

# NOTES ON THE INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS AND TRANSITIONAL CRUX TYPES OF ETHELRED II

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THREE papers<sup>1</sup> published in this *Journal* a few years ago dealt with the typological experimentation which took place at the end of the *Crux* issue of Ethelred II in the 990's. It was shown that a few dies of *Small Cross* type were made about this time and also that a number of variations were introduced in the *Crux* type itself. The purpose of this note is to comment on the links between the *Crux* type proper and the dies of these two experimental groups, which are known as *Intermediate Small Cross* and *Transitional Crux*, and in particular on the nature of the *Crux* reverse dies which were combined with obverses of the two groups.



FIGS. 1-5

Obverse dies of the *Intermediate Small Cross* (ISC) type differ from *Crux* in having a diadem with two ties at the back of the head, but no sceptre. The lettering is small and neat, and is from the same fount as was used for some of the earlier dies of the *Long Cross* issue. Its use on dies of *Crux* type is not unknown. Mr. Lyon has kindly allowed me to illustrate a Wilton penny of the *Crux* type (fig. 1) on which the obverse inscription is largely composed

<sup>1</sup> R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones 'An Intermediate Small Cross issue of Aethelraed II and some late varieties of the *Crux* type', *BNJ* xxviii (1956), 75-87; Dolley, 'Some further remarks on the Transitional *Crux* issue of Aethelraed II', *BNJ* (1960), 259-64; Dolley and V. J. Butler (Mrs. Smart), 'Some "Northern" variants, etc., of the *Crux* issue of Aethelraed II', *BNJ* xxx (1962), 217-20. More recently new varieties of these groups have

been published in *Sylloge* volumes of the material at Edinburgh and Copenhagen, and by Dolley, Mrs. L. Lundström and Miss G. van der Meer in 'A preliminary account of the Anglo-Saxon element in the 1966 find from Tingstäde parish on Gotland', *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), 62-80. I am most grateful to Mr. Dolley for allowing me to see proofs of this report before publication, and for many useful comments on the present paper.

of letters from the *ISC* fount; it does not, however, include the most characteristic epigraphical feature of *ISC* obverses, which is that the tail of R in *Anglor(-um)* and the contraction mark across it are detached from the upper loop of the letter and appear as a separate letter x. Examples of *ISC* lettering on reverse dies of *Crux* type are discussed below.

The *ISC* type is known only of eight mints, all in the south and west, Barnstaple, Gloucester, Ilchester, Malmesbury, Oxford, Wilton, Winchcombe and Worcester. Mules of *ISC* obverses and *Crux* reverses, which comprise Hildebrand's type Cb, are less rare; their mints are Exeter, Hereford, Ilchester, London, Oxford, Southampton, Stamford, Wareham, Wilton and Winchester. It is also possible that *ISC* and Cb coins were struck at York. As can be seen, only three mints are known certainly to have struck both the true *ISC* type and the Cb mules, Ilchester, Oxford and Wilton. The two latter mints belong basically to the *ISC* grouping, only one of the three *ISC* moneyers at each being known for the mule type; the Oxford Cb, of Wulfwine, is from the same obverse die as his true *ISC* coin. It appears that *ISC* dies were distributed quite widely, but that orders for the withdrawal of the type were given almost immediately. Some mints (including the smaller and more remote) had already issued *ISC* coins, but at others the *Small Cross* reverses were probably never used. The obverses, however, were used up in combination with *Crux* reverses, most extensively at Winchester where no less than eight moneyers struck the Cb mules; the *ISC* dies were probably made there.

Certain late varieties of the *Crux* type, which in their curly headed portrait look forward to the *Long Cross* type that succeeded it, have been labelled *Transitional Crux* (*TC*). The mints of the four obverse varieties distinguished by Mr. Dolley are as follows:

A.	No sceptre	No diadem	Bath, Dorchester, Exeter, Wareham, Winchester
B.	No sceptre	Diadem	Chichester, Shaftesbury <sup>1</sup>
C.	Sceptre	No diadem	Oxford, Wallingford
D.	Sceptre	Diadem	Aylesbury, Buckingham, Dorchester, Totnes

Again the pattern is basically a south-western one, and except for A the coverage is very sparse. All except B include pairs or a group of adjacent mints.

