

THE PROBLEM OF THE 'FLEUR-DE-LIS' SCEPTRE ON THE SIGTUNA COINS OF CNUT

By L. O. LAGERQVIST AND R. H. M. DOLLEY

RECENT research, conveniently synthesized by Miss G. van der Meer in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*,¹ has established the sequence of the substantive types of the coinage of Æthelræd II and of Cnut, and has even suggested an absolute chronology. Inasmuch as Scandinavian coin-types of the Viking period are for the most part derived from English prototypes, these new datings have a certain importance for students of the early coinages of Dublin, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It should be stressed though, that it is expecting too much to suppose that the date of first issue of an English type gives anything more than a *terminus post quem* for the Scandinavian derivative. Theoretically and in practice the imitation can be as much as a century later than the prototype—at Dublin, for example, one type of Æthelræd II was being imitated well into the twelfth century²—but equally a very short time could and sometimes did elapse between the putting into currency of an Anglo-Saxon coin-type and its imitation. Again, to take an illustration from the Hiberno-Norse series, it can be demonstrated that coins of Æthelræd II were being imitated at Dublin within months of the introduction of the prototype in England.³ The purpose of this note is to suggest that there may even have been an occasion in the reign of Cnut when the design of a new English type was known to a die-engraver in Middle Sweden before coins of the issue concerned had reached the area.

The little group of coins which we propose to discuss are those which purport to be struck at Sigtuna in Uppland for Cnut the Great (sole king in England 1016–35: sole king in Denmark 1018–35: effective rule over Norway finally achieved in 1030: rule over parts of Sweden apparently achieved in the latter part of his reign—but the whole subject is highly controversial and no more than touched on in this paper). This particular coinage, on which Cnut is styled REX SF(eorum), has long been recognized,⁴ though only

¹ Gay van der Meer, 'Some Corrections to and Comments on B. E. Hildebrand's Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Swedish Royal Coin Cabinet', *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley, London, 1961, pp. 169–87. The theory of a six-year cycle under Æthelræd II and Cnut is set out by R. H. M. D. in the 1954 *N.N.U.M.* paper there cited. That Cnut's third issue began at Michaelmas 1029 is suggested very strongly by the paucity of his Jewel-Cross coins which would be consistent with their introduction not more than a few weeks before his death.

² W. O'Sullivan, *The Earliest Irish Coinage*, Dublin, 1961 *passim*; cf. for the date of the bracteate imitations of Æthelræd II's Long Cross, D. F. Allen, 'The Irish Bracteates', *N.C.* 1942, pp. 71–85 and especially p. 79.

³ The Inch Kenneth hoard from the Hebrides (*Inventory*, 196), for example, has for its latest coin an Intermediate Small Cross/Crux mule (? struck in the summer of 997 cf. R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'An Intermediate "Small Cross" Issue of Æthelræd II etc.', *B.N.J.* xxviii, i (1955), pp. 75–87), but also includes at least two Irish coins imitating pennies of Æthelræd's Long Cross type which was introduced at Michaelmas 997 (cf. R. H. M. Dolley, 'Significant New Die-Links in the Hiberno-Norse Coinage of Dublin', *S.N.C.* January, 1962, p. 6).

⁴ H. Hildebrand, *Sveriges mynt under medeltiden*, Stockholm, 1887 (reprint from the wider work *Sveriges medeltid*, vol. i of which was not completed before 1894), p. 18, cf. fig. 358; B. Thordeman, 'Sveriges medeltidsmynt', *Nordisk Kultur*, xxix, Stockholm, 1936, pp. 8–12; H. A.

recently have there come to light the coins reading REX ANGL(orum), and it is very closely linked with the coinage, likewise struck at Sigtuna, of the Swedish king Anund Jacob (c. 1022–c. 1050), a coinage on which, incidentally, Anund's engraver seems almost deliberately to eschew the Swedish title.¹ Cnut and Anund share not one but two mint-masters,² and the most recent research, still not complete, has brought to light a most intricate pattern of die-linking between the two series.³ Significantly, perhaps, for the student of their chronology, no coins of Anund are known with the fleur-de-lis sceptre, and the coins with which we are here concerned are only of Cnut. They are now listed approximately in the order of the English prototypes, and, to bring out their relationship to the coinage as a whole, all Cnut's Sigtuna types are described and not merely those illustrated which are those strictly relevant to the title of this paper.

