

AN INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS ISSUE OF ÆTHELRÆD II AND SOME LATE VARIETIES OF THE CRUX TYPE

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SINCE the late W. C. Wells's paper on the Stamford Mint under Æthelræd II,¹ it has been generally accepted by English numismatists that there were two separate and distinct emissions of the *Small Cross* type of Æthelræd II (Hild. A = Brooke 1 = B.M.C. i = Hawkins 205). The first issue was at the very commencement of the reign, and the second at the very end. Broadly speaking this arrangement is borne out by the evidence of the Scandinavian hoards, and it may be convenient to illustrate some representative coins of the two issues. **Pl. IV, 1** is a very typical coin of the first issue from the northern part of the country, the unique *First Small Cross* coin of Torksey now in the British Museum.² **Pl. IV, 2** is likewise unique, a penny of Canterbury from the 1914 Chester Treasure Trove, and it too is in the National Collection.³ It should be compared with Hild. 1604, an early coin of Lymne (**Pl. IV, 3**). Together the two coins constitute a sceptre variety of *First Small Cross* which hitherto has not been distinguished from the relatively common *Crux/Small Cross* "mules" associated with York but apparently Scandinavian.⁴ The variety seems to be Kentish, but it would be foolish to build too much on the accident of discovery of two coins. A typical coin from southern England generally is a penny of the Worcester moneyer Maertin (**Pl. IV, 4**). Coins of the second issue likewise betray stylistic divergencies, and here we are on firmer ground in postulating geographical groupings. Quite characteristic of coins from the West Country is the bust seen in **Pl. IV, 5**, a penny of the Lydford moneyer Bruna with unusually full mint reading.⁵ **Pl. IV, 6** shows an important coin of the Winchester mint recently acquired by the British Museum. It is from the same dies as Hild. 4297 which in turn is from an obverse die employed by the same moneyer with a "Heamtu(n)" reverse.⁶ The style is typical of the Winchester area as a whole. It should be contrasted with an unpublished Gloucester penny (**Pl. IV, 7**) also recently acquired for the National Collection. We may note the archaic spelling Sigered not found before on Sired's coins of which this is perhaps the first. The same bust is found as far north as Chester and as far south as Bristol and seems characteristic of the west Midlands. An unpublished London penny from an east Prussian hoard, yet another recent British Museum accession (**Pl. IV, 8**), gives a good impression of a typical "London" style coin, and the bust is found on coins from the east Midlands, East Anglia, and south-east England generally. It is in

¹ *B.N.J.* xxiv (1944), pp. 69-109.

² ex Lockett, 643.

³ G. F. Hill, *N.C.* 1920, p. 162, no. 110.

⁴ No fewer than 46 die-duplicates of Hild. 810 occur in the Igelosa hoard.

⁵ *B.M.C.* 279.

⁶ Hild. 1271.

marked contrast to the bust usually found on coins from the York and Lincoln area—we may compare one of the very rare sceptre variety coins of Lincoln (Pl. IV, 9)—but it should be stressed that there is a certain amount of overlapping as between the two styles.¹