A feature considered by Mr. Dolley essential to *TC* reverses is an omega between M O instead of the normal M-O. This has enabled him to define certain coins, of Winchester and Hereford, which fall under Hildebrand's classification of Cb, as mules between *ISC* obverses and *TC* reverses. In that they lack the omega, Mr. Dolley has regarded the Exeter and Shaftesbury coins of vars. A and B, the Wallingford and one of the Oxford C's, and all the D's except that of Dorchester as mules with reverses of the normal *Crux* issue.

The relationships of the *ISC* and *TC* coins with each other and with the *Crux* issue as a whole are further demonstrated by the existence of coins which I believe to have been struck from makeshift reverse dies of *Crux* type, produced at the time of the withdrawal of the *ISC* type in order to be paired with serviceable or unused *ISC* obverses. It may be that normal *Crux* reverse dies were no longer being made, since the reverses of Cb coins often appear to have been struck from old or worn dies; on the other hand, since three Winchester moneyers mule *TC* reverses with *ISC* obverses, and the only occurrence of either variety at Hereford is in the form of a similar mule, *TC* reverses may have been being made at this stage.

<sup>1</sup> In the Tingstäde list this coin is described as without sceptre or diadem, but the illustration shows the two ties of a diadem behind the head; it would therefore be of var. B and not var. A.

The first of four such makeshift reverses belongs to Godwine of Winchester. There is an obvious difference between the reverse dies of his two Cb coins (from the same obverse die) illustrated as figs. 2 and 3. The lettering and initial cross on the reverse of fig. 3<sup>1</sup> are of the same small, neat variety as on the obverse, and are of the style proper to the *ISC* type; so is the inner circle, which because of the smaller lettering is of greater diameter than on normal *Crux* dies. The letters CRVX in the angles of the cross differ from, and are larger than, those on ordinary reverse dies of the *Crux* type. Whereas the centre of the voided cross on *Crux* dies is usually open, with a small (compass) point in the middle, on this coin there is a blob which can be seen to end as if in a small bar across at least three of the limbs of the cross. All these features in combination indicate that the die was first made with the *Small Cross* type, but was altered to the *Crux* type when the *ISC* issue was revoked. This coin may explain why we have no true *ISC* coins of the mint where the dies for the type were made.

The second case concerns a die of Aelfstan of Totnes, a mint of which no *ISC* or Cb coins are recorded. Of this moneyer, beside his normal *Crux* coins, there exist (i) a characteristic *TC* coin of var. D, (ii) a coin from a normal *Crux* obverse and a reverse of *Crux* type but with *ISC* characteristics,<sup>2</sup> and (iii) a coin from the *TC* obverse of (i) and the abnormal *Crux* reverse of (ii). Although I have not examined either (ii) or (iii), illustrations suggest that the reverse die is comparable to Godwine's at Winchester. The lettering is from the *ISC* fount; the inner circle is thinly drawn and of large diameter; the letters CRVX are large and irregular; and there is a distortion on the middle of the cross (slightly left of centre), which could be a partially obliterated small cross.

When Mr. Dolley wrote on the *TC* type in 1959, he knew of no true coin of his variety D. The Totnes coin, however, is undoubtedly such, having the omega between M O on the reverse; the same is true of the new Dorchester coin from Tingstäde. The mints other than Totnes of which he listed *TC* var. D/normal *Crux* mules are Aylesbury and Buckingham. It is true that both the coins in question read M<sup>-</sup>O, but the reverse dies look to me to be homogeneous with their obverses. Their lettering differs substantially from that normal in the *Crux* issue; it is rather taller and closely resembles, in fact, a fount used on a good number of *Long Cross* coins. Its most obvious characteristic is the letter A: on *Crux* and *ISC* dies this is unbarred (like an inverted v), but on *TC* dies it has a top bar and sometimes a central bar as well (e.g. on the Bath reverse, and on both dies at Chichester). The letter s is markedly angular, with top and bottom horizontal, like a reversed z; R has a bow reaching near the foot of the upright (nearly a D), with the tail appended from it; M is broader than on normal *Crux* dies, and has a more marked central v. Most of the reverses with this style of lettering do also have M<sup>Λ</sup>O; but some do not—those of Aylesbury and Buckingham, and that of Shaftesbury from Tingstäde. Rather than classify them as mules, it would I feel be preferable to regard the omega as not an invariable, though the most obvious, criterion of *TC* reverses. Since M<sup>-</sup>O is normal in the *Crux* issue and M<sup>Λ</sup>O in earlier *Long Cross*<sup>3</sup> these *TC* dies with M<sup>-</sup>O may be among the earlier of the group.

