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SOME UNPUBLISHED ANGLO-SAXON COINS IN THE BERLIN COIN CABINET¹

In September of 1959 I had the opportunity to go through the trays of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Berlin Coin Cabinet². This examination brought to light many interesting coins which showed activity by certain moneyers during periods in which they had not hitherto been known to strike coins. Some of the moneyers were even new for the mints in which they struck, and most interesting of all were three coins which proved that certain mints functioned in periods when they had seemed to be inactive.

Edward the Martyr, Horncastle, Atheleln



2:1

The first of these, from the 1875 Lübeck hoard³, is a coin of Edward the Martyr (975-978) of the only type that was struck during his reign, with a portrait bust on the obverse and a small cross on the reverse, a continuation of his predecessor's last type. The legends read as follows:

- 1 First published in *Dona Numismatica*, Walter Hävernicks zum 23. Januar 1965 dargebracht (ed. P. Berghaus and G. Hatz), Hamburg 1965, 67-71. The editors of the *Jaarboek* are grateful to the editors of *Dona Numismatica* for their permission to republish the article here, largely unchanged. References to new ideas put forward in books and articles published in the last thirty years can be found in the footnotes. The three coins discussed here are still unique.
- 2 I am indebted to the late Prof. Dr. W. Schwabacher, Stockholm, and Dr. H.B. Jessen, Berlin, for making my visit to Berlin in 1959 possible, and to the then staff of the Berlin Coin Cabinet for their kind help and cooperation, for their permission to publish the coins, and to Dr. B. Kluge for the photographs.
- 3 H. Dannenberg, *Der Münzfund von Lübeck*, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 4 (1877), 50-124 (at p. 123); B. Kluge, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (below abbreviated as *SCBI*) 36, *State Museum Berlin. Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Hiberno-Norse Coins*, Oxford/London 1987, no. 194.

Obv. +EADVVARÐ RE+ ANG
 Rev. +ÆDELELI—MOON HOR

In his note on "A Possible Sixth Anglo-Saxon Mint in Lincolnshire"⁴ R.H.M. Dolley discussed a coin of Æthelraed II (978-1016) of his second type (the so-called First Hand type, probably struck 979-985) which has as its reverse reading +ÆDELGAR M—O HORN. On stylistic grounds he attributed this coin to Horncastle near Lincoln rather than to Horndon in Essex which was a mint for a very short period under Edward the Confessor c. 70 years later, and which used the mint signature HORNIDVNE. Though pennies of Edward the Martyr are rare both in English and in Swedish hoards, the available material enables us to distinguish regional differentiations in the style of the portrait on the obverse. Now the style of the Berlin coin is one which occurs most often on coins from mints in the Lincoln area⁵, and we may therefore confidently claim that Horncastle functioned as a mint during the reign of Edward the Martyr and at the beginning of the reign of Æthelraed II. No coins are known for Horncastle in Æthelraed's first type, the so-called First Small Cross type⁶, a continuation of Edward the Martyr's coinage, and presumably struck only during the year after Æthelraed's accession. Nor is Horncastle known as a mint during the issue of Eadgar's last type, struck after his reform of the coinage (probably 973)⁷. Dolley pointed out⁸ that the date of this reform