Group A. Imitations of English coins of Pointed Helmet type.

A *terminus post quem* for these coins is afforded by the introduction of the English prototype, probably at Michaelmas 1023.⁴

(a) Moneyer 'Wulf'.

1. *Obv.* +CNVTR||EXANCL *Rev.* +FVLFMHSHITVN

Unique coin in the 1950 Trondheim find.⁵ The English element in this find ended with 9 coins of the Short Cross issue—as opposed to 77 of Pointed Helmet—so that it is tempting to associate this find with the campaign for the mastery of Trondelag that ended in the bloodbath of Stiklestad (29 July 1030).

(b) Blundered.

2. *Obv.* I+LRNEVNT(sic)TIOCON *Rev.* +GHVNIONORITIEVN

Five specimens in the 1950 Trondheim find—no others known?

Group B. Imitations muling obverses imitating English coins of Pointed Helmet type and reverses of Short Cross type.

A presumptive *terminus post quem* for these coins is afforded by the introduction of the English prototype of the reverse probably at Michaelmas 1029, but the question is one discussed in greater detail later in this note.

Parsons, 'Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the names of Æthelræd, Cnut, and Harthacnut', *B.N.J.* xi (1915), pp. 3–19; L. O. Lagerqvist and E. Nathorst-Böös, *Mynt och medaljer*, Stockholm, 1960, pp. 108 and 109, &c.

¹ The Swedish coins of this period have been discussed in some detail by L. O. Lagerqvist in an unpublished *licentiatavhandling* (Stockholm University, 19. iv. 1961), and it is hoped that a comprehensive survey of the Sigtuna coinage in the names of Anund Jacob and of Cnut by the same author will be appearing in a second volume of *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis*.

² Lagerqvist, *licentiatavhandling*, pp. 69–73. We are most grateful to our friend and colleague Mrs. B. Malmer for bringing to our notice her recent discovery of a coin with obverse legend +CNVTI||REXANCL by the moneyer Sæwine who hitherto was known in this series only for Anund Jacob.

³ Lagerqvist, *op. cit.*, table at p. 86.

⁴ G. van der Meer, *op. cit.*, p. 186—for the Michaelmas *renovatio monetæ* see also R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar' in the same volume, pp. 136–68, and R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Unpublished 1895 Find of Coins of Edward the Confessor from Harewood', *The Yearbook of the British Association of Numismatic Societies*, no. 7, 1961, pp. 17–25.

⁵ O. A. Digre, 'Myntfunnet fra Dronningensgt. 10, Trondheim', *Det Kgl. Norske Videnskabers Selskab. Årsberetning for 1950*, Trondheim, 1951, pp. 91–96.

(a) Moneyer 'Thormoth'.

3. From the same *obv.* die as 2. *Rev.* +ÐORMOÐONSIH*



[Photo: Nils Lagergren]

FIG. 1.

At least four coins from these dies are in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, one in the University Coin Cabinet at Uppsala, one in the National Museum at Helsinki,¹ and one in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad. Those hoard-provenances that are recorded do not appear relevant to the problems discussed in this note.

Group C. Imitations muling obverses copying—but see below (p. 260)—English coins of Short Cross type and reverses of Pointed Helmet type.

Again a presumptive *terminus post quem* is afforded by the introduction of the English obverse prototype, probably at Michaelmas 1029, but attention is drawn to the fact that these are mules 'the wrong way round'.²

(a) Moneyer 'Thormoth'.

4. *Obv.* +CNVT||REXSF *Rev.* +ÐORMOÐONSIH:³



[Photo: Nils Lagergren]

FIG. 2.

¹ T. G. Appelgren, *Förteckning öfver Antellska Myntsamlingens i Helsingfors Svenska Mynt*, i (Helsinki, 1908), no. 20.

² Cf. R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Relevance of Obverse Die-Links to some Problems of the Later Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia Repertis*, i (Stockholm, 1961), pp. 156, &c.; and more particularly R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Mythical "Helmet"/"Long Cross" Mules of Æthelræd II', *B.N.J.* xxx. i (1960), pp. 57-60.

³ The same reverse die is also found with an obverse of Anund Jacob of Pointed Helmet type, cf. L. O. Lagerqvist, *licentiatavhandling*, p. 72.