<sup>1</sup> Writer's collection; a die-duplicate is Copenhagen *Sylloge* no. 1398. Fig. 2 is from a coin in the British Museum (illustrated as fig. 1c by Dolley and Elmore Jones in a preliminary note on the *ISC* type in *Num. Circ.*, 1956, 5–8). I am indebted to the Keeper for permission to illustrate this coin, and figs. 4 and 5, and for the provision of casts.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Lyon for drawing my

attention to this coin, Copenhagen 1253; no. (i) is Cop. 1254 and no. (iii) in Stockholm, *BNJ* xxix, 262, fig. 5.

<sup>3</sup> On the evidence of the Guildford mint Mr. Dolley has suggested that of the two forms normal in *Long Cross* M<sup>Λ</sup>O is earlier than M<sup>c</sup>O (*Commentationes de nummis*, I, Stockholm 1961, p. 159).

Certainly there are some coins with *TC* obverses which are mules. One is the Totnes coin (iii), with its makeshift *Crux* reverse. Another is the Oxford penny of Godinc in the British Museum, the reverse of which is from the same die as an ordinary *Crux* coin and the obverse from the same die as the true *TC* Oxford penny of Aelfwine.<sup>1</sup> The lettering on the reverses of the Exeter coin of Eadric and the Wallingford of Alfwold, both with unbarred  $\Delta$  and narrow  $M$ , indicates that these too are mules.

The third and fourth makeshift reverse dies belong to Cb coins of Exeter. One bears the inscription EVRHIEDM-OEAYE (fig. 4). The letters are roughly formed, the third of the mint name being merely two diagonals which failed to cross, so making  $y$  instead of  $x$ . There are a number of Byr- moneyers at Exeter, but none (such as Byrhtred) whose name would appear to have given rise to the blundered version on this coin.<sup>2</sup> Its obverse is of the normal *ISC* type, and features also on another Cb coin of Exeter, by the moneyer Wynsige, which has its reverse from an ordinary, though old and rusty, *Crux* die (fig. 5). There is a long thin crack on the obverse before the face, and from the state of this Wynsige's seems to be the later of the two striking; though the blundered reverse may therefore have been made locally when regular *Crux* reverses were no longer available to be paired with a still usable *ISC* obverse, at a later stage an old die seems to have been brought back into use by Wynsige. Since this paper was written, I have seen two Exeter Cb coins of Edric, known as a *TC* moneyer but hitherto unpublished for this type (figs. 6 and 7, see p. 24). I am most grateful to their owner, Mr. P. Brettell, for allowing me to record them here, particularly since one of them provides yet another instance of a makeshift *Crux* reverse die being coupled with an *ISC* obverse. In this case the die-cutter has put the letters CRVX in retrograde (fig. 7).

Conversion of dies of superseded type to the current type is a most unusual occurrence in late Anglo-Saxon coinage, and does not appear to have been recorded previously for the reverse. The only case of an Ethelred obverse type so altered is a Rochester *First Hand* die which had a sceptre added to make it conform to the design of *Second Hand*.<sup>3</sup> It is uncertain whether the two main varieties of the *Hand* type constitute separate substantive issues, and for undoubted examples of dies altered from one main *renovatio* type to the next we have to wait until the Norman period. Brooke noted an obverse of the *Bonnet* type with pillars added to give it the appearance of the succeeding *Canopy* type, and another with the *Canopy* type altered to look like *Two Sceptres* which followed; each of these altered dies was used with a reverse proper to the new issue which it had been adapted to resemble.<sup>4</sup>

It is in a way curious that if *ISC* reverse dies of Ethelred II were altered to *Crux*, the obverses were not similarly converted to that type by the very simple addition of a sceptre. The reason may be that at this period mules between an obverse of an earlier and a reverse of the current type do not appear to have been illegal; or that the sceptre was not deemed essential to the type in the later stages of the *Crux* issue, being omitted in two of the varieties (A and B) of the *TC* group.