- 4 R.H.M. Dolley, Three More Late Anglo-Saxon Notes: A Possible Sixth Anglo-Saxon Mint in Lincolnshire, *British Numismatic Journal*, (below abbreviated as *BNJ*), XXIX, 1 (1958-1959), 51-54.
- 5 The characteristics of this style were first described by R.H.M. Dolley in: Three late Anglo-Saxon Notes: A New Anglo-Saxon Mint, *BNJ* XXVIII, 1 (1955-1957), 90-91, and later in: Two Anglo-Saxon Notes: An Enigmatic Penny of Edward the Martyr, *BNJ* XXVIII, 3 (1955-1957), 499-504. The latest publication on this style is: K. Jonsson, *The New Era. The Reformation of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*. Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia Repertis, Nova Series 1, Stockholm 1987, 86-95.
- 6 Since this article was first published, two Horncastle coins of the moneyer Adel of Æthelraed's First Small Cross type have turned up. See F. Elmore Jones, A Note on the Mint of Horncastle, *BNJ* XXXVII (1968), 191-192; F. Purvey, Six Remarkable Late 10th Century Pennies, *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* 609 (1969), 153-154; K. Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards and Later Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Stockholm 1986, 59; K. Jonsson, *The New Era* (see note 5), 138.
- 7 Much has been written about Eadgar's reform of the coinage in the last thirty years. The present position concerning the date of the reform and the chronology of the subsequent types is set out by Ian Steward, Coinage and Recoinage after Edgar's Reform, in: *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage. In Memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand* (ed. K. Jonsson), *Numismatiska Meddelanden/Numismatic Essays* XXXV, Stockholm 1990, 455-485. Alternative type dates, differing slightly from the dates of the types in the present article, at p. 460. See also: H. Loyn, Numismatics and the Medieval Historian: A Comment on Recent Numismatic Contributions to the History of England c. 899-1154, *BNJ* LX (1990), 29-36.
- 8 The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar, in: *Anglo-Saxon Coins, Studies presented to Sir Frank Stenton on the occasion of his 80th birthday*, (ed. R.H.M. Dolley), London 1961, 146.

was probably also the date of origin of quite a number of new mints, and Horncastle may quite well have been among them. However, relatively few coins of Eadgar's Reform type and Æthelraed's First Small Cross type⁹ have survived and, moreover, the survival rate for Horncastle coins must have been a low one in any case, as its output cannot have been very large, so that the absence of coins for these two short periods need not necessarily mean that the mint ceased striking during those years.

The moneyer's name Atheleln, a form of Æthelhelm, is philologically interesting. The final N for M can easily be explained as a mistake of the die-cutter who forgot to add the second cross-stroke¹⁰. Less easy to explain, however, is the unreduced form and the spelling A for Æ. After c. 940 the name only occurs in the form of Æthelm¹¹, and the late Old English change of Æ to A had not started yet¹². It is possible that the spelling may reflect continental influence¹³.

Æthelraed II, Hertford, Wulfmaer



2:1

The second coin throws light on the activity of Hertford as a mint in one of Æthelraed II's earlier types. In Hildebrand's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in the Stockholm Coin Cabinet only coins of Æthelraed's Crux type (struck

9 But see note 6 above.

10 K. Jonsson has pointed out in *The New Era* (see note 6), p. 89, that "on coins of this style the letter N is inverted, and it is consistently also used to denote M". However, on this Horncastle coin the M of MO shows two strokes crossing each other between the upright strokes.

11 O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Uppsala 1937, 79.

12 K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1914, §363; V. Smart, in *SCBI* 41, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 21-40*, London 1992, registers the Horncastle coin as ÆDelelm, referring to B. Kluge, *SCBI* 36, (see note 3), no.194, where the name is spelled Athelelm.

13 Cf. V. Smart, *Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia Repertis* II, 194-276, at p. 236.

probably 991-997) are recorded¹⁴. Since then, however, coins of the succeeding Long Cross, Helmet and Last Small Cross issues have become known¹⁵. Now another type can be added, the First Hand type (probably struck 979-985)¹⁶. The coin in question reads:

Obv. ÆDELRAED REX ANGLOX
Rev. PVLFMÆR M—O HEORT

The coin originates from a hoard which was found in 1886 at Klein-Roscharden (Oldenburg). This hoard, which contained German, Bohemian, French, Arabic and four Anglo-Saxon coins, must have been buried c. 1000¹⁷.

The moneyer Wulfmaer is not otherwise known for the mint under Æthelraed II, but, as it happens, the only coins known for Hertford in Eadgar's last type and in Edward the Martyr's only type (975-978) were struck by a moneyer of this name¹⁸. Among the handful of coins that are known of Æthelraed's First Small Cross type (struck probably 978-979) there are no Hertford coins, but if ever one should turn up, the chances are that the moneyer will be Wulfmaer.