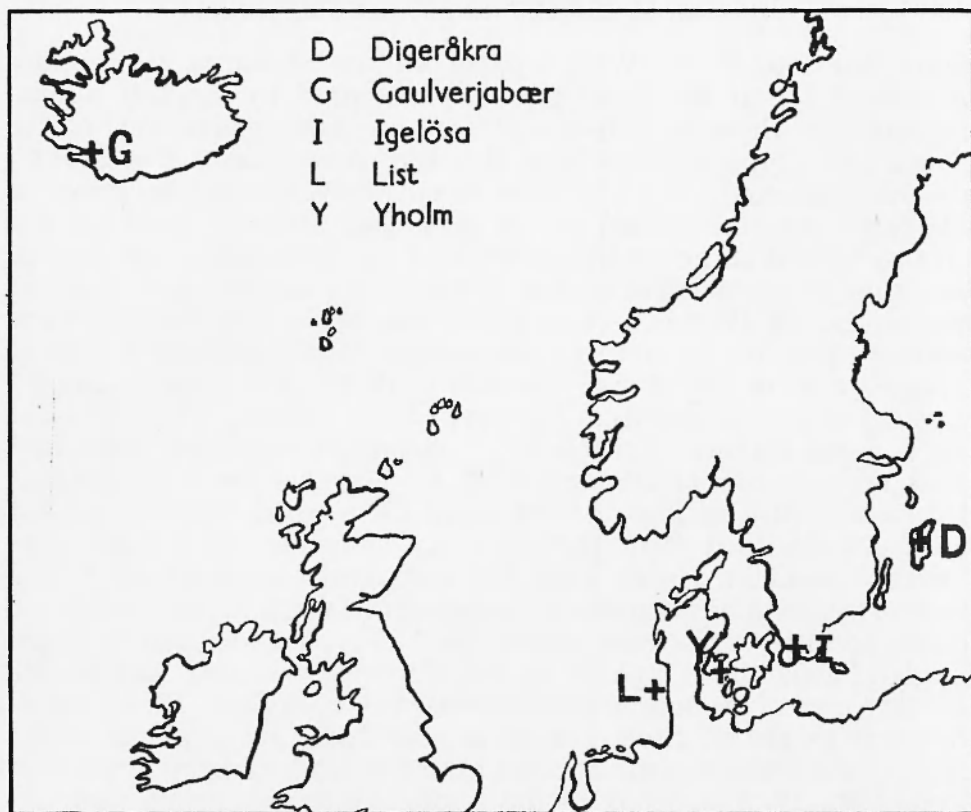


FIG. I.

An occasional coin of "Lincoln" style is found at London and vice versa, but the explanation of these discrepancies lies outside the scope of this present note.

Wells's division of the *Small Cross* type into two issues separated by almost a quarter of a century has commanded such wide acceptance, and essentially reflects the view of so many of his precursors, that it may seem temerarious to question it. However, we would remind our readers that in doing so we are no more than following in the footsteps of perhaps the greatest late Anglo-Saxon numismatist that there has ever been, Bror Emil Hildebrand, and it is perhaps appropriate that this vindication of his judgement will be appearing in the course of the year that marks the 150th anniversary of his birth and the 75th anniversary of the publication of the second edition

¹ The explanation perhaps lies in the chaotic politics of the time. For a fuller discussion and description of at least nine provincial styles in the period *c.* 1010 see the paper by R. H. M. Dolley "Några synpunkter på Ethelred II: s Mynt av Typ A" in the Swedish publication *Antikvariskt Arkiv*.

of *Anglosachsiska Mynt*. In that work Hildebrand maintained his view that there was an element of continuity between the two issues, and we must not forget that he had the benefit of hoard-evidence no longer available as a consequence of his arrangement of the Stockholm collection.¹ Nor would it be wise to forget that his view was endorsed by no less an authority than the late George Cyril Brooke.² It is the submission of the present writers that there is ample evidence that Wells, misled by his preoccupation with the coins of a handful of Anglian mints, over simplified the picture, and that there was in fact an *Intermediate Small Cross* issue, albeit on an apparently microscopic scale.

We are familiar with five major hoards which contain *Crux* and *Long Cross* coins of Æthelræd II in considerable numbers but no pence of *Helmet* type—incidentally a neat refutation of Parsons's criticism of Hildebrand's sequence—and the accompanying map (Fig. 1) shows their remarkably wide distribution. The absence of *Helmet* is here important because it puts out of court any suggestion that *Small Cross* coins present in the finds could belong to the last emission of the reign. One of the hoards has been published in detail, the Icelandic find from Gaulverjabær which contains roughly 175 Anglo-Saxon pence. Of these only one is a true *Small Cross* coin, a penny of the Wilton moneyer Sæwine—we must exclude an apparent *Crux/Small Cross* "mule" of the type which we have already suggested to be Scandinavian.³ The coin corresponds to Hild. 4008, and we illustrate a die-duplicate (Pl. IV, 10) which the British Museum was recently able to acquire at the Lockett Sale.⁴ The second hoard with which we are concerned is that from Digeråkra in Barlingbo parish on the Baltic island of Gotland.⁵ The coins have not as yet been published, and once more the Society lies under a heavy debt to the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet who have given permission for the hoard to be cited here. The English pence number approximately 350, and only two are of the *Small Cross* type. One is a die-duplicate of the Wilton penny of Sæwine in the Gaulverjabær find, the other (Pl. IV, 11) an unpublished coin apparently of Northampton but by the "Hamwic" moneyer Æthelweard. It will be at once apparent that in point of style the two coins have absolutely nothing in common. Our third hoard—and by far the largest and most significant of them all—is the great find from the churchyard of Igelosa in Skåne. It is hoped that it may be published in the course of the present year, and again the Society's thanks are due to our Swedish colleagues, and in particular to Professor Holger Arbman of Lund, for permission to supplement the bare—and inaccurate—details recorded in Skovmand.⁶ Of 1,795 English pence, only four are of the *Small Cross* type. One is of Southampton, the all-important coin (Pl. IV, 12) of the "Hamwic" moneyer Isegel which is proving so

¹ *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, p. 29.

² *English Coins*, p. 66.

³ *N.N.A.*, 1948, pp. 39–62.

⁴ ex Lockett 656.

⁵ *S.H.M. Inv.* 18744.