One coin from these dies in the 1950 Trondheim hoard, one in the 1900 hoard from Mannegårda in the parish of Lye on Gotland (deposit *c.* 1100),¹ and another without recorded hoard-provenance but see below p. 259, both these last in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm.

Group D. Imitations—but again see below (p. 260)—of English coins of Short Cross type.

Once again the presumptive *terminus post quem* is the introduction of the English prototype, probably at Michaelmas 1029.

(a) Moneyer 'Thormoth'.

5. From the same *obv.* die as 4. *Rev.* +ÐO•R.MOÐON•SIH:



[Photo: Nils Lagergren]

FIG. 3.

One coin from these dies, without recorded hoard-provenance but see below p. 259, in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm; another, from the 1895 Nousis find (deposited *c.* 1039), in the National Museum at Helsinki.²

6. From the same *obv.* die as 4 and 5. *Rev.* +ÐORMOÐONSIHT



[Royal Collection, Copenhagen]

FIG. 4.

¹ SHM Inv. 11300. The hoard also includes one coin of Olof Skötkonung and one of Anund Jacob—'Pointed Helmet' type, moneyer 'Thormoth'—while the English element, *pace* Stenberger, ends with coins as late as William II.

² H. Salmo, 'Suomesta löydetyt tanskalaiset 1000-luvun rahat', *Suomen Museo* 1933, pp. 26–29, cf. particularly p. 26, no. 5–7 (= O. Alcenius, 'Fyra Anglosachsisk-Tyska Myntfynd i Finland (1894–7)', *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, xxi. 2, pp. 34–35, fig. 23). For a valuable discussion of the date of concealment of the Nousis find see C. A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland*, Helsinki, 1921, p. 7.

One coin from these dies in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm from the 1926 hoard from Stora Haglunda in the parish of Alböke on Öland (deposit c. 1090);¹ another, again from the 1895 Nousis find, in the National Museum, Helsinki;² a third, without hoard-provenance, in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals at Copenhagen.³

Group E. Imitation muling an *Agnus Dei* obverse—legend entirely blundered—and a reverse of Pointed Helmet type.

The strict *terminus post quem* is afforded by the introduction of the Pointed Helmet reverse in England, probably at Michaelmas 1023, but it is a nice problem whether the obverse prototype is the English original—dated perhaps to the summer of 1009⁴—or one of the Lund imitations, some with the name of Harthacnut,⁵ for which a close dating can confidently be expected in the not too distant future.⁶

(a) Moneyer 'Wulf'.

7. *Obv.*  **||D+OIIEO+OIEA** From the same *rev.* die as 1.

Unique coin, without hoard-provenance, in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm.

Group F. Imitation muling a Short Cross⁷ obverse with a Long Cross reverse.

Again the strict *terminus post quem* is afforded by the introduction of the English Short Cross obverse, probably at Michaelmas 1029. The Long Cross type had been discontinued in England more than a quarter of a century earlier,⁸ but partly on account of its high weight had been and was to be extensively imitated in Ireland and in Scandinavia,⁹ and, although the die-link has still to be claimed, we have a suspicion that the reverse die of this coin could represent a survival from the first coinage of Anund Jacob.

¹ SHM *Inv.* 18287. The 140-odd English coins end with Type VII of William I.

² Salmo, *op. cit.*, p. 26, no. 7 (= Alcenius, *op. cit.*, p. 35, fig. 23).

³ The coin was acquired by exchange (from Sweden?) and registered as no. 1010 in the appropriate volume of the manuscript inventory.

⁴ The *Agnus Dei* coins from English mints are the subject of an unpublished monograph by R. H. M. Dolley which it is hoped may be published as a third volume in the *Commentationes*.

⁵ P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Copenhagen, 1900, pl. iv, Hardeknud 4-6.

⁶ In this connexion it may be observed that there is a coin struck at Sigtuna by a moneyer Osbern which is of Short Cross type but bears the name of Harthacnut. It should also be remarked that we are both of us convinced *pace* Hauberg that coins were struck in Scandinavia with the name of Harthacnut before the death of his father, and it may well be significant that Scandinavian coins of Cnut of pure Short Cross type are excessively rare whereas his Quatrefoil and Pointed Helmet coins are not uncommon.

⁷ *Infra*, p. 260.