The only other type of Æthelraed II left for which no Hertford coins have been found until now is the Second Hand type (dated by Dolley to 985-991). In this case, however, we cannot be quite so confident that a coin of this type will ever come to light. Dolley remarked on the fact that the major Danelaw mints, Lincoln and York, were not operating for the duration of the Second Hand type¹⁹. When one draws up a list of mints at which the Second Hand type is absent, whereas all the other substantive types of Æthelraed II are represented there, we now find the following total of 10: Bedford (no Helmet type coins are recorded in Hildebrand, but one was found in a Swedish hoard), Cambridge, Cricklade, Derby, Dorchester, Hertford, Lincoln, Shrewsbury,

14 B.E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet funna i Sveriges jord*, Stockholm 1881, 76-77.

15 R.H.M. Dolley, Three More Late Saxon Notes, *BNJ* XXIX, 1, (1958-1959), 54-58, and V. Smart, *SCBI* 28, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1-20*, London 1981, 96.

16 For the dating of this type see Ian Stewart (note 7 above), 460 and 471-474.

17 H. Dannenberg, Der zweite Fund von Klein-Roscharden, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 15 (1887), 281-290; P. Berghaus, Die Münzen von Klein-Roscharden, *Oldenburger Jahrbuch* 51 (1951), 199s; B. Kluge, *SCBI* 36 (see note 3), No. 203.

18 See K. Jonsson and G. van der Meer, Mints and Moneyers c. 973-1066, In: *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage. In Memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, *Numismatiska Meddelanden/Numismatic Essays* XXXV, Stockholm 1990, 74.

19 R.H.M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, The Transition between the "Hand of Providence" and "Crux" Types, *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis* I, Stockholm 1961, 177-178. One Second Hand type coin of York was discovered afterwards in a Swedish hoard. Cf. Ian Stewart (note 7), 473.

Warwick, Worcester²⁰. No other substantive type of Æthelraed II is absent from so many mints. It is true that the Second Hand Type is somewhat rarer than his later types, but the First Hand type is rarer still and yet there are only four mints where it is the only substantive type which is not represented. We must therefore assume that there was a special reason why all these mints were inactive in this period. Dolley suggested that the closure of these mints may have been the result of tension between the Danelaw and the rest of England²¹, and this may well be the explanation, but, on the other hand, mints like Leicester, Nottingham and Stamford did strike Second Hand coins, and mints outside the Danelaw proper seem to have been closed too. Another explanation may be that it was found during the striking of the First Hand type that more mints were operating than were needed and that a number of them could be closed without inconvenience. When in 991 the payments of Danegeld started they were opened again to help with the striking of the enormous number of coins that were required. However, it seems hard to believe that large mints like Lincoln and York could have been considered to be superfluous²².

Cnut, Peterborough, Leofdaei



2:1

Extremely interesting is also the third coin, found at Kinno (Poland)²³. It dates from a slightly later period, during the reign of Cnut (1016-1035) and is of the so-called Quatrefoil type (struck probably 1017-1023). The legends are:

20 See Jonsson and Van der Meer (note 18), 54-119.

21 See note 19.

22 Ian Stewart (note 7), 471-474, comes to the conclusion that the duration of the Second Hand type must have been shorter than that of the main types of the reign, and that very few dies of this type must have reached the north at all.

23 J. Menadier, *Der Fund von Kinno*, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 23 (1902), 95-106; B. Kluge, *SCBI* 36 (see note 3), no. 650.

Obv. +CNVT REX ANGLORV:

Rev: +LE/OFD/:ÆI M/O MED

Another coin with the same mint signature, of the moneyer Hilde, but of Æthelraed II's First Hand type (struck probably 978-979), has been discussed by Dolley²⁴. He found that the coin was issued at Medeshamstede, later called Peterborough, near Stamford, where the abbots had the right of coinage, and there can be no doubt that the Quatrefoil coin was struck at the same mint. Remarkably enough, the old name of Medeshamstede — the spelling "th" for "d" is usual for the Danelaw — was here still used for the mint signature, though according to an entry in the Peterborough version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the name was changed to Burgh or Peterborough under Cenwulf, who became abbot in 992. This proves that the old name stayed in use, even officially, longer than might have been expected.