⁶ *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed etc.* 1942, p. 136.

decisive in the solution of the problem of "Hamton".¹ Stylistically this coin has the closest of affinities with the Æthelweard coin from the Digeråkra find, and indeed with every *Small Cross* coin from a southern mint known to the writers which has occurred in a genuinely early context—i.e. in a hoard containing no English coin later than *Hand*. The remaining three *Small Cross* coins, on the other hand, are identical in style with the Sæwine pence in the finds from Digeråkra and Gaulverjabær. Two, corresponding to Hild. 4022, are likewise from Wilton, die-duplicates of the moneyer Wulfgar (Pl. IV, 13). The third coin is an unpublished penny of the Worcester moneyer Goda (Pl. IV, 14). The fourth and most southerly of our four hoards is that from List on the Frisian island of Sylt, and we are grateful to Dr. Peter La Baume of Cologne for the loan of a manuscript list of the coins considerably amplifying the preliminary notice of the find.² Of nearly 550 English coins, more than 500 of them of *Long Cross* type, not one is a *Small Cross* coin.

Together these four hoards contain more than 3,000 Anglo-Saxon coins of Æthelræd II, but of true *Small Cross* coins they can muster only seven. Turning to the Yholm hoard from the southern extremity of the Danish island of Fyn, we find the same pattern repeated with almost monotonous regularity. Among some 230 English coins of Æthelræd's *Hand*, *Crux*, and *Long Cross* types—and again we should remark the absence of *Helmet*—there is one solitary penny of *Small Cross Type*. One is scarcely surprised when examination reveals it to be a penny of the Wilton mint, and it is in fact a die-duplicate of the coin of Sæwine already described in our account of the hoards from Iceland and from Gotland. Five hoards, then, contain well over 3,200 Anglo-Saxon coins. Only eight, or less than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the total, are of *Small Cross Type*. If Wells is right, these eight coins are among the twenty or so oldest pieces in the hoards. One is from the mint of Southampton, and one apparently from Northampton, and this is not perhaps so very surprising when we recall that Southampton was sacked in 981 when the *First Small Cross* was still current if not still being issued. One is from Worcester—not perhaps the most likely of mints—and the remaining five are all from Wilton. Wilton was not sacked until 1003, at least eighteen and more probably twenty-four years after *First Small Cross* ceased to be struck.

What is even more astonishing is that these five coins of Wilton should be from only two pairs of dies. Inevitably one recalls Mr. C. E. Blunt's remark concerning certain coins in the Crondall Hoard: "The inference seems inescapable that all these coins that are so strongly die-linked can only recently have left their places of issue." We believe that Mr. Blunt's scepticism was well-founded, and in the case of the *Small Cross* coins of Æthelræd II there are positive grounds for claiming that the heavily die-linked coins had been current only a very few years. There is in Finland a unique penny of Wilton concerning

¹ Cf. Spink's, *Numismatic Circular*, April 1955, p. 159.

² E. Nöbbe, *Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit*, xvi (1940), pp. 107, 112.

which there cannot be the least doubt but that it belongs to Æthelræd's *First Small Cross* issue (Nordman, 369), the penny of Eadwine with right-facing bust which is the only *First Small Cross* coin with this bust known to us (Nordman, pl. i. 2). It has the converging arcs before the bust that we believe to be quite characteristic of true *First Small Cross* coins from southern England. Beside this coin the pennies of Sæwine and Wulfgar from the Digerâkra, Gaulverjabær, Igelösa, and Yholm hoards are utterly incongruous—so much so that it is difficult to see how they could form part of the same issue.

There is, however, a remarkable stylistic affinity between the Worcester and Wilton pence from the hoards on the one hand and coins of the variety of *Crux* distinguished by Hildebrand as Cb—or rather with certain coins so described by Hildebrand for, as we shall see, Hildebrand's Cb variety itself consists of two quite distinct issues. Of the true Cb coins, the following, taken at random, are quite representative pence of the moneyers Hunewine at Exeter (Hild. 546, Pl. IV, 15), Sæwine at Wilton (Hild. 4015, Pl. IV, 16), and Leofwold at Winchester (Hild. 4278, Pl. IV, 17). Not only is there stylistic identity between the obverses of the two series—and we ourselves are surprised that to date we have not found a die-link though this is perhaps because in only one case do the *Small Cross* and Cb mints coincide—but one vital epigraphical detail is common to both series. All the true Cb coins we know and all our *Intermediate Small Cross*

ÆNLOŋ*

FIG. 2.

ÆNLOX

FIG. 3.

coins have the same reading of the obverse legend, the ethnic being written as in Fig. 2. It will be noticed that there is a clean break between the downstroke of the R and the comparatively small x. To the best of our knowledge this distinction is confined to the two series with which we are concerned. On all other coins of Æthelræd II which read ÆNLOX—and in *Small Cross* they are very few—the downstroke of the R turns up sharply and is extended to form the longer of the two strokes of the x as in Fig. 3. We believe this criterion to be absolute.