There is, however, one *ISC* obverse die which has a sceptre, used with an *ISC* reverse of Arnycetel of York. Mr. Dolley and Mrs. Smart have argued that this is an English coin, a unique variant of the *ISC* type and its only occurrence at York. They have shown that the dies are part of an extensive chain involving both authentic English and barbarous or

<sup>1</sup> Normal *Crux*, Hildebrand 3251; *TC*/normal *Crux* mule, *BNJ* xxviii, p. 84, figure; Aelfwine *TC* from same obv. die, *BNJ* xxxvi, pl. ix, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E for B also on coins of 'Eyrhsige' of Wareham, Copenhagen 1299 (Cb) and Hild. 3955

(*Crux*).

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Brand, 'A link between the First and Second "Hand" types of Aethelred II', *Num. Circ.*, 1965 Sept.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC Norman Kings*, I, xxxvii-ix.

imitative dies.<sup>1</sup> The former include two *ISC* obverses (one the sceptred variety, the other normal), Arncytel's *ISC* reverse, and two English *Cruz* reverses of Oban and Oscetl of York. The latter, which are presumably Scandinavian, include three *Cruz* obverses of fair style, and a number of reverses, more or less blundered, of both the *Cruz* and *ISC* types. There seems little doubt that official dies were taken from York to Scandinavia and there used in combination with imitative dies. It is a problem to determine whether coins from a combination of two of the English dies, such as a Cb of Oscetl, were struck before or after they were removed from York. Arncytel's *ISC* coin comes into this category; one specimen is in Stockholm, another in Copenhagen, no. 222 in the *Sylloge*, with the note '*Cruz/Intermediate Small Cross* mule—Scandinavian'. The obverse die is also combined with a blundered *Cruz* reverse and it seems to me quite likely that the sceptre was added by a Scandinavian moneyer to bring it into line with the normal sceptred obverses of the *Cruz* type familiar there. Both the Arncytel striking and the '*Cruz*' coin suggest that the obverse die was already old and rusty.

The most copied of Ethelred's types in Scandinavia were *Long Cross* and *Small Cross*; there are also a good few *Cruz* imitations, the first type to be reproduced abroad, but not many of *Helmet* which came between *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross*. It is interesting to note that *ISC* as a prototype had an influence proportionately much greater than the tiny size of the issue. A number of *ISC* (and Cb) coins reached Scandinavia—and Cb coins, each unique of its kind, even found their way to Norse islands of Argyll and Orkney.<sup>2</sup> A Danish hoard from Kelstrup contained an *ISC* coin by Leofwine of Wilton:<sup>3</sup> this coin, or a die-duplicate of it, probably served as the model for a quite legible imitative *Small Cross* reverse reading *LEOFFINE MO PILT*, which die-links into a chain of exotic copies mostly of *Long Cross* type.<sup>4</sup> Leofwine, though one of the very few English moneyers to have struck the *Intermediate Small Cross* type, is not known for *Last Small Cross* when the mint was closed, and his only substantive type was *Long Cross*. It is, therefore, worth considering, with regard to the date of groups of imitations in which reverse dies of *Small Cross* type appear, whether they may have been copied from the *Intermediate Small Cross* type before 1000 rather than from the *Last Small Cross* after 1010. This is particularly true when they link with dies of *Cruz* type, as with the '*Cruz/Small Cross*' mules (Hildebrand type Ab) which derived from the removal of dies from York and are amongst the earliest Swedish copies of English coins.