⁸ G. van der Meer, *op. cit.*, p. 186; and for the association of the Helmet issue with the opening of the Salisbury mint, R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Sack of Wilton in 1003 and the Chronology of the "Long Cross" and "Helmet" Types of Æthelræd II', *N.N.U.M.*, May 1954, pp. 152-6.

⁹ V. J. Butler, 'The Metrology of the Late Anglo-Saxon Penny: The Reigns of Æthelræd II and Cnut' in the same volume as the papers by G. van der Meer and by R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf already cited, pp. 195-214, and especially pp. 202-4 and 214.

(a) Moneyer 'Thormoth'.

8. Apparently from the same *obv.* die *Rev.* +D||OR||MO||ÐΣ
as 4, 5, and 6.

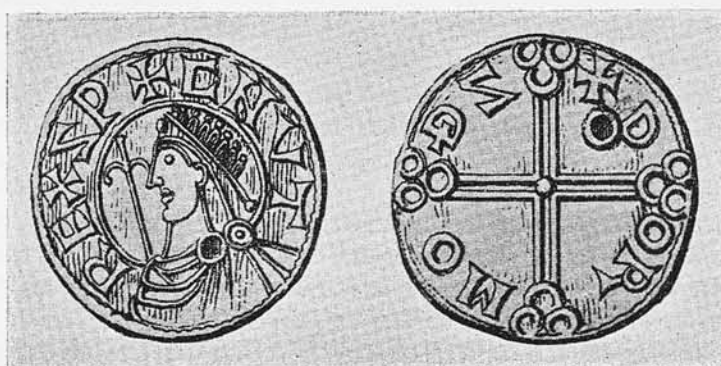


FIG. 5.

The coin is known today only from an engraving¹ but there is no reason whatever to doubt that the piece existed.

Group G. Imitation muling a Pointed Helmet reverse with a problematical obverse—it is not clear if the bust is diademed or crowned.

The unique specimen known to us is mutilated, and it is impossible to decide if the obverse is a free adaptation with inner *circle* of a Quatrefoil obverse or a less free version of a Last Small Cross obverse with the bust breaking the legend, in which case it could be argued that it is really a 'transitional' obverse between Pointed Helmet and Short Cross, retaining the inner circle from the former and anticipating the bare-headed portrait of the latter.

(a) Moneyer 'Sæwine'.

9. *Obv.* +CNVTI||REXAL○ *Rev.* +SEFINEONHTW

Unique coin in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, possibly from the (?) 1863 Lilla Klintegårda find from the parish of Väske on Gotland (deposit *c.* 1043).²

It should be observed that 'Sæwine' is known for Anund Jacob from a very similar reverse die.³ The English numismatist must remark that a Sæwine had been a well-known Wilton moneyer *cf.* Hild. Ethelred 4008–19, and that one coin of Anund Jacob, with reverse legend +CASTRONPIT.VN may preserve traces of the Wilton mint-signature.⁴

To the attentive reader it will have become clear that the typological evidence is virtually decisive that the Sigtuna coinage in the name of Cnut

¹ B. de Köhne, 'Ueber die im russischen Reiche gefundenen abendländischen Münzen des X., XI. und XII-en Jahrhunderts (Dritter Artikel)', *Mémoires de la Société impériale d'archéologie*, iv, St. Petersburg, 1850, pp. 229–30. The relevant illustrations had appeared in vol. iii (1849), pl. xvii and the coin in question will be discussed by Dr. N. L. Rasmusson in the next volume of *Commentationes*.

² SHM *Inv.* 5804 and see *supra*, p. 253, n. 2. Stenberger, *S.G.* 583, is in error in claiming that the English element in the hoard ends with Quatrefoil of Cnut as there are present *Pacx* coins of Edward the Confessor and German coins of the same period. This is the coin brought to our notice by Mrs. Brita Malmer.