There is good reason, then, to associate our new *Intermediate Small Cross* type with *Crux*, and a prosopographical consideration of the moneyers known to have struck it not only is decisive that it is not the first type of the reign but establishes its true position between *Crux* and *Long Cross*. To date we have recorded coins of *Intermediate Small Cross* type by the following moneyers, the other types for which they are known being set out in the accompanying table:

	Hild. B			Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	1	2	3			
BARNSTAPLE						
Byrhsige ^a	×	×	×	×	×	×
(Pl. IV, 18)						

^a Hild. 17.

	Hild. B			Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	1	2	3			
GLOUCESTER						
Godwine ^b	—	—	—	×	×	×
(Pl. IV, 19)						
ILCHESTER						
Leofsige ^c	—	—	—	×	×	—
(Pl. IV, 20)						
MALMESBURY						
Ealdred ^d	—	—	—	×	×	×
Leofget ^e	—	—	—	—	×	—
(Pl. IV, 21)						
WILTON						
Leofwine ^f	—	—	—	—	×	Mint closed.
Sæwine ^g	—	—	×	×	×	
Wulfgar ^h	—	—	—	×	—	
WINCHCOMBE						
Ælfgar ⁱ	—	—	—	×	×	—
(Pl. IV, 22)						
WORCESTER						
Goda ^j	—	—	—	×	—	—

^b Hild. 1100.^g Hild. 4008.^c Hild. 1036.^h Hild. 4021/2—in fact die-duplicates, the first a slipped striking.^d Hild. 3081.ⁱ Hild. 4035—reads not **PINCZ** but **PINCL**.^e Hild. 3087.^j Unpublished coin in Igelosa hoard.^f Copenhagen.^k Idem.

It will be seen that only two of the ten moneyers are known in *Hand*, and of these Sæwine is known only for the very rare—and late—*Benediction* variety, and not for the *First* or *Second* substantive types which are relatively common. All ten of the moneyers are known either in *Crux* or in *Long Cross*, and six of them in both. Of the remaining four, two are known for *Crux* but not for *Long Cross*, and two for *Long Cross* but not for *Crux*. Prosopographically, then, our new *Intermediate Small Cross* type should fall between *Crux* and *Long Cross*, and we would further suggest that there is stylistic evidence to clinch this interpolation.

As we have seen, the obverses of our *Intermediate Small Cross* coins are identical with those of the true “Hild. Cb” variety of *Crux*. If we plot the “true Cb” moneyers in the same way, we have the following result:

	Hild. B			Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	1	2	3			
EXETER						
Ælfric ^a	—	—	—	×	×	×
Byrhtred ^b	—	—	—	×	—	—
Byrhstan ^c	—	×	—	×	—	—
Hunewine ^d	—	—	—	×	—	—
HEREFORD						
Byrhstan ^e	—	—	—	—	×	—
(Pl. IV, 23)						
LONDON						
Byrhtmær ^f	—	—	—	×	—	—

^a Hild. 456.^d Hild. 546.^b Hild. 528.^e Hild. 1334.^c Hild. 491.^f Hild. 2280.

	Hild. B			Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	I	2	3			
OXFORD						
Wulfwine ^g (Pl. IV, 24)	—	—	—	×	×	—
WAREHAM						
Byrhsige ^h (Pl. IV, 25)	×	—	—	×	—	—
WINCHESTER						
Ælfsige ⁱ	×	×	—	×	×	—
Ælfwold ^j	—	—	—	×	×	×
Æthelgar ^k	—	—	—	×	×	×
Byrhsige ^l	×	×	×	×	×	×
Byrhtmaer ^m	—	×	×	×	×	—
Byrhtwold ⁿ	—	—	—	—	×	—
Godeman ^o	—	—	—	—	×	×
Godwine ^p	—	—	—	×	×	—
Leofwold ^q	×	×	—	×	×	×
Toca ^r	×	×	—	×	—	—
YORK						
Osce(te) ^s (Pl. IV, 26)	—	—	—	×	×	—

^g Unpublished coin in B.M. ex Lockett 678a.

^h Unpublished coin in Digerakra hoard.

ⁱ Hild. 4054/5.

^j Hild. 4098.

^k Hild. 4070.

^l Hild. 4148.

^m Hild. 4158.

ⁿ Hild. 4177.

^o Hild. 4223.

^p Hild. 4241.

^q Hild. 4278.

^r Hild. 4326.

^s Hild. 804.

N.B. The above list includes a number of "mules" with reverses of the further variety of *Crux* distinguished below.



FIG. 4.