Since much new material of the *ISC* and *TC* types has come to notice since they were first identified, it seems worth while to collate the references and bring up to date the table of known mints and moneyers; to judge from the Tingstäde hoard, new material will no doubt increase the number of entries further. There are now twenty-four mints and fifty-one moneyers involved, against sixteen and thirty-eight respectively listed twelve years ago.<sup>5</sup> It is, however, likely that where a particular moneyer's name appears at two or more mints in the same region it may denote the same man. Thus Hunewine occurs on a Cb of Exeter and on the only recorded coin of Ilchester of the same type which appears from illustrations to be from the same obverse die; this name is only elsewhere known under Ethelred II at

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ* xxx, pl. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Inch Kenneth, Edinburgh 664; Burray, Ed. 663.

<sup>3</sup> Copenhagen 1312.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart, 'Style in Early Medieval Coinage', *NC* 1969, 269–89; cf. Hildebrand 4001, type Af (i.e. *Long Cross/Small Cross*), an imitation with the same reading.

<sup>5</sup> As later noted by Dolley, the table on p. 86 of *BNJ* xxviii has the entries under columns (a) and (c) of *TC* transposed. Note also the Wilton Cb (pl. iv, 16) is omitted; and on pp. 80–1 the illustration nos. are in error (London, Byrhtmaer is pl. iv, 24; Oxford, Wulfwine pl. iv, 25 and Wareham, Byrhtsige unillustrated).

Totnes and Watchet and under Cnut at Axbridge and Lydford, also in the south-west, and at all four mints it may refer to the same moneyer.<sup>1</sup>

References used in the following table are:

- H. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, 1881.  
 A. *BNJ* xxviii (paper by Dolley and Elmore Jones on *ISC* type).  
 B. *BNJ* xxix (paper by Dolley on *TC* type).  
 T. Tingstäde hoard (*BNJ* xxxvi).  
 Cop. Copenhagen *Sylloge*.  
 Ed. Edinburgh *Sylloge*.

In the Cb column, coins of Hereford and Winchester with  $m\Omega o$  are noted as mules with *TC* reverses. In the *TC* column, entries are prefixed by the type variety (A – D), and where the reverse reading is  $m-o$ , rather than  $m\Omega o$ , it is noted; as discussed above, some with  $m-o$  are or may be mules with normal *Crux* reverses. Where several specimens are known of a particular variety, not all are necessarily listed. Die links and identities are recorded where noted, but a systematic search has not been made.

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross</i>	<i>Small Cross/Crux Mules (Cb)</i>	<i>Transitional Crux (A-D)</i>
AYLESBURY	Leofstan			D: H. 2 ( $m-o$ )
BARNSTAPLE	Byrhsige	H. 17 (A. pl. iv. 18)		
BATH	Aethelric			A: Visby (B. p. 259, fig. 1); City Museum, Bath, same dies
BUCKINGHAM	Sibwine			D: Cop. 37 (B. p. 261, fig. 3, $m-o$ )
CHICHESTER	Eadnoth			B: BM (A. pl. iv, 27); H. H. King ( <i>BNJ</i> xxviii, pl. ii, 6) same dies
DORCHESTER	Wulfnoth			A: Lund (A. p. 85); D: T. pl. ix, 25
EXETER	Aelfric		H. 456	
	Byrhtan		H. 491; T. same dies	
	Edric		Two coins in P. A: Cop. 174 (A. p. 81, Brettel coll., fig 4, $m-o$ ) one with make-shift rev. (CRVX retrograde), figs. 6 and 7 below	
	Hunewine		H. 546 (A. pl. iv, 15), obv. ? = Ilchester	

<sup>1</sup> Hunewine may have moved from one mint to the next over a period of years. His types are: Totnes, *Second Hand* and *Crux*; Exeter and Ilchester

*Crux* and Cb; Watchet, *Long Cross*, *Helmet*, and *Last Small Cross*; Cnut, *Quatrefoil*, Watchet, Axbridge, Exeter and Lydford; and *Helmet*, Lydford.