³ H. Hildebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 18, no. 3 (not illustrated).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (not illustrated).

cannot be as early as the months immediately following the battle of Helgeå ('the Holy River') in Skåne which is now usually dated to the year 1026.¹ Imitations cannot antedate their prototypes, and the Short Cross type of Cnut cannot well have been in issue much before 1030. Incidentally there is still no real agreement on the extent to which this battle could be considered a victory for any of the protagonists, Cnut on the one hand, and Olaf Haraldsson and Anund Jacob on the other.² In fairness to Parsons it must be remarked that he sensed that Cnut's Sigtuna coinage could not be so early, but we would emphasize that we cannot accept his reconstruction of the historical background.³

For our present purpose the critical coins are nos. 4, 5, 6, and 8 which are from one obverse die with the legend +CNVTREXSP and the fleur-de-lis sceptre which on English coins is first found on Short Cross coins probably introduced at Michaelmas 1029. The suggestion of some Swedish scholars that the ethnic is a coincidental blundering of the normal English title seems to us—as it has already to Dr. N. L. Rasmusson⁴—a perversion of numismatic methodology. Not only is there no English coin with an ethnic other than the English but the legend is literate and explicable, and finds an echo in one of the few contemporary documents that have been preserved, the letter of Cnut to his English subjects which was composed it would seem soon after his visit to Rome in 1027.⁵ In this letter the author is styled 'rex totius Anglie et Denemarcie et Norreganorum et partis Suanorum'.⁶

Of this all-critical obverse it should be observed (a) that there is the inner circle proper to Pointed Helmet but not to Short Cross, and (b) that the treatment of the hair exhibits important minor points of difference from that found on normal English coins of Short Cross type. In other words it cannot be said that the obverse is a copy of an English penny. Rather it could be thought of as an inspired anticipation. Confirmation of this line of argument is provided not by one but by two hoards. Already we have cited the 1950 hoard from Trondheim, the source of no fewer than 7 out of the 19 Sigtuna coins in Cnut's name known today, which it is hard to suppose not to have been concealed in the summer of 1030 and which contains six coins of pure Pointed Helmet type—all the known specimens!—and only one of the 'mules'. One recalls once again Mr. C. E. Blunt's remarks in another context⁷—five of

¹ C. Weibull, *Sverige och dess Nordiska Grannmakter under den tidigare medeltiden*, Lund, 1921, pp. 154–5. If the apparent testimony of a Cotton MS. (Dom. A VIII, fol. 67a) is to be believed, Helgeå was fought as early as 1025.

² Cf. also F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1947, p. 397, and D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, i, London, 1955, p. 230, 309, and 310.

³ H. A. Parsons, op. cit., *passim*, but especially pp. 10–16. The numismatist will notice that he had assembled only part of the material then known, and did not claim the die-link which he illustrated (p. 8, figs. 6 and 7).

⁴ N. L. Rasmusson, *Sveriges mynthistoria*, 3rd edn., Stockholm, 1961, p. 13.

⁵ Stenton, op. cit., p. 401; Whitelock, op. cit., pp. 231, &c.

⁶ The historian, too, will wish to consider the document in the light of other styles employed by the rulers of this period (cf. O. Moberg, *Olof Haraldsson, Knut den Store och Sverige*, Lund, 1941, pp. 148–89).

⁷ 'The inference seems inescapable that all these coins that are so strongly die-linked can only recently have left their places of issue' [concerning certain London coins in the Crondall hoard of c. 680 which Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland had sought to attribute to a bishop of London expelled from his see in 617 and who died in 624]. *B.N.J.* xxv, iii (1949), pp. 343–5.

the coins are die-duplicates—and it may even be claimed that the Trondheim hoard vindicates the suggestion that the relevant *renovatio monetae* in England can be dated to Michaelmas 1029, and especially since the association of the hoard with the eventful summer of 1030 is entirely consistent with the date of the latest German coins.¹ Even more suggestive for the position of what we may call the 'transitional' Short Cross obverse of Sigtuna is the 1846 hoard from Undroms in the parish of Boteå in Ångermanland.² English readers should perhaps be reminded that Ångermanland lies a considerable distance to the north even of Uppland, and in the eleventh century came principally within the Swedish and not the Danish or Norwegian spheres of influence. This hoard contained some 570 English coins, no fewer than 196 of Pointed Helmet type, but there was not one single penny of Short Cross type. Yet there were in it two coins of 'Thormoth' of Sigtuna struck in the name of Cnut with the Swedish title and the fleur-de-lis sceptre. Hildebrand's notes do not, unfortunately, specify the reverse type or types, but the presumption must be that the coins concerned are the Stockholm specimens of nos. 4 and 5, i.e. a 'transitional' Short Cross/Pointed Helmet mule and a true Short Cross reverse coupled with the same 'transitional' obverse.