Again all the nineteen moneyers concerned are known either for *Crux* or for *Long Cross*, ten of them for both. Of the remaining nine, six are known for *Crux* but not for *Long Cross*, three for *Long Cross* but not for *Crux*. Nor is this the end of the story. There is a very rare variety of "Cb" not distinguished by Hildebrand in which the omission of the sceptre is not compensated for by the addition of a diadem. On these coins the portrait is essentially the *Long Cross* portrait on a reduced scale, with the "curly" hair, large ear and, most important of all, the double line of drapery running from the throat to the inner circle, this double line running almost vertically downwards. These features are seen admirably on a coin in the Copenhagen Collection by the Exeter moneyer Edric (Fig. 4).

On the reverse the contraction of "monetarius" should be M^{no}O, and not the invariable M^{no}O employed hitherto on coins of Æthelræd II, virtually without exception, the omega copula being of course quite characteristic of *Long Cross*. This coin, however, is a unique mule with the normal *Crux* M^{no}O on the reverse. Stylistically and epigraphically there can be no doubt concerning the position of our new variant of Hildebrand's "Cb" variety, and this view is reinforced by a prosopographical survey of the moneyers of the handful of coins known to us.

	Hild. B			Hild. C	Hild. D	Hild. E
	1	2	3			
CHICHESTER						
Eadnoth ^a	—	×	—	—	×	—
(Pl. IV, 27)						
EXETER						
Edric ^b	—	—	—	×	×	—
(<i>supra</i> , Fig. 4)						
WAREHAM						
Ælfsige ^c	—	—	—	—	×	—
(Pl. IV, 28)						
WINCHESTER						
Byrhtsige ^d	×	×	×	×	×	×
(Pl. IV, 29)						
Byrhtmær ^e	—	×	×	×	×	—
Byrhtnoth ^f	×	×	×	×	×	—
(Pl. IV, 30)						
Godwine ^g	—	—	—	×	×	—

^a H. H. King Collection and B.M. (ex Lockett, 678a).

^b Copenhagen—unique? (mule with normal *Crux* reverse).

^c Hild. 3947

^d Hild. 4146 (wrongly described as type C) and T. C. Gardner collection.

^e Hild. 4159 and F. Elmore Jones Collection.

^f Hild. 4168 (wrongly described as Type C) and B.M. (ex Barnett).

^g Hild. 4240.

The first of these coins, incidentally, is of great significance for a diadem has been added to the *Long Cross* portrait, thereby making it approximate to the "true Cb". Again we find that all seven moneyers are found either in *Crux* or *Long Cross*, and one of them is known for *Long Cross* only. Again the natural position for the coins is between *Crux* and *Long Cross*, and, as we have seen, to place them elsewhere is to do violence not only to prosopography but to style and epigraphy.

The importance of this "Long Cross" variety of *Crux* is that it is heavily muled with obverses of our new *Intermediate Small Cross* type—in fact some of the "true Cb" coins we have quoted prove on examination to have the omega copula on the reverse, namely Hildebrand nos. 1334, 4177, and 4223. Nor are mules known between "Long Cross" *Crux* obverses and *Small Cross* reverses, and this may seem finally to confirm our suggestion that "true Cb" coins are mules of *Intermediate Small Cross* obverses with *Crux* reverses. However this may be, we feel that there can be little doubt but that the evidence is overwhelming that the *Intermediate Small Cross* type comes at the very end of *Crux* at a time of experiment. Some confirmation of this

view comes from metrology. Whereas the *Intermediate Small Cross* coins known to us all weigh over 24 gr., and one as much as 27 gr., *First Small Cross* rarely attain 23 gr. The "true Cb" coins range from less than 20 gr. to more than 26 gr., and in fact seem to have been struck on two standards, the vast majority weighing 25 gr. or more, and a very few about 18 gr. Significantly, the "Long Cross" *Crux* coins seem to belong to the heavier group. Consequently the *Intermediate Small Cross* coins fit in very well where we have been attempting to place them, namely at the end of *Crux*, and metrology confirms prosopography and epigraphy in divorcing them utterly from the *First Small Cross* coins which are known so well to English students as a result of the 1914 Pemberton's Parlour hoard from Chester.



APPENDIX A

The Hildebrand Ca Variety of Crux

THIS important variety, which has absolutely no connexion with the closely interdependent varieties of *Crux* discussed above, is not generally recognized in this country, perhaps because the illustration in Hildebrand is not too happy as regards the obverse and inaccurate as regards the reverse. As Hildebrand noted, the coins are appreciably smaller and lighter than in the case of the regular *Crux* issue. On the obverse the most distinctive criterion is the treatment of the hair. Whereas on true *Crux* coins this is represented by a number of approximately parallel strokes running up and into the inner circle, on *Ca* coins there is an attempt at realism with a greater number of strokes grouped so as to suggest fairly long hair falling away from the crown of the head. On the reverse the letters C R V X are disposed in the same relative positions as on normal *Crux* coins—not as in the Hildebrand plate—and frequently there are additional pellets in the field.