The moneyer's name Leofdaei occurs only at Stamford under Æthelraed II, Cnut and Harold I. The man who struck the First Hand type there under Æthelraed (spelling Leofdag) can hardly have been the same as the man who worked under Cnut and Harold, because there is a time gap of more than 40 years. However, the Leofdaei (also spelled Leodaeii, Leofdaei, Leofedaei and Lefedaei)²⁵ who struck the Short Cross type under Cnut (probably 1029-1035) and the Jewel Cross type under Harold I (probably 1035-1036) presumably was the same man who worked for the abbot of Peterborough during the issue of the Quatrefoil type. The style of the obverse portrait is a classic example of the style which is found on practically all the Quatrefoil dies at Lincoln²⁶. As the illustration will show, its main characteristics are the crescents at either end of the crown, and the line that goes straight from the ear to the quatrefoil. Unfortunately no obverse die-link with a Quatrefoil coin of Stamford has been found so far.

Ian Stewart has argued²⁷ that at the only times when the private mint of the abbot at Peterborough was opened we find annulets in the field of the reverse in the preceding types at Stamford, and he believes that this annulet is

24 R.H.M. Dolley, A New Anglo-Saxon Mint: Medeshamstede, *BNJ* XXVII, 3 (1952-1954), 263-265.

25 V. Smart, *SCBI* 41, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 21-40*, London 1992, 79-80.

26 For the styles found in the West Country, see M. Blackburn and S. Lyon, Regional die-production in Cnut's Quatrefoil issue, in: *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley* (ed. M.A.S. Blackburn), Leicester 1986, 223-272 (Lincoln style: 236-238).

27 I. Stewart, The Stamford Mint and the Connexion with the Abbot of Peterborough under Ethelred II, *BNJ* XXVIII, 1 (1955-1957), 106-110.

a symbol to indicate the abbot of Peterborough's money. His hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in the type preceding Quatrefoil, Æthelraed's Last Small Cross type (c. 1009-1017), there is a coin (Hildebrand 3477) of the moneyer Godaeg which shows this symbol. The same moneyer has an annulet in the reverse field of a Long Cross coin (Hild. 3487, probably struck 997-1003). If the annulet indicates that the die on which it occurred belonged to the abbot of Peterborough, then Godaeg struck both for the king and, either intermittently or continuously, for the abbot at Stamford, and Leofdaeg struck for the abbot at Peterborough and later again for the king at Stamford. Now the Anglo-Saxon second name element -daeg (or -daei) is very rare and, as far as moneyers' names are concerned, it only occurs at Stamford in the names Godaeg and Leofdaeg. One of the principles of Anglo-Saxon name-giving was that in many cases either the first or the second element of the parents' names was repeated in the names of the children, so the fact that these two moneyers had a rare name element in common may mean that they were relatives, and that the family had ties with the abbey at Peterborough. Very little is known about the position of moneyers in Anglo-Saxon times²⁸. Rare moneyers' names may be instrumental in discovering biographical facts about their owners, if they can be identified with persons with the same names known from documents. If this could be done with Leofdaeg and Godaeg, the coin in the Berlin Coin Cabinet, which has shown their connexions with Peterborough, would be of even greater importance than it seemed to be at first sight.

28 After the original publication of this article the following studies on this subject have appeared: V. Smart, Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage (cf. note 13), at 210-215; M. Biddle and D.J. Keane, Winchester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in: *Winchester Studies* I (ed. M. Biddle), 1976, 241-448, at 396-422; V. Smart, Scandinavians, Celts, and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of the Moneyers' Names, in: *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History* (see note 26), 171-184.