The Sigtuna coins are imitative, and essentially there are two classes of imitation. Either a prototype is laid down for the engraver by some higher authority, or the engraver himself selects his prototype. In the latter case he will normally choose to imitate a type that is locally acceptable, in other words a type that already is circulating freely or that has a special appeal.³ Had Short Cross coins of Cnut from England reached Sigtuna in sufficient quantity to be the subject of spontaneous imitation, it seems inconceivable that none should have been present in the Undroms find. We must in consequence have recourse to the former hypothesis, namely that the choice of the type was more or less officially inspired—it would be asking too much of coincidence that the mint-master at Sigtuna and the designer of the Short Cross coinage for the whole of England independently hit upon a coin-type which displayed the same innovations, i.e. the fleur-de-lis sceptre, hitherto unknown on the coins of northern Europe, and the simple but effective reverse type. It should here be remarked that Hauberg, pl. ii. 14, demonstrably belongs after Cnut's death, while Miss G. van der Meer has pointed out to us that Hauberg, pl. ii 16, is from the same obverse die as Hild. Cnut 2123, a Scandinavian imitation with a reverse copied from an English coin of 1040–2. The fact, too, that the obverse die of the Sigtuna coins demonstrably is not copied from English coins favours the hypothesis that it was cut at a time when English coins of Short Cross type had not yet been imported. The survival of the inner circle, too, may seem to suggest that knowledge of the new issue

¹ Information in letters from Prof. Dr. P. Berghaus of Münster.

² SHM *Inv.* 1318.

³ Coins of the abortive *Agnus Dei* issue, for example, cannot have reached Scandinavia in substantial quantity, and it is suggested that the dozen examples of which there is a record include several pairs of die-duplicates (cf. the forthcoming monograph *supra*, p. 256, n. 4). That these coins were so widely imitated can be explained not only by the religious associations of the highly unusual and attractive types but by the fact that they were struck on the unusually high weight-standard of 27 grains. In contrast Cnut's Short Cross issue was not struck on a standard superior to that of its comparatively 'light' precursor (cf. the paper by Miss Butler, *supra*, p. 256, n. 9) and the design was considerably less novel.

had been conveyed to Sigtuna—or less plausibly 'leaked'—by word of mouth or by written description and not through a pictorial medium such as a pattern-piece or a drawing.¹

In this connexion it may be observed that this is by no means the first occasion on which a type proper to the English coinage appears to have been anticipated in Scandinavia to the extent that local imitations were already in currency before the arrival of the English counterparts. There are the most interesting finds made in 1849 at Lille Mickelgårds in the parish of Väske on Gotland, and in 1914 and 1915 at Bjärby in the parish of Etelhem on the same island.² The first contained English coins running down to and including Helmet of Æthelræd II and no English coin of Cnut, but a coin of Cnut with the Danish title of Last Small Cross type. The latter contained ten Anglo-Saxon pennies running down to and including Last Small Cross, no English coins of Cnut, but a Quatrefoil/Last Small Cross mule of Cnut struck at Lund. While on this subject, too, we would remark that we are far from happy concerning Hauberg's interpretation of the absence of coins of Harald Sveinsson (king in Denmark 1014–18) as indicative of a post-1018 date for Cnut's earliest Danish coins.³

From what has been said it will be clear that we are pretty well satisfied that the mint-engraver at Sigtuna must have had advance knowledge of the coin-type introduced in England at Michaelmas 1029. As is well known, Cnut was not in a position to impose on the Danish kingdom the strict uniformity of coinage that he found in England and was shrewd enough to preserve, but it must have been an ideal, and one suspects that a proportion at least of the Danish imitations of Quatrefoil and Pointed Helmet, and especially of those which exhibit comparatively competent workmanship, were struck at the behest of the royal authority. We do not wish in this paper to discuss the occasion and historical context of the coinage of Cnut at Sigtuna, but one must stress the distinction between any *ad hoc* authority which he might exercise in Middle Sweden and that enjoyed by the kings in Denmark where royal power was subject to precedent and to that extent might be more circumscribed.