Ca coins are known from a wide range of mints, but the variety is particularly common at Canterbury and at London. At one time I had begun to wonder if it were indeed English—there are in fact Scandinavian imitations—but my last doubts have been dispelled by the discovery of an example in the soil of this country. I am very grateful to the Rev. F. B. Corke of Martin near Fordingbridge for permission to illustrate this coin which was found by him several feet down in the chalk at the top of a hillock beside the Tilshead-Shrewton road on Salisbury Plain. The obverse is admirably

characteristic of the variety, and the lettering on the reverse gives a very fair impression of the epigraphy. We should note the exceptional use of round C. The weight of the coin is 20.5 gr. which is about the normal for the type. The coin has since been acquired for the National Collection.

R. H. M. D.

APPENDIX B

The Wilton and Salisbury Mints

THE further division of Æthelræd's *First Small Cross* type proposed above cannot but necessitate some modification of the table of Wilton and Salisbury moneyers accompanying my paper in Dr. N. L. Rasmusson's *Festschrift* where for the first time it was suggested that there is a connexion between Æthelræd's reign of just over thirty-six years and the fact that he appears to have struck six substantive types.¹ I would suggest, however, that the essential validity of that paper remains unpugned, and it may be thought that the new pattern is even more attractive:

	<i>First Small Cross</i>	<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Bene- diction var.</i>	<i>Crux</i>	<i>Inter- mediate Small Cross</i>	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>
Ælfnoth	S
Ælfsige	W	..	..	..	..
Boiga	W	W	..	..	..	..
Eadwine	W	W	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Godwine	W	..	W	S	S
Goldus	W	S	..
Leofwine	W	W	..	..
Leofwold	..	W	..	..	W	..	..	..	..
Osbern	..	W	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sæman	S
Sæwine	W	W	W	W	S	S
Wensige	W
Wulfgar	W	W	..	..	..

W = Wilton.

S = Salisbury.

The transposition of so many *Small Cross* coins to the sixth column may seem to support the view that the *First Small Cross* issue lasted no more than a matter of months—until that is six years had elapsed since Eadger's great reform of 973—and there is much to be said for regarding both *First* and *Second Hand* as substantive types and not as early and late varieties of the same type. Unfortunately we still lack the information to establish whether the type of the money was changed from *Long Cross* to *Helmet* in September 1003 or March 1004—later medieval practice argues for September but a numismatic case could be made out for Lady Day.

R. H. M. D.



APPENDIX C

Since the setting up of this paper, the rearrangement of the British Museum trays has thrown up a major new variety of the *Crux* type which seems worth putting on record here. Superficially the coin in question, formerly in the collection of the

¹ *Numismatiska Studier tillägnade Nils Ludvig Rasmusson på 50-Årsdagen den 3 Maj* 1954, pp. 52-56.

late L. A. Lawrence, conforms to the normal *Crux* pattern, but on closer examination it will be seen that the portrait is the new "curly-haired" or "transitional" bust *with the addition of a sceptre*. The reverse, however, proves to be from a normal *Crux* die which in fact is known from a perfectly normal *Crux* coin in Stockholm (Hildebrand 3251). Pennies of the Oxford moneyer Godinc are not particularly rare, but the British Museum coin appears to be unique.

A further visit to Scandinavia, moreover, has brought to light the existence of further unpublished coins:

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS TYPE

Oxford Ælfwine^S Æthelmær^K Wulfwine^S

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS/CRUX MULE

London Godwine^L

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS/TRANSITIONAL CRUX MULE

Winchester Æthelgar^K

TRANSITIONAL CRUX VARIETIES

(a) without sceptre

Dorchester Wulfnoth^L

(b) with sceptre

Oxford Ælfwine^S

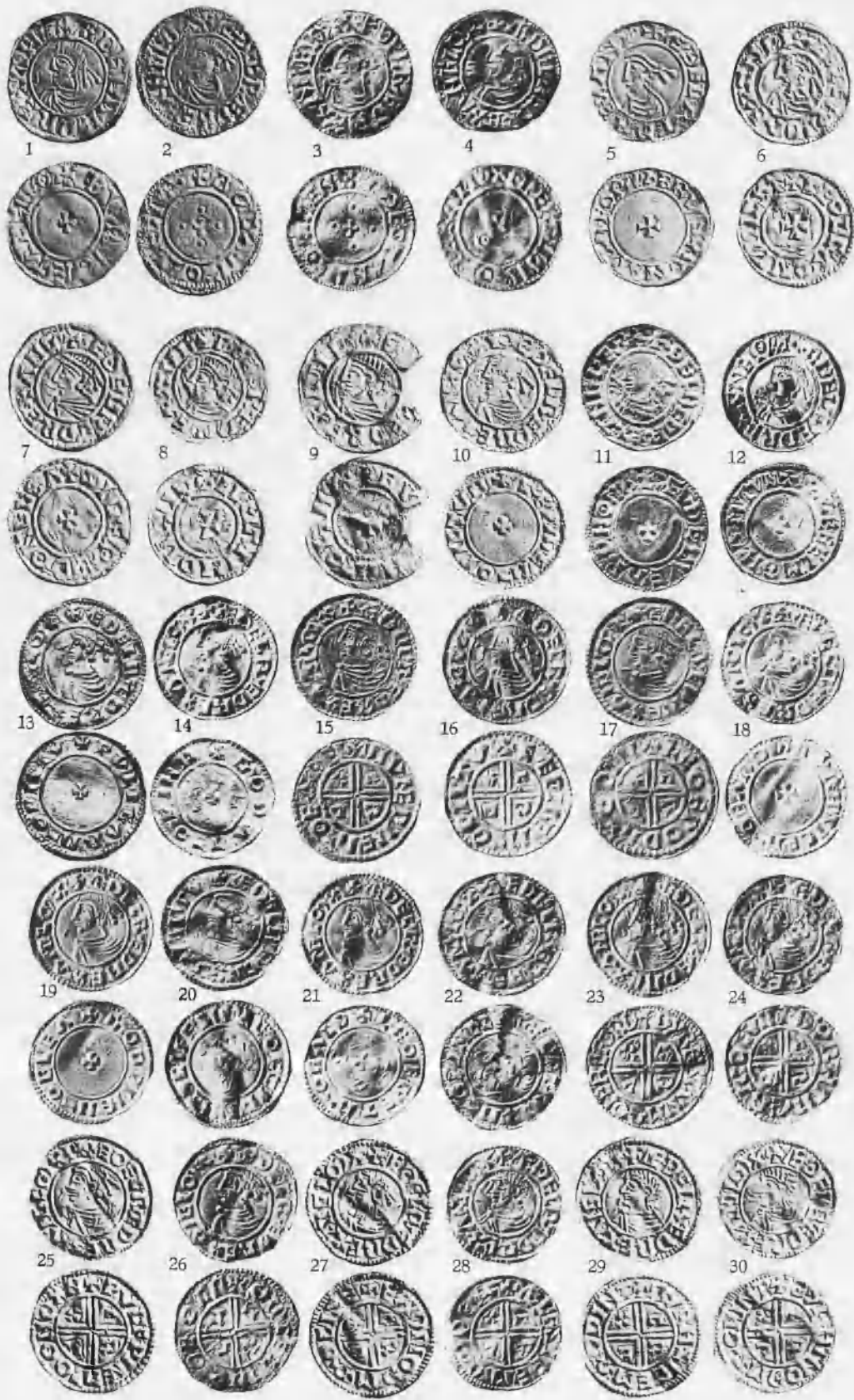
K = Copenhagen L = Lund S = Stockholm

Doubtless this list will be expanded as further hoards are examined; nor can the present writer claim to have rescrutinized every coin in the Systematic Collections at Stockholm and Copenhagen, let alone in other Scandinavian collections. Of the coins listed here, one would seem of cardinal importance, the *Intermediate Small Cross* penny of the Oxford moneyer Wulfwine. It proves to be from the same obverse die as the *Intermediate Small Cross/Crux* mule of the same moneyer formerly in the Lockett Collection and now in the British Museum. This die-link may seem finally to settle the place of the *Intermediate Small Cross* type in the English series, and that the issue comes late rather than early in the currency of *Crux* receives further corroboration from the pattern of a major hoard from Skåne which is second in importance only to that of Igelösa. The find in question was made nearly fifty years ago at Glemminge and includes more than 850 coins of which some two hundred are English. The great bulk of these belong to the *Second Hand* issue, but of more than seventy *Crux* coins not one is in any sense a variety; unless, that is, we accept an unpublished *Second Hand/Crux* mule from York. The *Intermediate Small Cross* type likewise is completely absent, and the almost inescapable inference is that the new type and the cognate variants of *Crux* occupy the same place at the end of the *Crux* issue proper that belongs to *Benediction Hand* at the end of *Second Hand*.

One should perhaps add that the new *Transitional Crux* coin from Oxford appears to be from the same obverse die as the penny of Godinc already noted in this *Appendix*, and it is clear that a study of obverse die-links *within* mints would produce results only less spectacular than those already observed *between* mints. Perhaps, too, it is a measure of our failure hitherto to place the study of late Saxon coins on a scientific basis that a short visit to Sweden and Denmark should reveal so many additions to our knowledge. Particularly striking is the emergence of Oxford as perhaps the most critical of all the mints of the *Intermediate Small Cross* type and of the related varieties of *Crux*, an emergence that is all the more surprising when one bears in mind the fact that the Oxford Mint was the subject of such meticulous study by Stainer.