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross</i>	<i>Small Cross/Cruz Mules (Cb)</i>	<i>Transitional Cruz (A-D)</i>
EXETER ( <i>Cont.</i> )	Wynsige		BM (fig. 5 above, p. 16), same obv. die as next	
	Uncertain		BM (fig. 4 above, p. 16); H. 528; same obv. as Wynsige	
GLOUCESTER	Godwine	H. 1100 (A. pl. iv, 19); T. same dies		
HEREFORD	Byrhstan		H. 1334 (A. pl. iv, 23); Cop. 429, same dies. Mule with <i>TC</i> rev. (MNO)	
ILCHESTER	Hunewine		T. pl. ix, 28, obv. ? = Exeter	
	Leofsige	H. 1036 (A. pl. iv, 20)		
LONDON	Byrhtmaer		H. 2280 (A. pl. iv, 24); T. same rev. die	
	Goda		Ed. 663	
	Godwine		Lund (A. p. 85)	
	Leofric		T. pl. ix, 29; F. Elmore Jones and Lummelun- da hoard, from another rev.	
MALMESBURY	Ealdred	H. 3081		
	Leofget	H. 3087 (A. pl. iv, 21)		
OXFORD	Aelfwine	Stockholm (A. p. 85)		C: Stockholm (A. p. 85) (cf. H. 3211); T. pl. ix, 26 same dies. Same obv. as Godine
	Aethelmaer	Cop. 1040		
	Godine			C: BM (A. p. 84 fig. ), same obv. as Aelfwine, rev. normal <i>Cruz</i> (M-O)
	Wulfwine	Stockholm (A. p. 85), same obv. as Cb coin	BM (A. pl. iv, 25), same obv. as <i>ISC</i> coin	
SHAFTESBURY	Wulfrie			B: T. pl. ix, 27 (M-O)
SOUTHAMPTON	Godman		T. pl. ix, 30	

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross</i>	<i>Small Cross Crux Mules (Cb)</i>	<i>Transitional Crux (A-D)</i>
STAMFORD	Swartgar		Ed. 664	
TOTNES	Aelfstan			D: Cop. 1254; Stockholm (B. p. 262, fig. 5), same obv., rev. makeshift <i>Crux</i> (M-O)
WALLINGFORD	Alfwold			C: Stockholm (B. p. 260, fig. 2), a mule (M-O)?
WAREHAM	Aelfsige Byrhsige		Stockholm (A. p. 81); Cop. 1299	A: H. 3947 (A. pl. iv, 28)
WILTON	Leofwine Saewine	Cop. 1312 Cop. 1315; H. 4008; H. 4015 (A. pl. iv, BM (A. pl. iv, 16), and others, same dies		
	Wulfgar	Lund (A. pl. iv, 13); H. 4021-2.		
WINCHCOMBE	Aelfgar	H. 4035 (A. pl. iv, 22)		
WINCHESTER	Aelfsige		Cop. 1330; H. 4054-5	
	Aelfwold		Cop. 1346; H. 4098; BM	
	Aethelgar		H. 4070; Cop. 1337 (mule with <i>TC</i> rev., M-O)	
	Byrhsige		H. 4148; BM	A: H. 4146 (A. pl. iv, 29)
	Byrhtmaer		Cop. 1368; H. 4158	A: H. 4159; F. Elmore Jones
	Byrhtnoth			A: BM (A. pl. iv, 30); H. 4168
	Byrhtwold		H. 4177 (mule with <i>TC</i> rev., M-O)	
	Godeman		H. 4223 (mule with <i>TC</i> rev., M-O)	
	Godwine		H. 4241; BMC 365 (fig. 2 above, p. 16); T.; Cop. 1398 same dies as Stewart (fig. 3 above, p. 16), with rev. apparently altered from <i>ISC</i>	
	Leofwold		H. 4278 (A. pl. iv, 17); T, different dies	

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Intermediate Small Cross</i>	<i>Small Cross/Cruz Mules (Cb)</i>	<i>Transitional Cruz (A-D)</i>
WINCHESTER ( <i>cont.</i> )	Toca		Cop. 1434; H. 4326; BM	
	Wunstan		BMC 366 (pl. xvi, 12)	
WORCESTER	Goda	Stockholm (A. p. 80)		
YORK (?)	Arncytel	Cop. 222; H. 610, same dies. Scep- tre on obv., per- haps struck in Scandinavia		
	Oscetl		Cop. 282, perhaps struck in Scan- dinavia	



FIGS. 6-7

Coins of type Cb by the moneyer Edric of Exeter, see p. 19 above.