As already remarked, the fleur-de-lis sceptre is something quite new in the coinage of northern Europe, and this despite the fact that a sceptre had appeared intermittently on English coins for something like fifty years.⁴ During that period there had been plenty of opportunity for an engraver to have hit upon the fleur-de-lis if novelty had been his objective, but the normal version had been a simple trefoil with one solitary and short-lived excursion into a cross *pattée*.⁵ In Germany at this period the sceptre normally occurring

¹ For the execution of the obverse die in question it would have been enough for the engraver to have been informed (a) that the profile portrait would revert to a diademed bust, and (b) that the sceptre was to be represented by a fleur-de-lis instead of a trefoil of pellets. As regards the reverse, it would be necessary only to inform him that the type was that of the previous issue with the 'bosses' omitted.

² SHM *Inv.* 1541 (= SG 580) and 15373 (= SG 142). See also L. O. Lagerqvist 'Dansk eller Engelskt? . . .', *N.N.U.M.* January, 1962, pp. 4–6.

³ Hauberg, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁴ R. H. M. Dolley, 'Three Late Anglo-Saxon Notes', *B.N.J.* xxviii, i (1955), pp. 88–105 illustrates the sceptre's first appearance on Kentish coins of First Small Cross type (p. 89).

⁵ For the trefoil sceptre: First Hand, Second Hand, early Benediction Hand, Crux and Pointed

in representations of the emperor resembles one traditional sceptre of Rome and of Byzantium, the sceptre tipped by an eagle, though a fleur-de-lis sceptre is sometimes found as well as a variety of staffs ending in knobs, trefoils, and crosses.¹ Furthermore it is perfectly clear that the engraver of Cnut's Short Cross dies was not seeking innovation for innovation's sake—of all Cnut's English coin-types Short Cross was the most traditional and the least revolutionary, and we would particularly stress the reversion to the diademed portrait.

In March 1027 Cnut had done something which no English king had ever done before. He had attended the Roman coronation of a German Emperor, Conrad II.² At the previous Roman coronation in 1014 the Emperor Henry II had received from the hands of the Pope an apparent novelty, a *globus cruciger*,³ and there is perhaps a presumption that precedent was followed in 1027. However this may be, we know that Cnut himself was not dissatisfied with the status accorded him by the Pope nor with the gifts that he received.⁴ A tentative suggestion we would like to make is that Cnut's quite exceptional sovereignty in northern Europe was recognized on this occasion by the grant of a sub-imperial sceptre,⁵ and that this was of fleur-de-lis form. We are only too aware that this hypothesis is incapable of proof, but we do feel that it would explain the sudden introduction of an entirely new form of sceptre in a coin-type which in all other respects was traditional—to the point of being colourless. If, too, we suppose that the new form was deliberate and reflected consciously some recent access of honour and prestige, it is perhaps more probable that its employment on the coins of Sigtuna was inspired by the royal authority rather than that it was adopted there by die-cutters who had chanced to hear that it was to be a feature of the new English coin-type. In either case, however, our main argument is unaffected. The type of the English penny of Cnut's third issue would seem to have been known at Sigtuna and deemed apt for imitation *before* English coins of that recoinage can have arrived in Middle Sweden in any quantity.⁶

Helmet, and also the odd die in Intermediate Small Cross and Transitional Crux, Last Small Cross and Quatrefoil. For a cross *pattée* sceptre: late Benediction Hand. For an anomalous sceptre of no clear form: the odd die in Small Crux.

¹ P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, vol. i, Leipzig-Berlin, 1928, pl. 62, 67, 68, 71b, 73, 74b, 75, 76a, 78, 79, 80, 81, 87, 94, 99a.

² Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 401, &c.

³ E. Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe*, London, 1960, p. 298; cf. P. E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, &c., Stuttgart, 1958, pp. 62, &c.

⁴ Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 402; cf. Whitelock, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁵ It is perhaps suggestive that a fleur-de-lis sceptre signified unusual regal honour, that it should be borne by German emperors on those seal-representations where the full imperial sceptre with bird does not appear (e.g. Schramm, pl. 62b in the first of his works cited.)

⁶ We feel we should stress that we believe the main thesis of this note—that the English change of type was anticipated at Sigtuna before the arrival of English coins of the new issue—would not be affected even if one day another date should be established for Cnut's third *renovatio monetæ*. On the other hand we must admit that in our opinion the *nexus* which seems almost inescapable between the 1950 Trondheim hoard and the battle of Stiklestad in itself suggests very strongly that the hypothesis is correct which would associate this third *renovatio monetæ* with Michaelmas 1029.