc 1-66. Long Cross: Grim 1-73, Man(n)a 1-74, 1-69. Last Small Cross: Edwine 1-22, Leofric 1-24, Wælgist 1-20.  
 Cnut Pointed Helmet: Brunstan 1-15. Short Cross: Ælfwi(n)e 1-15, 1-09, Alfwold 1-11, Wineman 1-17, 1-10.

## TOTNES

Æthelræd II First Hand: Manna 1-37, 1-32. Crux: Ælfstan 1-38, Doda 1-66. Last Small Cross: Huneman 1-00.

## WALLINGFORD

Æthelræd II Crux: Leofric 1-67. Long Cross: Mann 1-70.

## WAREHAM

Æthelræd II Crux: Ælfgar 1-46. Long Cross: Wulfic 1-76.

## WARWICK

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Byrhtsige 1-72.

## WATCHET

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Hunewine 1-75.

## WILTON

Æthelræd II Crux: Leofwine 1-61, Wulfgar 1-67. Intermediate Small Cross: Sæwine 1-70. Long Cross: Leofwine 1-75, Sæwine 1-71.  
 Cnut Pointed Helmet: Ælstan 1-25.

## WINCHESTER

Æthelræd II Crux: Ælfsige 1-72, 1-67, Alfwold 1-30, Æthelgar 1-67, Æthestan 1-69, 1-68, Berhtnoth 1-71, 1-60, Byrhtsige 1-70, 1-69, 1-65, 1-50, Byrhtmæc 1-65, Eadnoth 1-58, Leofwold 1-67, 1-63, Wynstan 1-67, Wy—(frag.). Long Cross: Ælfsige 1-68, Æthelgar 1-70, Byrhtnoth 1-75, Byrhtwold 1-77, Godeman 1-74, 1-71, 1-67, Godwine 1-74. Helmet: Godman 1-32, Spileman 1-36. Last Small Cross: Ælfsige 1-23, 1-20, Brhtic 1-22, Oda 1-10, Ordbriht 1-31, Siboda 1-21, Wulfnoth 1-34.  
 Cnut Quatrefoil: Ælfwine 1-16, Oda 1-00. Pointed Helmet: Ælfstan 1-06, Godwine 1-14.

## WORCESTER

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Æthelmær 1·69, Wulfric 1·70. Last Small Cross: Godiwne 1·55.

## YORK

Æthelræd II Long Cross: Eadric 1·65, Frostulf 1·71, Hundulf 1·71, Leofstan 1·70, 1·67, Oban 1·65, 1·36, Othgrim 1·62. Helmet: Arnthur 1·40, Hildulf 1·38, Outhgrim 1·14. Last Small Cross: Hildolf 1·71, 1·39, Osgot 1·66, Thorstan 1·39.

Cnut Quatrefoil: Asgutr 0·89, Bretecol 1·02, Frithcol 0·89, Outhgrim 0·99, Stircol 1·03, Swertine 1·21. Pointed Helmet: Fargrim 0·99, Hildolf 1·04, Sunulf 0·92, Withrin 1·00. Short Cross: Crucan 1·15, Fæthein 1·14, Hildulf 1·08, Osgod 1·09, Ucede 1·11, Wulnoth 1·09.