The present (June 1956) position as regards the *Intermediate Small Cross* type and the *Crux* variants discussed in the course of the above paper may be tabulated conveniently as follows, but it should again be stressed that this list cannot pretend to be definitive:

		<i>Intermediate Small Cross Type</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross/Crux Mules</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross/Transitional Crux Mules</i>	<i>Transitional Crux</i> (a) without sceptre or diadem (b) with sceptre and without diadem (c) with diadem and without sceptre	<i>Transitional Crux/Crux Mules</i>
<i>Barnstaple</i>	Byrhsige . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>Chichester</i>	Eadnoth . . . . .	×	..	..	×	..
<i>Dorchester</i>	Wulfnoth . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Exeter</i>	Ælfric . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Byrhtred . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Byrhstan . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Edric . . . . .	..	..	..	..	×
	Hunewine . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
<i>Gloucester</i>	Godwine . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>Hereford</i>	Byrhstan . . . . .	..	..	×	..	..
<i>Ilchester</i>	Leofsige . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>London</i>	Byrhtmær . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Godwine . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
<i>Malmesbury</i>	Ealdred . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
	Leofget . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>Oxford</i>	Ælfwine . . . . .	×	..	..	×	..
	Æthelmær . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
	Godinc . . . . .	..	..	..	×	..
	Wulfwine . . . . .	×	×	..	..	..
<i>Wareham</i>	Ælfsige . . . . .	..	..	..	×	..
	Byrhsige . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
<i>Wilton</i>	Leofwine . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
	Sæwine . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
	Wulfgar . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>Winchcombe</i>	Ælfgar . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>Winchester</i>	Ælfsige . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Ælfwold . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Æthelgar . . . . .	..	×	×	..	..
	Byrhsige . . . . .	..	×	..	×	..
	Byrhtmær . . . . .	..	×	..	×	..
	Byrhtnoth . . . . .	..	..	..	×	..
	Byrhtwold . . . . .	..	..	×	..	..
	Godeman . . . . .	..	..	×	..	..
	Godwine . . . . .	..	×	..	×	..
	Leofwold . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
	Toca . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..
<i>Worcester</i>	Goda . . . . .	×	..	..	..	..
<i>York</i>	Osce(te)l . . . . .	..	×	..	..	..



ÆTHELRÆD II: INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS AND LATE CRUX TYPES

KEY TO PLATE

PENCE OF ÆTHELRÆD II

1. First	Small Cross	<i>Torksey, Thurketel</i>
2. "	" "	<i>Canterbury, Boga</i>
3. "	" "	<i>Lymne, Æthestan</i>
4. "	" "	<i>Worcester, Mærtin</i>
5. Last	" "	<i>Lydford, Bruna</i>
6. "	" "	<i>Winchester, Seolca</i>
7. "	" "	<i>Gloucester, Sigered</i>
8. "	" "	<i>London, Ælman</i>
9. "	" "	<i>Lincoln, Gustin</i>
10. Intermediate	" "	<i>Wilton, Sæwine</i>
11. First	" "	<i>Northampton?, Æthelweard</i>
12. "	" "	<i>Southampton, Isegel</i>
13. Intermediate	" "	<i>Wilton, Wulfgar</i>
14. "	" "	<i>Worcester, Goda</i>
15. Hildebrand Cb		<i>Exeter, Hunewine</i>
16. "		<i>Wilton, Sæwine</i>
17. "		<i>Winchester, Leofwold</i>
18. Intermediate Small Cross		<i>Barnstaple, Byrhsige</i>
19. "	" "	<i>Gloucester, Godwine</i>
20. "	" "	<i>Ilchester, Leofsige</i>
21. "	" "	<i>Malmesbury, Leofget</i>
22. "	" "	<i>Winchcombe, Ælfgar</i>
23. Hildebrand Cb/"Long Cross" Crux mule		<i>Hereford, Byrhstan</i>
24. Hildebrand Cb		<i>London, Byrhtmær</i>
25. "	" "	<i>Oxford, Wulfwine</i>
26. "	" "	<i>York, Osce(te)l</i>
27. "Long Cross" Crux (with diadem)		<i>Chichester, Eadnoth</i>
28. "	" "	<i>Wareham, Ælfsige</i>
29. "	" "	<i>Winchester, Byrhsige</i>
30. "	" "	<i>Winchester, Byrhtnoth</i>

Coins nos. 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 14-24, 26, 28, and 29 from casts or photographs supplied by the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. Coin 13 from a photograph supplied by the Lund University Historical Museum, and the remainder from casts of coins in the British Museum.